



A history of painting in north Italy

Joseph Archer Crowe, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle

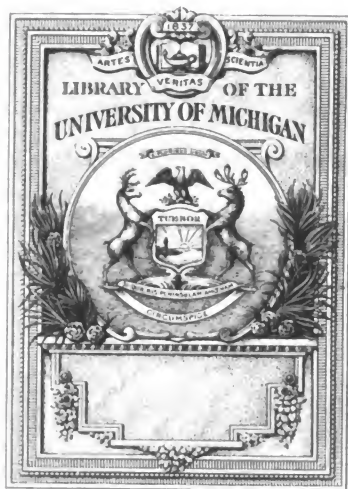






Fig. 1. The Baptism of Christ, by Andrea Mantegna, 1460. (Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

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A

HISTORY OF PAINTING

IN

NORTH ITALY,

VENICE, PADUA, VICENZA, VERONA, FERRARA, MILAN,
FRIULI, BRESCIA,

FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



DRAWN UP FROM FRESH MATERIALS AFTER RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE ARCHIVES
OF ITALY; AND FROM PERSONAL INSPECTION OF THE WORKS
OF ART SCATTERED THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

By J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE,

AUTHORS OF 'HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY,'
'THE EARLY FLEMISH PAINTERS.'

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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CHAPTER I.

THE MILANESE.

That travellers should invariably, and almost exclusively connect Milan with the names of Bramante and da Vinci is due to the lustre which these great artists shed on the Milanese school. During the 15th century Florentine taste was partially introduced into Lombard edifices by Michelozzo and Filarete, but the understructure of Lombard architecture was northern; and the master universally acknowledged by painters was Mantegna. It was under Mantegna that Vincenzo Foppa — the oldest craftsman of any repute in Milan was formed. It is to the influence of Mantegna that we owe the early works of Suardi, Buttinone, Zenale, and Civerchio; but when the more attractive art of Umbria and Florence was carried to Milan at the close of the century, the Mantegnesque period came abruptly to an end; those who clung to the Paduan manner lost their market, and success attended only those who consented to follow the lessons of Bramante and Leonârdo.

When Cosmo de' Medici sent Michelozzo to rebuild his palace at Milan he displayed a natural preference for modern forms; but his choice of Foppa to decorate the walls was a silent admission of the talents of Mantegna.¹

¹ The Medici palace at Milan was rebuilt by Michelozzo in 1456 and passed in later times to the family of Vismara. See Vasari III. 284, and Calvi (G. L.), *Notizie sulla vita e sulle opere dei principali architetti etc.* in Milano. 8^o. Milan 1859. 1865. 1869. Parte II. p. 60.

When Francesco Sforza, engaged the Florentine Filarete to plan the great hospital at Milan, he also manifested a desire to favour the introduction of a new style into his dominions; but his selection of Foppa proves that he considered a pupil of Mantegna capable of the most important pictorial enterprises. We learn from the annalists that Foppa adorned the Medici palace about 1456 with scenes from the legend of Trajan, with busts of emperors and empresses and portraits of Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza; we learn from the same source that he designed a fresco in the portico of the hospital illustrating the ceremony of its foundation; and we are further told that he was one of those who covered the court and inner rooms of Francesco Sforza's palace dell' Arengo with mural subjects¹. The number and magnitude of these commissions would alone testify to the high esteem in which the artist was held.

Vincenzo Foppa was born at Foppa in the province of Pavia and taught in a Northern school². Nothing certain is handed down respecting him before his engagement at Milan in 1456, and even then we know little of his most important works. Fortunately some small panels of a sketchy character are preserved in the Carrara Academy at Bergamo which, in spite of the injuries they have received, tell with sufficient accuracy how he painted. One of the panels, without a signature, is a St. Jerom kneeling before the cross and beating his breast — a wild dweller in the wilderness — with the square head and coarse extremities of a churl. Nothing can exceed the carefulness of the execution. — In the midst of modern

¹ Vas. III. 290. Lomazzo, Trattato, u. s. p. 405. Calvi, Notizie, parte II. pp. 61—2. 87. 96. 131.

² There were at Milan in the 15th century Ambrogio Foppa, called Caradosso, sculptor, Bartolommeo da Foppa, a painter, not known by his works, and Vincenzo. Foppa is a village in the territory of Milan to which Bartolommeo is dis-

tinctly traced; and it is not unlikely that it was the native place of Vincenzo and Caradosso. Compare Campori, Gli Artisti. u. s. p. 209, with Ridolfi, Marav. I. 341, and Calvi, Notizie, parte II. pp. 55—6.— In records of 1471 and 1474, preserved at Genoa, Vincenzo is called "Vincentius de Fopa de Brisia." See postea.

smears and varnish the lights still shimmer with shell gold in sharp hatching; the drapery is angular and straight and singularly without purpose; whilst the buff-brown tinge of the tempera, even where best preserved, repels the eye¹. The second panel bearing the name and the date of 1456 is less grimly unattractive though it has also suffered from age and retouching. It represents the crucifixion and Golgotha seen through the aperture of an arch and portico; the Saviour on the cross between the thieves, of good proportions, and suitable action is coloured in blended liquid tones. Medallions with profiles in the spandrels of the arch; — the arch itself, divulge a taste cultivated by the study of antiques, whilst the landscape of tinted green relieved with yellow touches is like that of Bono Ferrarese². Filarete and Campagnola both say that Foppa was a disciple of Squarcione; these statements are confirmed by this crucifixion. Some years previous to this time Mantegna commenced the chapel of the Eremitani, and established his reputation. The greatest master of the North attracted disciples from all parts of Lombardy; and we must believe that what recommended Foppa for employment under the Sforzas, was the skill which, according to his colleague Filarete, he derived from the Squarcionesques³. We acquire further certainty of this by looking at Foppa's later productions, especially the martyred St. Sebastian, in the gallery at Milan which is the only fragment saved from an entire cycle in Santa

¹ Bergamo, Lochis Carrara, No. 112. Wood tempera, on a cartello in the foreground a repainted inscription as follows: "OPVS VINCENTII FOPPA." To the r. the lion, distance, hills and rocks.

² Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. Wood tempera, quite small, on the panelings of a marble skirting we read: "VINC. . . || CI. V. S || BRI. IE S. S || PI. . IT || CIOCCCLVI || DIE || . MENSIS || APRILIS . ." The first

part being obviously "Vincen. civis Brixienis pinxit." There is something of miniature in the distance, the tempera where it is preserved, of fluid but stiff impasto. The outlines are mostly retouched.

³ "Fu tenuto in pregio ne medesimi tempi Vincenzo pittore bresciano, secondo che racconta il Filareto e Girolamo Campagnuola anch' egli pittore padoano e discepolo dello Squarcione." Vas. VI. pp. 94—5.

Maria di Brera¹. This fresco is not free from antiquated defects, particularly in the realism of detail with which expression is given to the faces, but it has the prominent peculiarities of the Paduan school as shown in the careful setting and measurement of the figures in their places. Each of the personages, taken apart, appears studied from nature and the antique and moves with appropriate action; the skeleton and fleshy development of form are correctly rendered, but the frames are too long for perfect proportion and the shape depicted is far from any known standard of selection; there is much of the Paduan in the raw and rusty tinge of the colours, in the papery crumple of draperies and in architectural accessories, but the clearest reminiscences of Mantegna are in the posture of the saint, bound to a pillar at the mouth of a triumphal arch or in the soldier leaning on his sword behind two bowmen; and it seems obvious that Foppa saw Mantegna's St. James going to martyrdom. Another remarkable circumstance connected with Foppa's progress as exhibited here is his acquaintance with perspective. — The arch, which so much reminds us of Mantegna, is drawn with some correctness of vanishing lines, and the knowledge so displayed is respectfully touched on by Lomazzo, who couples Foppa's name with that of Leonardo².

In the crucifixion of 1456 Foppa calls himself "civis Brixiensis". He seems to have lived at Brescia at two different periods — in youth and old age. — He certainly

¹ Milan, Brera-Vestibule, No. 17. Fragment, m. 2. 67 h. by 1. 73. This fresco is highly praised by Lomazzo (*Idea del Tempio* p. 95). It formed one of a series in S. M. di Brera, of which two other numbers were S. Roch visited by an angel (Bianconi, *Guida di Milano*. 12^o. 1787. pp. 391—2) and a glory of angels in the vaulting (Lom., *Idea u. s.*). The S. Roch was transferred to canvass in the last century and is now missing. The condition of the fragment at the

Brera is imperfect. The head of the youth in distance being blackened and the outlines of the remaining figures freshened up. (Comp. Passav., *Kunstblatt*. 1838. No. 66).

² Lomazzo (*Idea* pp. 31. 60 and 95) not only praises Foppa's perspective but says that he had seen M. S. rules in Foppa's hand for measuring human and equine proportion. He adds (*Tratt.* p. 275) that Dürer in his book on "Symmetria" was a mere plagiarist of Foppa.

gained a respectable position there before being called to Milan; but he liked change; and we find him in 1461 residing at Pavia, attracted thither no doubt by the vicinity of the Certosa in which, during 1465, he painted a chapel¹.

At Pavia he married, and received numerous commissions. — It was probably an accident that prevented him from carrying out a contract signed in 1461 with the superintendents of the cathedral of Genoa. In 1462 he laboured in the Carmine of Pavia². Occasional visits to Milan gave variety to his life, and we see him start to deliver a Pietà to the Milanese church of San Pietro in Gessate, or — in the time of Galeazzo Maria — to value frescos in the Castello of Porta Giovia. — He may in the course of these or similar journeys have executed works at Milan of which the authorship subsequently became obscure³.

Renewed negotiations with the Genoese dragged their slow length along from 1471 till 1474. They failed for causes unknown and now of little interest to us, but they brought the artist in contact with new patrons and amongst them, with one whose name is coupled with those of almost all the celebrities of the time⁴. Giuliano della Ro-

¹ Calvi, *Notizie* u. s., parte II., note to 144.

² As to Foppa's marriage see Calvi, *Notizie*, p. II. 62. The contract for frescos in the Duomo of Genoa is dated Jan. 2. 1461, and is published in Santo Varni, *Comun. delle opere di Matteo Civitali in "Atti delle Soc. Ligure di storia Patria"* Vol. IV. 1—34. — The frescos in the Carmine of Pavia are now obliterated; they bore the inscription "Vincētiūs Foppa pinxit 1462" (Ribolini in Calvi, *Notizie*, u. s. parte II. p. 63).

³ The Pietà in S. Pietro in Gessate at Milan was assigned by Sormanni (cit. in Calvi) to Bramantino. It is described at length by Albuzio (ms. of last century cited by Calvi, *Notizie*, parte II. p. 63) as

Foppa's. It hung over the altar of the first chapel to the left of the portal. — Foppa valued the frescos of the Castello of Porta Giovia with the assistance of Stefano de' Magistri, Gio. Batt. Montorfano and Christoforo Moretto. See the documents in Calvi u. s. parte II. pp. 66, 98, 247—8, by which the date of the event is fixed at an interval between 1467 and 1476.

In the style of the S. Sebastian at the Brera is a life size figure of a female martyr in an arched recess of a house (inner court) at No. 9. Piazza San Sepolero in Milan. The work is greatly injured and abraded.

⁴ Genoa, Ufficio di San Giorgio, *Manuale di Decreti* del 1471 al 1474.

vere, then bishop of Savona, chose Foppa and Brea to paint a picture in the cathedral of his see.

It has not been ascertained exactly when Foppa received this order; but a letter written to him during the winter of 1489 in the name of the ducal government urges in terms of unnecessary rudeness the completion of a chapel in the Duomo of Savona; and the altarpiece may have been commissioned immediately before¹. Since its first exhibition, it has found its way in an injured condition into Santa Maria di Castello at Savona, and bears the date of 1489. We are accustomed to the monumental shape of works of this kind in North Italy; but more taste and delicacy of ornament might have been expected from a man of Foppa's training. Six large panels are inclosed in a heavy framing of pilasters, the outermost of which are sunk into niches containing statuettes. Half lengths — twelve in number — fill arched openings in a frieze above the first course. A storied tabernacle rises from the centre of the frieze; and wooden saints stand on the pinnacles. In the central panel, the virgin sits enthroned under a guard of angels with the infant Christ blessing the bishop of Savona; at the sides are the Baptist and Evangelist. In the second and third courses are the Doctors of the church and the Evangelists. A predella contains the decollation, the dance, the Epiphany, the Vision of Patmos and the Evangelist rising out of the cauldron. The Madonna and the left side of the altarpiece are Foppa's; and it is a striking feature in those parts that they display a style much akin to that of Bramantino Suardi, Buttinone, and Zenale. Yet when compared with the best creations of those masters, the Savona altarpiece has a distinct originality and greater

July 12, 1471. 1^o. Receipt of V. de Foppa for 40 duc. in advance for painting the chapel of S. J. the Bapt., 2^o. 1474. Receipt of the same for 10 ducats. — See the original in L. T. Belgrano's contribution to *L'Arte in Italia*. Fol.

Florence 1869. Dispensa V. There is reason to doubt that Foppa ever painted anything in the chapel (see the same authorities).

¹ Erasmo Triluzio to Vincenzo Foppa. Nov. 3. 1489, in Calvi, *Notizie*, parte II. p. 66.

power. A mild expressiveness adorns faces of soft and regular mould; and the saints, of long and slender stature, recall those of Foppa in his earlier period. Perspective of successful application gives reality to foreshortenings and architecture; and in such fragments as preserve their old patina, the colour is light and warmly blended, whilst the vestment tints retain traces of vivid richness. The predella is grimed to indistinctness; but what we know to be Foppa's proves that, in the course of years he had shaken off the roughness of his earlier Mantegnesque form and gained that general sort of mastery which accompanies long practise and observation¹. The style of the Savona altarpiece is so characteristic that it enables us to class amongst Foppa's genuine productions pictures hitherto ascribed to Bramantino such as the Adoration of the kings which wandered from the Fesch and Bromley collections to the National Gallery and a fresco of the Virgin and child between two kneeling prophets, dated 1485 at the Brera. Bramantino's figures rarely possess the staidness

¹ Savona, S. M. di Castello. We have alluded to this altarpiece as an alleged work of Catena (see ante, History of painting in North Italy I. p. 248), P. Tommaso Tortoroli, in his Monumenti di Pittura, Scultura etc. di Savona. 8°. Savona 1847, pp. 85 and following, having assigned it to that painter and having in addition transcribed the inscription: "ANNO SALVTIS IC90 DIE AVGVSTI. IVL. EPS OS.IEN. CARDIN. P. AD VINCULA. MAIOREM NITENT. VIN... CATENA. PINSIT." On reference to the picture itself it appears that Tortoroli wilfully forged the name of Catena. There are two inscriptions on the altarpiece, one on the central panel as follows: ANNO SALVTIS 1490 DIE O... AVGVSTI.. IVL. EPS. OSTIEN. CARD. P. AD VI.VCVLA. MAIO... NITENT. VINCENCIVS. PINXIT" — the other on a book in the panel containing S. John

the Evangelist as follows: "Ludovicus brea niciensi pinxit hæc partè 1490 die X augusti cõplecta". — The condition of Foppa's portion of the altarpiece is this. In the lunette, the red dress of S. John is all repainted — that of S. Matthew on the contrary is preserved; but the flesh of the St. Matthew is but one modern smear. Similarly treated are the S. Jerom and S. Gregory in the next lower course, but in the latter figure there are intact bits in the white tunic and the gilt embroidery of the pivial. Both these figures are seated. The Baptist on the principal course is all new and repainted. The head of the Madonna is retouched and more or less the whole of the panel, which in many places is almost black. The best preserved parts are the angels playing instruments and the carpet at the Virgin's feet. All the backgrounds are new — the nimbus raised and gilt.

which accompanies those of Foppa. His outline is more curt and incisive, his drapery more sharply cornered; and these are subtle differences, the more necessary to observe as Bramantino took something from Foppa's works.

The adoration at the National Gallery is marked by those very peculiarities which distinguished Foppa from Bramantino. Composed on the pyramidal principle, its blended colours are light and clear, and its groups are made up of slender shapes, like those of the Savona altarpiece. Fifteenth century taste appears in the slight embossment of the ornamental detail and gilding¹.

The Brera fresco is still more in Foppa's style, — a fragment torn from the wall to which it was affixed and cracked miserably, yet of wonderful surface still. We admire the accuracy and freedom of the outline, the blending of the half tones and shadows in flesh and the vividness of the tints of dresses. The virgin supports the seated child on the coloured cloth of a table, resting her finger on a book. Two prophets with scrolls kneel on consoles at her side. An arch in fine perspective neatly picked out in coloured marbles is inlaid with medallions. The fresco is carried out with great ease of hand, and fully imbued with Foppa's feeling. His gentleness and calm expressiveness are apparent in the Virgin; his pleasant cast of form in the infant Christ; a certain dryness or smallness, disfigures the prophets. The art presented to us in a mutilated aspect at Savona appears in the fullness of its strength and not without a touch of those modern charms which adorn Luini or Borgognone².

¹ London National Gallery No. 729. Wood 7 f. 10. h. by 6 f. 11. tempera whole figures, small life size. The impact is fluid yet substantial. As a technical curiosity we note the grey dress of the king whose spurs a page removes. The surface was gilt and painted over, and the lights struck off afterwards by the removal of the paint from the gold.

² Milan. Brera School of Architecture. The fresco is injured by a serpentine split in the plaster and by abrasion of the background; and the prophet to the left is discoloured by eruptions of salt. On the consoles upon which the prophets kneel we read: "MCCCCLXXXV PIE X OCTV B." The figures are but little under life size.

When Foppa, in his old age, returned to Brescia to pluck the reward of a long and industrious life, he painted frescos in conspicuous situations and in numerous churches. Much — the greater part — of what he did perished but the four Evangelists and Doctors at the Carmine though faded to an extraordinary degree display the style which we saw at Savona, London, and the Brera¹.

It seems that Foppa preserved a very grateful recollection of a city in which he had spent some fortunate years of his youth. At the very time of his squabble with the agents of Giuliano della Rovere he was in treaty with Brescia for a new grant of citizenship, offering to reside there permanently with the privilege of decorating the public edifices and opening a school. His petition to that effect and the votes of the Brescian council in his favour have been preserved and bear date in 1489 and 1490. He accepted a yearly grant of 100 livres clogged with no more severe conditions, than that when he went away on leave, he should not practise outside the town. The first official work to which he was called in November 1490 was a fresco in the Southern side or *logetta* of the

¹ Brescia — Carmine. 3^d chapel to the right after entering the portal. Here are four Evangelists and four Doctors in the angles of a ceiling, much injured, but, in such small parts as remain untouched, of a warm colouring. The crucified Saviour of the same series (on the altar) is quite renewed. (Comp. Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 341 and O. Rossi, *Elogi Historici-Bresc.* 8^o. Brescia 1620. p. 508.)

Amongst the works at Brescia assigned to Vincenzo Foppa, one representing S. Ursula and her Virgins attended by Peter and Paul was long in San Pietro and is now in the house of the rector of the Seminario. It is not by Foppa but by Antonio da Murano (see *antea* Vol. I. p. 30). The Trinity in S. Piero is cited as a companion picture to S. Ursula by Ridolfi (*Marav.* I. 341), and O. Rossi

(*Elogi* u. s. 508), but is now missing. A long series of frescos in the suppressed church of San Salvatore is by the younger Vincenzo Foppa. Another series in the suppressed church of San Barnaba, bearing the date of 1490, represents scenes from the lives of S. Augustin and members of the Hermit order. It is in very bad condition particularly on account of modern repaints, but the general character of the compositions is not such as to justify us in attributing them to Foppa, and they are by some inferior Lombard hands, perhaps by assistants to Foppa in his old age. A Christ carrying his cross, attributed to Vincenzo Foppa the elder in the Tosi collection at Brescia, is a poor modern copy of some picture by the younger Foppa.

old Piazza which long since perished. He died in 1492 and was buried in San Barnaba of Brescia.¹

As immediate successors to Foppa at Milan we number Buttinone, Zenale, and Bramantino; and if it were necessary to follow a rigid chronology, we should first sketch the lives of the former; but Bramantino is by far the most interesting person in the annals of local Milanese art; his connection with Bramante is not clear, and it is desirable to throw some light on these and other points respecting which much confusion exists.

Of Bramante's residence in Central and Northern Italy there is little reliable information. His birth, though usually assigned to 1444 is a matter of conjecture; his master is unknown; and proofs of his early training are altogether wanting.² But tradition gives him a residence

¹ We owe to the kindness of Signor P. da Ponte of Brescia a record dated Nov. 26. 1490, in which V. F. acknowledges the receipt of payment for paintings done, "super pariete a meridie parte" in the Loggetta of the Piazza Vecchia. From the same source a permission of leave for a month to visit Pavia, under the conditions placed in the text (but compare Calvi, Not. P. II. 68, and Zamboni (B.), *Memorie intorno alle pubb. fab. di Brescia*. 8°. Brescia 1778. p. 32), and finally a petition dated Dec. 18. 1489, in which certain citizens of Brescia pray for the grant of Foppa's offer, 'to repatriate and exercise the arts of painting and architecture.' Zamboni u. s. preserves Foppa's epitaph in San Barnaba as follows: "EXCELLENTIS AC EXIMIÏ PICTORIS VINCENTII DE FOPPIS CIV. BRIXIE 1492."

In addition to the above the following is a list of works of which no account can now be given. Brescia, S. Faustino, Fresco of the Passion (Luigi Chizzola, Guida di Brescia. 8°. Brescia

1760. p. 30). S. Girolamo, Christ taken to Calvary (ib. p. 38). S. Niccola, a Holy Family with S. Nicholas of Tolentino (ib. p. 65). A Christ carrying his cross met by S. Veronica with the cloth (ib. p. 65). S. Clemente, frescos of saints at the sides of a sculptured Saviour on the cross (ib. p. 130). S. M. in Calcehera. Lanfranco appearing in a vision to Paolo Oriani. O. Rossi (Elogi Hist. di Bresciani. 4°. Brescia MDCXX. p. 202). Ognissanti, Christ going to Calvary, S. Veronica and other Saints (ib. p. 141). Bergamo, S. M. delle Grazie. Distemper, Madonna attended by four Saints in niches (Anonimo ed. Morelli p. 52).

² Vas. (VII. 138—9) says Bramante died (1515) aged 70; he pretends that his master was Fra Carnovale. The earliest work of Bramante according to his biographers is Santa Maria della Risatta near Urbania (Castel Durante) [compare Pungileoni, *Mem. int. alla vita di Bramante*. 8°. Rome 1836. 14. Pagave, *Memorie per la vita di Bramante*. M. S. in the Ambrosiana of Milan] but Heinrich von Geymüller confirms our belief

at Faenza in 1474 and a wavering chronology affixes the date of 1486 to faded frescos in Bergamo.¹ Nothing is certain except Bramante's presence at Milan in 1487. Under these circumstances we are bound to receive with suspicious caution all that is stated respecting him as a beginner. When we stand on the vantage ground of records we find that he was known as an architect and engineer; yet we learn from various sources that he practised as a painter. If we had confirmatory proof of a statement recently made that the municipality of Pavia refused in 1487 to carry out Bramante's design for a new duomo, because its adoption would have been too costly, we should attribute great importance to it as showing that at the earliest known date of Bramante's stay in Milan he was capable of the highest duties to which an architect of any period can be called.² Of Bramante's visit to Pavia in 1488 in connection with the new Duomo we have distinct evidence in the accounts which describe his journey thither.³ After 1488, Bramante built the sacristy of San Satiro at Milan;⁴ in 1491 he took part in one of the consultations to

(private communication) that little absolutely characteristic of Bramante can be discovered in this simple octagon edifice.

¹ Pagave, *Ms. Pungileoni* u. s. 26. *Calvi* u. s. P. II. 5. The Anonimo ed. Morelli p. 47 registers as works of B. a Pietà in S. Pancrazio which Pasta believed to be by Lorenzo Lotto (*Pasta, Pitture di Bergamo* p. 52, cit. in Anon. p. 181), and allegorical figures "done circa 1486" in the Palazzo del Podestà. On the latter edifice, now the public library there are traces or spots of fresco; and one head—of an angel—might justify the date given; but the fragment is too small to justify us in drawing any conclusions as to the author of the painting.

² *Calvi* (u. s. II. 155 and 178) cites as authority the *MS. Memorie* of the Milanese Albuzzio. Pungi-

leoni u. s. pp. 71—2 mentions a section drawing preserved at Pavia, and copies the signature upon it, but we cannot vouch for the originality of either.

³ *Pungil.* u. s. p. 72.

⁴ Compare the concurrent testimony of Cesare Cesariano, *Vitruv. Com. translato in volgare*. Fol. Milan 1521. pp. V. and LXX. and Anon. ed. Morelli p. 40. But that he also should be the architect of San Satiro, is not proved by these authorities. See also Lomazzo, *Trattato* p. 97; — Vas. XI. 270; and the records cited in *Raccolta di Varie Lettere* etc. di Alessandro Astesani. 89. Milano 1810. pp. 20—36. De Pagave in his life of Bramante *MS.* u. s. cites Astesani's records, adds others of his own and strives without success to extract from them that Bramante was the architect of San Satiro. The

which the erection of the cathedral periodically gave rise; in the following years, at the request of Lodovico Sforza, on whose behalf he had already reported on engineering works at Ossola, he began the cloisters or *canonica* of Sant' Ambrogio.¹ Later commissions were given for building the choir and sacristy of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and for running a covered way from the town wall to the counterscarp of the Milan citadel.²

Bramante's edifices so far as they are certified to be his, are in classic style. His art was that which received its first polish from Piero della Francesca and Lauranna, and charmed the taste of Perugino and Raphael. Whether it was all his own before he came to Milan is hard, even now, to say. Vasari attributes his success as a perspective draughtsman and designer to the teaching of Bramantino and to a close study of Milanese church forms, but there is grave cause to doubt the correctness of these statements.³ His talents were certainly recognized at the close of the century by the greatest of the Florentines; and the genius which he subsequently displayed at Rome justified the favourable opinion of Da Vinci.⁴

But whilst Bramante practised as an architect and engineer, he did not as we might infer from Vasari's narrative, abandon painting altogether. On his first visit to Rome Alexander the VIth employed him to draw his escutcheon, and there is every reason to believe that this class of adornment was one to which he was accustomed.⁵ It was well known in fact that he had decorated the fronts of several mansions at Milan, that he had made drawings

controversy can only be solved by a close study of Bramante's style of which we cannot claim to be competent judges at present.

¹ See the extracts from the accounts in de Pagave-MS., and Pungileoni u. s. pp. 18, 76, and 78.

² Serviliano Latuada, *Descriz. di Milano* IV. 373. Astesani u. s. p. 26. Frat. G. Ravegnati *Mediol. ord. Pred.*, *Historia cenobii Div.*

Mar. gratiarum p. 35. MS. cit. in *Pag. M. S. u. s.* Pungileoni u. s. p. 20. Anon. u. s. p. 39. Ces. Casariano *Vitruv. P.* XXI. à tergo.

³ Vas. XI. 270.

⁴ Da Vinci in one of his MS. Sketchbooks notes: "Edificii di Bramante." Amoretti, *Mem. Stor. di Lionardo da Vinci.* 8^o. Milan 1804. p. 79.

⁵ Vas. VII. 129.

for prints, and even, that he had completed pictures. Four Evangelists in a Milanese church were long preserved as examples of his boldness in foreshortening. His bust portraits of Pietro Suola and other captains, his allegorical full lengths; — Democritus, as “the laughing philosopher”, and “Heraclitus in tears” were celebrated ornaments of the Panigarola—Prinetti Palace; nor was it favour, but sterling merit that recommended him to the Panigarola family, from whose ranks an architect arose in the 16th century only less known than Bramante himself.¹ It is a source of no small regret that of all Bramante’s pictorial creations nothing else should remain but the smeared fragments in the Panigarola residence of which little more can be said than that they were originally of Umbro-Florentine character, and that they still scent of the styles of Melozzo, Santi, and Signorelli.² One print, of which two impressions exist, gives a fair idea of his manner. It represents a chapel with a monument in the centre of the floor and persons kneeling, standing, or on horseback in 15th century costume. The architecture differs little from that of Bramante’s Milanese edifices, and the detail is like that of Caradosso; whilst the figures are Umbrian or Lombard in shape and action.³

But this very same class of architecture and similar moulds of form are observed in frescos or panels assigned to a certain period of Bramantino’s career, and this fact

¹ Lomazzo, *Trattato*, pp. 227. 270 and 384, cites as by Bramante of Urbino, the four Evangelists (now under whitewash) in Santa M. della Scala at Milan; figures on the façade of a mansion in the Piazza de’ Mercanti, and frescos in the Panigarola palace in the same city. As to Ottaviano Panigarola, the architect, see notices of him in Cesariano’s *Vitruvius* u. s. p. CX. a. t. and in Anon. ed. Morelli pp. 173—4.

² Milan Casa Prinetti, formerly Panigarola. What remains of the

subjects noticed in the text is retouched and disfigured with varnishes. The proportions are those of life.

³ The two copies of this print, of which a line engraving is in Rosini’s history, are in the British Museum and in the Casa Perego at Milan. On the plinth of the monument in the centre of the chapel are the words:

“BRAMANTV
S FECIT
IN MLO.”

alone leads us to conclude that Suardi, though he was first taught in the local schools of Milan, afterwards became journeyman to Bramante.

Bramantino was christened Bartolommeo by his father "Dominus" Albertus of Porta Orientale in the parish of Santa Babilla at Milan; and in notarial records of the 16th century he bore the name of "Bramantino de' Suardis."¹ He lived a life of many vicissitudes, visited many centres of artistic culture, and assimilated many styles — studying first in the antiquated schools, then with Foppa; purifying his manner at last under the influence of Bramante, Leonardo, and the moderns. It is credible that previous to Bramante's settlement in the Lombard capital Suardi was a master builder and painter. It is probably untrue that Bramante owed anything to his teaching. At a certain period, and under circumstances now obscure, he became Bramante's assistant.² We may fancy that matters befel in this wise, that Bramante, being in the enjoyment of a most extensive practise, was unable to attend personally to the whole of it and that he occasionally substituted Caradosso when called upon for sculptural and Suardi when called upon for pictorial, decorations. The result of this, unfortunately, was that Suardi received the *soubriquet* of Bramantino, and annalists learned to confound the works of Bramante with those of his Milanese subordinate. Controversy first took place on points of authorship, it soon extended, and with great acrimony, to the question whether Milan had not given birth to more than one Bramantino.³

¹ See minute of a contract under date 1513 — postea. The name too is "Bartolommeo, detto Bramantino Milanese", in Lomazzo (Idea p. 14) "Bartholomeo seu Bramantino" in Cæsariano (Vitruv. lib. 3, p. XLVIII a t.). But that Bramantino's name was Suardi was known to Sormanni. (Milano 1752. Vol. I. p. 156.)

² "Sotto lui (Mantegna) e sotto V. Foppa e Bramante divennero famosi B. Zenale et Buttinone, Bra-

mantino . . ." (Lomazzo, Idea p. 132). "Fiori doppo lui (Bramante) Bartolommeo detto Bramantino Milanese suo discepolo" (Lomazzo, Idea p. 14). "Che dopo lui (Bramantino) Bramante divenisse . . . eccellente nelle cose di architettura, essendo che le prime cose che studiò Bramante furono quelle di Bramantino" (Vas. XI. 270).

³ De Pagave in his MS. life of Bramante (Ambrosiana) argues in favour of the existence of an old

The chief offender and primary cause of confusion was Vasari, and in order to clear up the mystery which he created we must listen to what he says in certain passages. Speaking of Piero della Francesca in the first edition of the lives he remarks: "that Nicholas the Vth took Piero to Rome where he designed two subjects in the upper *camere* of the palace in competition with *Bramantino of Milan* — subjects which were broken up by (order of) Julius the II^d together with others by *Bramantino of Milan*," an excellent painter of those days, to make room for Raphael's prison of St. Peter and miracle of Bolsena. But, he continues, as I cannot write the history of *this man* nor describe his works which have perished, it does not seem to me unnecessary, since the occasion presents itself, to make note of him as I have heard that the portraits which perished with his frescos in the *Camere* were so natural and so fine that they only wanted speech to give them life. Of these a large number were perpetuated by Raphael who ordered to be copied, — amongst others, the likenesses of Niccolò Fortebraccio, Charles the VIIth of France, Francesco Carmignuola, Giovanni Vitellesco, Cardinal Bessarion, Francesco Spinola, Battista da Cannetto, — all of which were given to Giovio by Giulio Romano, the pupil and heir of Raphael of Urbino, and by Giovio were placed in his museum at Como. I have seen, he adds at Milan above the door of San Sepolcro a dead Christ, foreshortened, by the same, in which though the whole figure hardly surpasses one *braccio* in size it goes to the verge of the possible as regards freedom of hand and appropriate treatment. By the same again and in the same city are *camere* and *logge* in the house of the "Marchesino" Ostanesia with many things done with skill

Bramantino of Milan, whom he calls "Agostino di Bramantino Milanese." The same theory is strangely countenanced by one of the commentators to the latest edition of Vasari's lives (Vas. XI. 279) and by Passavant (Kunstblatt

No. 68, anno 1838). But there is nothing more certain than that Agostino di Bramantino is a pupil of Suardi, and properly called "discepolo di Bramantino" in Lomazzo's Trattato (pp. 270 and 681).

and power especially of foreshortening; and outside the Porta Vercellina, near the Castello, he drew on certain stables now ruined and destroyed ostlers rubbing down horses, one of which was so lifelike and so well done that another horse taking that one to be alive was constantly in the habit of kicking at him."¹

In the second or Giuntina version of Vasari the words "Bramantino of Milan" in the first sentence are altered to "Bramante of Milan"; and this reading prevailed in all subsequent editions.

Numerous writers gathered from Vasari's words that history was bound to recognize Bramante or Bramantino of Milan the contemporary of Piero della Francesca under the Pontificate of Nicholas the Vth (1447—55) and Bramantino who lived in the Pontificate of Julius the II^d, neither of whom was to be confounded with Bramante of Urbino, the architect of San Pietro at Rome.² Yet in that part of his book which Vasari devoted to the Lombards we find a sufficient correction of his previous assertion when he says that Bramantino having been employed in the Camere at Rome by Nicholas the Vth returned to Milan to paint the Christ above the portal of San Sepolcro³ thus giving us to understand that Bramante or Bramantino of Milan, the alleged companion of Piero della Francesca, and Bramantino who worked at the Camere in the Pontificate of Julius the II^d, were one person. This very material correction had but one fault, it involved Vasari in a glaring error of chronology, as the same artist could scarcely have been in the pay of Nicholas the Vth and Julius the II^d who lived half a century apart. The real solution, we may consider to be this that Vasari did not intend to convey, though he may accidentally have done so, that the person whom he calls Bramante

¹ Vasari, Vite. Firenze 1550. Torrentino Vol. I. p. 361.

² The latest of these authors is Calvi, who in Notizie P. II. pp.

1—28 writes a life of old Bramantino out of the materials for the life of Suardi.

³ Vas. XI. 268—9.

or Bramantino da Milano competed with Piero della Francesca under Nicholas the Vth, the gist of both his statements when taken in conjunction being that one painter — a Milanese — executed frescos in the Camere where Francesca had once laboured, and that these frescos were taken down at Julius the II^d bidding when Raphael came to Rome. We shall find the more reason to accept this explanation, because the pictures attributed to the Bramantini of Milan are of the close of the 15th century and assignable to one person; and there is no documentary evidence of the existence of two Bramantes or two Bramantinos at different times. There is more apparent than real plausibility in the proof which some authors like Calvi adduce for believing in old Bramantino of Milan. He ascribes to that fabulous personage a fragment in Sant' Ambrogio of Milan and supports his theory by the assumption that the date on one of the walls is 1428. But few will accept this reading of the date in preference to that of 1498 which is the more probable one; and we may agree that the frescos in question are by Zenale.¹

Amongst the earlier productions which traditionally pass for works of Bramantino one or two have an antiquated air which gives them a fictitious stamp of age. One is a crucifixion, much injured by repaints in the Municipio, which for centuries lay in the church of Sant' Angelo at Milan: the other is a circumcision in bad condition at the Louvre, which once belonged to the Milanese convent of the Oblati. It would be difficult to find two pieces more strongly impressed with Lombard character than these and we may justly express surprise that any one should accept the author as a worthy rival of the great Francesca. But we may go further and say that nothing in these pictures discourages the belief that they were painted by Bartolommeo Suardi. As to the time in which they were produced, the date of 1491 on

¹ Calvi, Notizie. P. II. p. 12. See postea in Zenale.

the circumcision gives us a most decided clue, and the crucifixion was finished but a few years earlier.

As an example of an art, which if we may not admire, we can at least dissect, the crucifixion is most valuable and affords a proof of the low powers which supported certain Lombard craftsmen at the close of the 15th century. Christ, crucified between the thieves is adored by St. Francis, St. Catherine and St. Buonaventura; whilst the Virgin faints in the arms of the holy women and John the Evangelist looks up as the soldiers dice for the garment. The figures are coarsely vulgar, illproportioned, bony, and badly drawn. The square and massive heads — some of them with copious serpentine locks — offer a variety of type which clung to the Lombards till after Leonardo's time. The drapery, of deep harsh tone, is broken into numerous and very acute angles; and the surface has the raw and sombre gloss which distinguishes the period of transition from tempera to oil mediums. In the distance of high pointed hills, giving room to a mere patch of sky, there are Roman edifices and Roman personages such as are seen in the landscapes of the Christian miniaturists; and reminiscences of the same traditional habits are suggested by the lines of gilding on the dresses, buildings, and background. One feature characterizes this as it does all the works of Suardi. A cross light reflected from below breaks each body into well defined parts, the greatest breadth of space being in halftone, whilst light and shade are reduced to streaks.¹

With more skill in drawing and better selection of masks and proportions, the circumcision is more resolute in touch and drawn with less massive outlines than the crucifixion, but by the same painter in a later phase of his progress. It is a votive altarpiece representing the

¹ Milan, Municipio (S. Angelo is suppressed). Wood, arched tempera, figures under life size, greatly injured by coarse repaints. This crucifixion, which P'assavant rightly

conjectures to be by Suardi (Kunstblatt No. 68, anno 1838) is assigned by Calvi, Notiz. (P. II. pp. 7 and foll.) to "old Bramantino".

performance of the well known rite in presence of S^t. Jerom, S^t. Catherine and two bishops. The infant, in its mother's arms, shrinks in terror from the high priest, whilst father Lampugnano, in the white robes of the Umigliati, kneels at the Virgin's feet. What there is of affected grace in the Virgin's pressure of the child seems partially derived from Leonardo, but the raw and dusky grey of the complexions, and the harsh contrasts of vestment tints are reminiscences of the older Lombards. Peculiar to Suardi is the projection of sunrays all but parallel to the plane of the picture and the consequent predominance of shade over light.¹

It is unknown when the Christ of pity above the portal of San Sepolcro at Milan was finished. Lomazzo, who copied it and wrote a sonnet in its praise, speaks of the foreshortening of the limbs of the Saviour as perfect and seems justified in his encomiums by the warm sentences of Vasari. Unhappily, when the fresco was taken down in 1713 and sealed anew into its place the lower parts were so injured that it was thought advisable to remove them. As the piece now stands, Christ is supported up to his middle in the tomb by the Virgin, John the Evangelist und Mary Magdalen; whilst Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea stand back in the character of spectators. Behind the group, distant Golgotha appears through the opening of an arch. The form of Bramantino's art, in this as in earlier examples, is not to be mistaken. The flanking light which remains a salient feature is made more than usually telling by the care with which re-

¹ Louvre Musée Napoléon III. No. 189. Wood. M. 1. 35 h. by 2. 23. originally belonging to the Oblati of the Canonica in Porta Nuova at Milan (Ms. life of Suardi, by de Pagave at the Ambrosiana) inscribed on the hexagonal pedestal of the Virgin's throne: "ANNO 1491 FR IA LAPVGNANVS PP IYMIL CAN." Two vertical splits disfigure the panel, which, besides,

is unevenly cleaned and restored, so that the general tone remains inharmonious. The shadows are very dark. Particularly repainted is the white robe of the kneeling patron and the red one of the kneeling high priest. According to de Pagave, this picture had an upper course in which the Eternal was represented between two angels.

flections are introduced, whilst additional attraction is produced by tones more free from rusty sombreness than before. A welcome concentration of power is found in the clever setting of the figures, in the flow and accent of contour, in the marking of flesh projection by hatchings. Fore-shortening is well carried out, and drapery of papery break looks studied in its detail. Comparatively select proportions distinguish the Saviour from the personages of vulgar clay, and flexibility is successfully imparted to his frame. With all these improvements Lombard type is preserved in the mould of the heads, in their homely realism of expression and their serpentine tresses.¹

Thus far Bramantino exhibits the progress that was to be expected from a Milanese craftsman rising by industry and patient labour out of the ruck of his class. It is quite possible that a man with the feeble talents exhibited in the crucifixion of Sant' Angelo should in the course of years rise to the comparative excellence of the circumcision at the Louvre. It is also possible that under the personal superintendence of Vincenzo Foppa, or by a judicious study of Foppa's works Suardi acquired the skill which we discern in the Pietà of San Sepolero.

We shall now accompany Bramantino's progress as new influences reacted on his style; we shall see that whilst preserving his individuality he became possessed of a taste for architectural ornament of a purer standard than that to which he was first accustomed; that certain affectations of posture and action crept in to stamp his impersonations with another feeling. We shall find in fact that he was under the charm of Umbrian polish, the polish, no doubt, of Bramante.

To this period we shall assign the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the church of that saint at Milan, a picture to which something has been added in substance by repaints, but in which so much of the Umbrian is com-

¹ Milan, San Sepolero. Fresco, with figures of life size in a grotesque framing of the last century. See Vas. u. s. and Lomazzo, Trattato 272, and Grotteschi. — In a sonnet in the latter he states that he copied the Pietà for Philip the II^d of Spain.

mingled with the Milanese that Lanzi and others inclined to consider it by Bramante. The most conspicuous peculiarity in it is that with which we are most familiar in Suardi; and the cross light with the narrow strips of sun and deep shadow which run in shimmering lines along the frame of St. Sebastian are contrasted with most carefully wrought reflections. The saint stands on a pedestal in front of the pilaster of a classic colonnade through which a landscape of Umbrian line appears. His proportions and pose are alike good; his form is modelled with a finish hitherto unknown to Suardi. In the four archers in stilted posture who shoot or have shot their arrows, action is better felt than rendered, but even in this we detect the painter's effort to create something more delicate and select than of yore. The quiver and fragments of cornice on the floor, the pedestal as well as the pilaster of the archway all reveal study of the classic as contradistinguished from the antiquated embellishments of the crucifixion of Sant' Angelo.¹

We may believe that Suardi now began really to deserve the name of Bramantino which he owed either to his fondness for Bramante's style, or, as we should more readily believe, to his aptitude for carrying out the pictorial designs of that artist. More than ever it was the fashion to combine the sister arts in edifices, either by executing ornament simulating plastic relief, or reliefs in the midst of pictorial adornments. Bramante, we saw, was one of those who accepted commissions of this kind in conjunction with others for building and fortification. It was a natural consequence of his rising importance in all these branches that he should require assistants, and it might

¹ Milan, S. Sebastiano. Wood, figures of life size. A winged angel flies down to the saint. The colouring can scarcely be judged of so heavily is the picture repainted, but is of glossy texture with dark warm shadows, the dresses of deep strong tone. Lanzi (II. 472) following Carlo Torre (Ritratto di Milano. 4^o. 1674. p. 145) gives this picture to Bramante. Calvi (Notiz. P. II. p. 10) gives it to "old Bramantino."

appear to him, that amongst these assistants Suardi was the best. It seems, indeed, not unlikely that we owe to this period of Suardi's connection with Bramante the designs on the front of the mansion known in olden time as the Casa Scaccabarozza, called by Lomazzo Casa de' Pirrovani and known at the present day as the Casa Castiglione. This house was supposed by Calvi — the ablest and also the most recent art historian of Milan — to date from the year 1465, because, amongst the portraits of the Milanese dukes and duchesses which it contains, the latest are those of Francesco and Bianca Sforza; but this is an argument of little weight, even to those who hold — as Calvi holds — that old Bramantino really existed. The building was no doubt adorned at the close of the century, and probably during the reign of Lodovico Moro, with frescos. Of four allegories representing Amphion, Janus, the Pô and the "valour of Italy" little or nothing remains: but an architrave beneath the first story windows is finely filled in with monochrome foliage on blue ground; and a frieze beneath the eaves contains rounds parted by fanciful impersonations of deities and monsters and gambols of children. Medallions in arch spandrels inside the building comprise busts of Caesars and likenesses of the Visconti and Sforza; and one of the rooms on the ground floor has an upper frieze in which nymphs, captains, monsters, fountains and arabesques are cleverly commingled. There is much in the manner of this decoration to remind us of the Bramantesque, more to recall the individuality of Suardi; and it is not a little striking to find a man who began with so little promise, not only producing designs both graceful in thought, and spirited in execution, but figures equally well proportioned and foreshortened. Though form is rendered with some dryness and angularity, it is marked with considerable force, and the treatment is at once free and resolute. Characteristic again is the projection of light from below with complicated reflections and reverberations; whilst skill is shown in defining outlines on the sunny side by

the shadows cast on the surface next them.¹ An artist at this height of his practise was precisely fitted to assist Bramante when, wandering from Milan after the fall of Lodovico Sforza, he courted employment at the Vatican; and it is not improbable that very shortly after Bramante had settled at Rome and discovered that a noble career was open to him, he called his old disciples to his side and offered to share with them some of his new prosperity. In their uncertainty as to the fate of Lombardy under French rule, they too might have reason to rejoice that such an offer had been made.

At all events Bartolommeo Suardi, who was now very commonly known as Bramantino visited Rome in the first years of the 16th century and received the same patronage as was extended to Bazzi, Peruzzi, Signorelli, Pinturicchio and Perugino. He was employed by Julius the II^d in the Camera dell' Eliodoro, and, though historians neglected to describe the subjects of his frescos, they told how the portraits which adorned them were copied at Raphael's request before he took them down to clear the walls for the prison of S. Peter and the miracle of Bolsena.²

A sketch book at the Ambrosiana containing elevations and measurements of Florentine and Roman buildings has of late years been assigned to Bramantino on account of its style and of the Milanese dialect in which the explanatory notes are written. Vasari mentions a book of the same kind in which Bramantino drew many of the monuments of Milan and Pavia. That of the Ambrosiana induces us to believe that Bramantino was at Rome as early as the opening of the century. He alludes in one

¹ Milan, Casa Castiglione. These frescos are assigned by Calvi (Notizie. P. II. 16) to old Bramantino. They are, we may believe, by Suardi; and if Suardi were assisted by any one, it would be by Bramante of Urbino giving him sketches and designs. The frescos are attributed to "Bramantino" by Vasari (XI. 270) and by Lo-

mazzo (Trattato p. 271), the same who in his "Idea" (p. 117) gives them to "Bramante". The cause which may explain the destruction of several figures in the mansion are given by Calvi (u. s. 18) who proves how the front was altered in 1651.

² Vas. VIII. 14, and IV. 17.

of the pages to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and thus incidentally proves that his notes were made before the conclave of 1503 which raised Giuliano to the papal chair. In 1507 Bramantino was still at Rome, the client of Bramante, the casual associate of Caesariano, Signorelli and Pinturicchio, and it is highly improbable that he should have returned to Milan before the French were expelled from Lombardy by the Spaniards and by Julius the II^d. Whilst returning to the North after the occurrence of that mighty event he doubtless made those sketches of Florentine monuments which fill some pages of the Ambrosiana sketchbook and renewed acquaintance with da Vinci, whose name he wrote on one of the margins.¹

During the last years of his stay in Rome Bramantino might have found it hard to struggle against the superiority of numerous and very able rivals, had it not been that, in a city frequented by Italians of many provinces, he could always reckon on support from Milanese patrons. We have a curious instance of the steadiness with which men of the same districts clung to each other in the relations which were kept up between Bramantino and the Cistercians after his return to Lombardy. The Cistercians of Rome were affiliated to the monastery of Chiaravalle near Milan; and in 1513 rather than employ a Roman painter they instructed their brethren to contract with Bramantino for a picture. A draught minute under date, the 28th of September 1513 is still preserved in the record office of the notaries of Milan in which the Cistercians of Chiaravalle promise to pay to Bartolommeo commonly known as Bramantino de' Suardis of the Porta Orientale the sum of eighty ducats for a dead Christ in

¹ Milan, Library of the Ambrosiana. The cardinal of San Pietro in Vinculis — della Rovere — is mentioned in the annotations of the 2^d page. There are sketches of the Baptistery of Florence at pp. 41 and 75. Most of the sketches are from Roman buildings. See also Calvi, *Notizie*. P. II, p. 6,

and Vasari's description of Bramantino's book of drawings, once in possession of Valerio Vicentino (XI. 269—70). See also Lomazzo, *Trattato* p. 407. Temanza, *life of Sansovino* p. 6. Vasari XIII p. 73, and C. Caesariano, *Vitruv. u. s.* p. XLVIII. a tergo.

the lap of the Virgin with attendant saints. The *Pietà* then ordered was sent to Rome and filled a place of honour on the high altar of San Sabba, being subsequently transferred to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, after the translation of the Cistercians to that church. At Santa Croce the *Pietà* lay forgotten in the crypt till such time as Cardinal Francesco Barberini removed it into the Barberini collection, amongst the treasures of which it has since been lost.¹

We are not without means of judging what change was operated in Bramantino's style by his visit to Rome and Florence, for the barrenness of that visit to critics of this age is compensated by copious productions of a later time at Milan. One circumstance, highly characteristic of the modification in the painter's manner is noted by Lomazzo, who says that in his youthful days he designed drapery from models made of paper and pasted canvass on the system familiar to Mantegna and Bramante, whereas later, and particularly after his return from the South he used another method which made his folds too soft and drooping.² This variation which is but one of many produced by the extension of Suardi's experience is perceptible in several of his works; and we shall have ample occasion to notice them. During his travels Suardi also improved his knowledge of the science and practise of perspective and we doubtless owe to his mature years those written rules which Lomazzo cites, where he says, as a critic might say of the artists of this day, that one class applied perspective scientifically by compass and rule, a second less scientifically by interposing between the eye and object a trellice of squares or a pane of glass; a third unscientifically, and that was a numerous class, by merely copying nature.³

¹ The minute is in Latin, but too long to print. See as to the fate of the *Pietà*, de Pagave, MS. n. s., *Life of Suardi*, and in the same the statement of payment at

the rate of 5 lire per ducat at Martinmas of 1515.

² Lomazzo, *Trattato* p. 457.

³ Lomazzo, *Trattato* pp. 275—7, and *Idea* p. 132.

The chief feature of such works as we may suppose to date immediately after 1513 is identity of style with pictures by Signorelli and his disciples; and this we find displayed most pregnantly in a small Epiphany belonging to Mr. Layard. The Virgin sits in front of a ruin, whilst one of the kings comes forward with a vase and the rest of the *dramatis personae* are distributed in various movements about the space. What reminds us of an older bias in the master is the stiff but correctly balanced distribution, the side light and its accompaniments of reflections, the remnant of hardness in broken drapery and the classic in architecture or in cups and caskets of antique shape which strew the ground. Lombard type is still conspicuous in the dress and mould of the human form as well as in the sharp and angular line of the peaks which fill the landscape; but there is something novel in the action which betrays the influence of the Umbro-Florentines; and this is peculiarly apparent in the attitudes of the two figures that poise each other at each side of the foreground; were the colour less solid and grey it would give additional charm to a touch which in crispness and strength rivals that of Signorelli.¹

Illustrative again of this phase in Bramantino is the Madonna with saints which passed from the church of San Michele to the collection of the Duca Melzi at Milan. Here also the figures are thrown into twilight against a clear sky and relieved by half tints and reflections. The classic is enshrined in a temple of the middle distance; but the elegant smallness and slenderness of the shapes and the serenity of the regular youthful faces suggests study of Fra Bartolommeo or Mariotto. Grace mingled with affectation in the gesture of the hand or the inclina-

¹ Collection of Mr. Layard, small panel in oil. The Virgin wears the head dress (a white cloth) peculiar to her in all the pictures in which Bramantino has hitherto represented her. The child is small and stilted. The faces are of the unselect or vulgar type with which we are now acquainted. The heads of a personage to the left of the Virgin introducing one of the kings and of one to the right pointing to her are retouched.

tion of the head in the Virgin, gravity of deportment and mien in the kneeling saints at the sides, give interest to the composition. Yet there is something grotesque in the large toad which symbolizes Satan at St. Michael's knees; and clever foreshortening barely reconciles us to the quaintness of laying the bound heretic at the side of St. Ambrose. Most striking as a contrast to Bramantino's older habit is a soft run and metallic precision of contour, recalling Piero della Francesca and Leonardo, a prevalent tendency to festoons of fold and a silvery surface of enamelled colour.¹

Shortly after this picture was finished, Bramantino probably composed the flight into Egypt, in the sanctuary of the Madonna del Sasso at Locarno, a panel in which the grimace of sentiment is carried further than we have hitherto seen it. In strange and unnatural motion, the guiding angel turns and tosses his head to heaven to glance downwards again at the Virgin on the ass behind him. In an attitude of similar strain, the Virgin holds the infant and looks round at Joseph; languid bend of head, swelling flesh, drooping vestment folds and loose drawing are features of Bramantino's art at this time, whilst in the copious incidents of a distance that Breughel might have envied, the form of Piero della Francesca is carried into the 16th century with modern richness of texture and blended argentine tones.² Whether at the time

¹ Milan, Duca Melzi. Wood, $\frac{3}{4}$ of life size. The Virgin sits on a throne in front of a red hanging held up by two angels. The two saints kneel on a chequered floor at her sides; distance — houses and sky. The colour is fused to a fine enamel, but the surface is not quite free from abrasion and retouching.

² Locarno, Madonna del Sasso. Wood, a cartello, in the foreground, is not free from suspicious repaint, on which is written: "BRAMANTINO." The masks of the Virgin and child are of the same mould

as those in the Madonna of Duca Melzi; but the treatment suggests a later date of execution. New colour disfigures the lake dress of the angel and the red dress of St. Joseph. The distance is rocky and cuts, in varied outlines of slabs, points and castellated buildings, on the sky. There is water in the middle ground, a bridge and small figures. See as to the foundation of the church of the Madonna del Sasso in 1487 Nessi (Gian-Gaspare), *Memorie storiche di Locarno*. 8°. Locarno 1854. p. 100.

of completing this piece Bramantino was at Milan or on the banks of the Lago Maggiore we have no means of ascertaining. We may believe that he visited Locarno at least in 1522, designing with the aid of his journeymen a series of wall paintings in the church of the Nunziata. What remains of these frescos, a Virgin and child with saints on one of the walls and a descent of the Holy Spirit in the cupola, is rudely handled and probably executed by assistants; but the spirit is that which appears in the Flight into Egypt betraying more and more approximation in Bramantino to those modern affectations of grace, which we find in Gaudenzio, Solario and Marco d'Oggione.¹

Two or three typical productions suffice to guide us to the mutations of Bramantino's art between 1513 and 1522; we have no materials of equal value from which to trace the vicissitudes of his daily life. Maximilian Sforza, after his accession to the duchy in 1513 might have extended some patronage to the painters of the state but for the troubles which signalized his reign and the shortness of his lease of power. It was not till Francesco Maria the II^d was installed in 1522 that Bramantino derived advantage from official support. When Milan was besieged by the French in 1523, Bramantino distinguished himself as an engineer; he displayed personal courage in exposing himself to danger; and he exhibited zeal in animating the Milanese to oppose the enemy. In memory of this, Francesco Maria, in 1525, gave Suardi a patent as architect and engineer, having special reasons for remembering his past services in the attitude of menace taken just

¹ Locarno, church of the Nunziata. Fresco of the Virgin and child (life size) enthroned in a niche between S. Francis to the left and three Franciscan friars (mere fragments). To the right on a cartello at the Virgin's feet is the following: "1522 ADI... V B... F." The dress of the Virgin is colourless. The forms of S. Francis are vulgar, the head

broad, the feet and hands large and coarse. The Virgin is thin and long waisted, without shoulders. Her head is large and flat, her hands broad and heavily painted. Of the descent of the Holy Spirit (in tongues of fire) parts are repainted, especially the angels which are very badly treated. See also Nesi u. s. p. 109.

then by the Imperialists under the marquis of Pescara.¹

From that time till after 1529 and perhaps till close upon 1536, Bramantino's practise continued, conforming with every year more narrowly to the prevalent style of the Leonardesques. We have lost much that he did, in various churches and edifices, but we still have traces of him in others. His hand is apparent in Santa Maria delle Grazie, where S^t. Peter martyr and S^t. Paul and a female with a burning heart, kneeling, are set as monochromes at the side of a carved Virgin within a lunette above the cloister-entrance to the church, and in a Madonna between S^t. Louis and S^t. James, a lunette fresco above the door leading from the sacristy to the same cloister. In both wall paintings we find Bramantino's salient features and that sort of art which characterizes the facade of the Castiglione mansion.² Breadth and ease of handling in the Madonna might point to the later period of the master's career, that period to which we should assign a fragment at the Brera representing the Virgin and child under a portico guarded by two angels, where, as in earlier works, the lights are edged about a wide expanse of semitone in which reflections are cunningly playing.³ The broad form and large round head of the Virgin contrasting with smallness of extremities, the puffy fleshiness of the infant Christ, are all features peculiar to Bramantino's closing years though found in connection with cornered and intricate drapery:—the whole piece reminiscent of Gaudenzio Ferrari but also recalling the Pietà at San Sepolero, the Madonna of Casa Melzi and the Flight into Egypt at Locarno. There are not a few bits

¹ The record is in precis in *Pa-gave, Ms., Life of Bramantino, u.s.* The patent is dated in the first days of May 1525.

² Milan, S. M. delle Grazie. The two frescos are monochromes, but in the first the figures are full length, in the second half length.

³ Milan, Brera No. 8. Fresco life size (M. 2.55 h. by 1.33). The shading is made out in flesh and drapery with black line hatching of more or less density according to the requirements of each part, the tinge which results from this treatment being brick-red.

in Milan that seem assignable to the same time and hand, for instance a boy with grapes and a St. Martin sharing his cloak, at the Brera, the first, Luinesque and graceful, the second, careless and decorative,¹ a Virgin and child in the Vescovado,² an Annunciation and nativity in Casa Poldi,³ a crucifixion, scenic and hasty, removed from the church of Villincino to the depot of the Brera⁴ and a series of monochromes representing children playing, once part of an organ screen at Santa Marta, and now in the Casa Sormanni.⁵ In each of these examples we may find something of the power which was shared amongst the numerous followers of da Vinci — the power of scientific distribution in all cases — and besides this, in the monochromes of Casa Sormanni, a natural echo of similar conceptions in carvings of Donatello or the della Robbia. Less grateful as a reminiscence of the painter is the half length of Christ at the pillar in the monastery of Chiaravalle, a figure in which coarse muscularity is exhibited

¹ Milan, Brera. No. 4. Life size. (M. 0. 49 h. by 0. 64.) Of old assigned to B. Luini. Cupid with grapes, in a lunette, (Wood). No. 3. "Bramantesque school." Wood. M. 0. 79 h. by 0. 99; half length, the head of the poor man only appearing above the edge of the panel.

² Milan, Vescovado. Virgin not quite full length, with the child erect on her knee. Small figures are in the distance. This small panel seems cut down at the sides. (See also Baldinucci, *Opere*. Edition of Turin 1813. Vol. III. of *Notizie di Professori del Disegno* pp. 171 and foll.)

³ Casa Poldi. Annunciation and nativity. Small panels.

⁴ Milan, Brera, Depot; from the church of Villincino. Canvas with figures of life size. In the middle, the crucified Saviour with the Magdalen grasping the foot of the cross. Between the two thieves an angel kneels on a cloud to the

left. A fiend kneels similarly to the right of the Saviour. In the foreground, the Virgin swooning in the arms of the Maries, the Evangelists, and three other figures. The colours are very thin and hastily put in with grey shadows, and deep vestment tints. The figures half in shade — the distribution geometrically good; the masks and forms derived from the Leonardesque school — a clever picture of rapid decorative execution, with sketchy neglected drawing.

⁵ Casa Sormanni, from Santa Marta. 5 panels with monochromes. 1 Three cupids playing the viol. 2 Three cupids playing harp, cither and mandolin. 3 Three cupids standing round a music desk. 4 One cupid playing an instrument. 5 Two cupids playing violoncello and one holding the music; all the figures under life size, somewhat dimmed by age and repaints.

in the fashion of Signorelli, and a circling frizzle of copious locks appears caricatured from Antonello.¹

The general aspect of all these works suggesting as they do some connection between Bramantino, Gaudenzio, and the elder Luini, might lead us to think that there was some sort of association at Milan of which these three painters were members. Many frescos of a fragmentary character in the depot of the Brera, are said to confirm that belief. There is almost proof of it in the Luinesque air of the Roman incidents and figures of giants which still adorn the present residence of Don Francesco Melzi at Milan.² Under influences such as these it was possible for Bramantino to rise occasionally to the excellence exhibited in the "head of St. John the Baptist on a charger", in the gallery of the Ambrosiana or that of a head of St. Jerom in the same collection, where the influence of Leonardo is fully displayed in precise outline, clean form, rich blending, and effective modelling.³

That there should be a tendency to assign to Bramantino a considerable number of panels for which no pedigree could otherwise be found is natural enough when we consider the variety of changes which he underwent and the usual absence of his signature. We must reject from the list of his genuine productions the nativity at the Ambrosiana, though it has something of his manner, the nativity in the Casa Sormanni, the crucified Saviour in the Casa Borromeo, the allegory and a large Madonna in the Museum of Berlin, and the Epiphany in the Na-

¹ Chiaravalle. Second chapel to the left of the portal. Panel. Christ to the hips, a little under life size, a landscape with water and vessels seen through an opening to the right. The colour is unpleasantly brown and grey. We hesitate between Bramantino and some assistant in his school.

² Milan, Don Francesco Melzi. No. 28. Borgo Nuovo. On the outer front, ornament. In a hall, 24

lunettes with scenes from Roman history. In a court, a lunette representing two giants supporting and measuring a large sphere (monochrome). This house is called by de Pagave Casa Imbonati.

³ Milan, Ambrosiana. No. 138. Head of the Baptist pleasing and youthful, with luxuriant locks of hair, colour of full texture, and slimy impast. No. 139. Bust of St. Jerom, technically treated as above.

tional Gallery which we have seen, is probably by Vincenzo Foppa.¹

At what date exactly Bramantino died we cannot tell. We only know that he was living in 1529, and that there are records of his heirs in 1536.²

¹ Milan, Ambrosiana. No. 131. Wood, small; unpleasant in masks and form, and much discoloured by cleaning — of olive tinge, and cold in flesh tone. Some figures are short, others immoderately long and dry — outlines defective, drapery broken. In some movements there is much *smorfia*. This is a work at least of Bramantino's atelier and related in some measure to the Epiphany of Mr. Layard.

Milan, Casa Sormanni. Nativity; arched panel with figures under life size; in the air three angels of slender build with a scroll. On the right kneels S. Francis. The treatment is Lombard as above, recalls the school of Bramantino, and at the same time, Pinturicchio, Signorelli, and della Gatta.

Milan, Casa Borromeo. Christ crucified and two likenesses of patrons. This is of more modern make than the foregoing and recalls to mind the works of Altobello Meloni.

Berlin, Museum. No. 1137. Wood tempera. 5 f. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 3 f. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ from the Solly Collection. The Virgin with the child in benediction in her lap, attended by S. Peter Martyr and S. Dominick, presents a rose to kneeling male and female votaries. This piece has been retouched, altered and varnished, and might be by a follower of Borgognone such as Giovanni Ambrogio Bevilacqua. The nimbs are raised and gilt. No. 54. Allegory. See ante, Hist. of Ital. Painting; II. 565.

London, National Gallery. No. 729. See ante in Foppa.

² See de Pagave, *Life of Suardi* u. s. and Vas., *Com.* XI. p. 281. The following is a list of works

assigned to Bramantino of which no further account can be given: Milan, San Pietro in Gessate. Christ taken down from the cross, (Lomazzo, *Trattato* pp. 271–2; assigned by Torre [*Ritratto di Milano* u. s. p. 319] to Bramante.) Milan, S. Francesco. Screen of the organ, (Ib. ib. 316.) representing *a*) the Madonna, *b*) the Nativity. (Baldinucci III. 171 u. s. ed. of 1813.) Milan, Osteria del Rebecchino. Paintings whitewashed in the 18th century. (Ib. ib. and Scanelli, *Microcosmo*. Cesena 1657. p. 27.) Milan, Sant' Enfemia. Chapel. (Ib. ib.) Milan, Sant' Ambrogio, in the Scaldatoio or little refectory, the descent of Christ to Limbus. (Ib. ib., also Torre u. s. p. 194 and de Pagave MS.) Milan, Ospitale. Sopra la porta all'incontro della Chiesa di S. Celso. Un "Annunziata". (Scanelli u. s. p. 271.) Milan, Cortile della Zecca. In una facciata, la Natività di Cristo. (Ib. ib. ib.) Milan, San Satiro. De Pagave assigns (upon the authority of old guides) to Bramantino the 4 Evangelists in the pendentives of the cupola of the church. Calvi proves by a document (*Notizie* u. s. P. II. p. 281) that these figures were by one Raimondi and by Antonio da Pandino, the latter a contemporary of Suardi's whose skill is only known to us by a glass window in the Certosa of Pavia representing S. Michael and the Dragon. Milan, Santa Liberata. Tavola on high altar, of the resurrection between S. Leonardo and S. Liberata. (Torre, *Ritratto* u. s. p. 213.) Milan, Casa Latuada, originally Bramantino's house, frescos. (Lomazzo, *Tratt.* p. 271.)

Bernardino Jacobi and Bernardino Martini of Treviglio were distinguished by their contemporaries as Buttinone and Zenale¹ a distinction the more necessary to remember as, in addition to bearing the same christian name, they were partners in one business. Hardly a fresco in early years was ordered of the one without being ordered of the other; and it was rare to find either painter working on his own account. Both are described as disciples of Foppa and masters of architecture and perspective;² both, in their beginnings favoured the art of the old guilds modified by Paduan taste. When Buttinone and Zenale laboured in common, Buttinone ranked first, as if he were the elder; and Zenale was born in 1436.³

Milanese annals only register three pictures bearing Buttinone's signature; one of them, a small panel in the Castelbarco Collection at Milan, representing the Virgin and child between St. Bernardino and a martyred deacon, another a Madonna amidst angels with St. John the Baptist and St. Giustina in the Borromeo Collection at Isola Bella, a third, a Holy Family, no longer preserved, in the Carmine of Milan.⁴

The Castelbarco Madonna is suspiciously inscribed with the date of 1454. It is so thoroughly disfigured by retouching that we can scarcely assign to it any artistic value. Overweight of head and shortness of stature characterize the figures.⁵ In the Madonna of Isola Bella, the Paduan manner, acquired by Foppa from the fountain head, seems taken by Buttinone from a less healthy source. The gentle air which occasionally flatters the eye is marred by affectation and strain; and conventional posture coincides with coarseness of shape. Drapery of angular break swathes the limbs; copious gilding and mot-tos cover hems and borders; and strange design in furniture betrays a grotesque fancy. Footstools with scooped sides, walls and floors of checquered patterns and pillars of varied tints; friezes in relief, medallions or statuettes on consoles, all remind us of the Squarcionesques, Zoppo, Schiavone, and Crivelli.⁶

¹ See postea a record, the text of which is published in Locatelli (Pasino), *Illustri Bergamaschi*. 8^o. Bergamo 1867. Parte I. p. 407.

² Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio*, p. 132; but the same author in his *Trattato* (p. 317) says that Zenale was taught by "Civerchio il Vecchio."

³ Calvi, *Notizie*. P. II, note to p. 115.

⁴ Fornari, *Cronaca del monastero etc. del Carmine in Calvi, Notizie* P. II. 108. This picture was in-

scribed "BERNARDINVS BV-TINONVS DE TRIVIGLIO PINXIT 1484."

⁵ Milan, Casa Castelbarco. Wood. Figures $\frac{3}{4}$ the size of life. On the foot of the throne is a repainted inscription: "BERNARDINVS BV-TINONVS DE TRIVILIO 1454." The young Baptist stands on the seat of the throne to the right behind the Virgin.

⁶ Isola Bella on the Lago Maggiore. Palazzo Borromeo. Small panel, inscribed on the footstool:

Gaspare Vimercati, a captain of note, returning from a successful campaign in France in 1464, signalized his gratitude for past successes by rebuilding Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan. A votive Madonna adored by himself in armour, was painted by Buttinone and placed on the high altar. The dominicans, who in time forgot their devotion to the founder, removed the picture into the choir and subsequently parted with it altogether; they preserved, because less portable, some remains of wall paintings in the church, and frescos in the cloisters, of the convent — the latter a Virgin and child in a lunette, a bust of S. Dominick and medallions of two saints of the order. Previous to recent retouching the cloister frescos displayed some of the rude force that marks Buttinone and Zenale.¹ A better specimen of united effort is preserved in the Griffi Chapel at San Pietro in Gessate, an oratory adorned about 1480 with scenes from the life of St. Ambrose and subsequently white washed. When the walls were scraped in 1861 the painters' names were found together beneath a composition depicting a criminal before the proconsul Ambrose. That colour should have been preserved after such treatment was not to be expected; there is much in the style to recall the Squarcionesque and Ferrarese or Siennese of the period.²

The best example is that of 1485 in San Martino of Treviglio — a lumbering monumental piece in the shape of a gabled front parted into fields by cornice and pilaster. In the lower course St. Martin shares his cloak with the naked beggar who bends abjectly before him. Under arches hung with Paduan festoons stand St. Peter and

BERNARDINVS BETINONVS DE TRIVILIO PINXIT." — Retouched here are the four angels behind the Virgin, the flesh of the infant Christ and the head of the Madonna. St. John holds and St. Giustina reads a book.

¹ Milan, S. Maria delle Grazie. What remains in the church is remnants of figures of saints. But consult Calvi, Notizie, P. II. 104 — 5. The altarpiece was probably painted before 1467, date of G. V.'s death. The cloisters are now barracks. In 1869 the frescos there were smeared over and almost ruined. The flagellation — also a fresco in the cloisters — seems by the same hand as the composite altarpiece in the church, attributed to Bramantino and others.

² Milan, San Pietro in Gessate. There are three chapels in this church containing work of the

15th century. That of Sant' Antonio and that of the Madonna are said to have been painted by Buttinone and Zenale, but of this a word later. What remains in the Griffi chapel, has been described in the text. The figures are life size. Beneath the throne on which the judge sits an empty space divided by pillars contains remnants of figures in varied action. The colouring substance is gone, the surface is rough, raw, and dead, but the drawing has the force of that in a predella at Treviglio which we shall presently examine. On a bare space beneath the throne are the lines: "OPVS BERNARDINI. BVTINOI ET BERNARDI DE ZENALIS DE TRIVILIO." Consult Lomazzo, Trattato, p. 271, and Calvi, Notiz. P. II. 107. 108.

two companions, S^t. Sebastian with S^t. Anthony and S^t. Paul. In the upper course, the Virgin sits with the child on a marble throne serenaded by two boys, whilst two angels hold the crown suspended above her head, and two cherubs adore her presence on the arm supports. In porticos at the sides stand S^t. Lucy, S^t. Catherine, and S^t. Mary Magdalen, S^t. John, S^t. Stephen, and a third saint, partly concealed by the open work of an iron parapet. The gable contains a medallion of the suffering Saviour. For a long time this costly shrine stood on the high altar of the church; but, showing marks of wear, was removed and set up in the choir with careless forgetfulness of its original shape. The ceremonies of the altar had gradually tarnished the surface; subsequent washing only served to bring out the bleach produced by time; but nothing probably injured the general aspect more than the fresh and brilliant gilding of the arabesque gold grounds. We may find some difficulty in distinguishing the hand of Buttinone from that of Zenale; but a certain concentration of power and life in the scenes of a predella representing the four Evangelists, the nativity, Crucifixion, and Resurrection — might point to the former, whilst the more yielding nature of angels in other parts of the altarpiece may suggest the latter. We should thus attribute to Buttinone the Paduan character derived from the Mantegnesques or Crivelli, and to Zenale a tendency to gentleness in impersonation which led him ultimately to assimilate some of the feeling of Leonardo. The work as a whole is more remarkable for architectural detail, perspective, and distributed space than for drawing. Tints of careful blending, contour of patient finish, and ornament of minute application give unfortunate prominence to casual defects. Males of fair proportion and females of pleasant mould would gain attraction if the minutiae of flesh and articulations were better given. The poor rendering of human or equine nude is not compensated by effective light and shade; and rich and bright costume is marred by brittle fold. — Unpleasant differences arose between the painters and their patrons as to the price of this piece, but in 1507, the vicar of the archbishop, to whom the matter was referred, gave judgment in favour of the former.¹

During their residence at Treviglio, Buttinone and Zenale accepted orders for pictures, amongst which we should number those described by Albuzzio at Mozzanica. At the time when Foppa left Pavia they were temporarily employed there; but when ordered to Milan in 1490

¹ Treviglio, S. Martino. The order for the altarpiece is dated May 26. 1485 (in full in Locatelli u. s. I. p. 407). The sentence of the vicar of the archbishop of Milan is in Calvi, Notiz. u. s. P. II. pp. 111 —12. Wood, tempera, figures of

life size. Besides the injuries already mentioned, there are the following: The Ecce Homo and S^t. Sebastian are damaged by abrasion. The lower course containing S^t. Martin is feebler than the rest. Much of the ornament is raised.

to prepare the palace of Porta Giovia for Lodovico Sforza they had resumed their habitation in Treviglio.¹

Amongst the productions to which chroniclers assign the names of our artists, one is a Virgin and child between a bishop and St. Jerom in Sant' Ambrogio of Milan. Injured as it is by cleaning and retouching, this altarpiece bears the impress of their hand.²

Buttinone alone is supposed to be the author of a bust portrait in the Casa Borromeo at Milan, in which a man of mature years stands in a black pelisse with long hair falling from beneath a red cap. The name on a cartello is illegible; but the clear precision of the drawing and the studied modelling of the parts would prove Buttinone to have been capable of successful efforts as a portraitist and, like Filippo Mazzuola, able to copy nature faithfully without infusing into the copy the breath of life.³

Buttinone, it has been stated, was living in 1507; we lose sight of him after that time. At Bergamo, Lovere, and Pavia, we find panels ascribed to him, without the true mint mark upon them.⁴

We saw how difficult it was to distinguish the hand of Zenale from that of Buttinone. In the rare examples which he painted alone, Zenale sometimes showed affinity to Borgognone, as we perceive in a small Madonna at the Ambrosiana.⁵ Sometimes he followed the early

¹ Calvi, u. s. P. II. 112. 119. 134. 241.

² Milan, Sant' Ambrogio. Wood, figures $\frac{3}{4}$ of life size; three panels parted by pilasters, in the centre the Virgin and child, to the left a bishop in white and red, to the right St. Jerom, on the plinths of the pilasters the four Evangelists. The colours are dim, grey, and opaque, though lately enlivened with new paint. The drapery of St. Jerom is so involved that one cannot see how he could move without falling.

³ Milan, Casa Borromeo. Bust at a parapet, the face three quarters to the left. On a cartello are remains of a name. The flesh tint is brownish but a little uniform.

⁴ Bergamo, Casa Aspertì. Figures of prophets. Not original and much repainted. Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. Virgin and child, half length, with the false signature on a parapet: "BERNARDVS. B."

a modern piece much retouched. Lovere, Tadini Collection. No. 370. Nativity, canvas, repainted and later than the time of Buttinone. 372. Nativity, small panel, greatly injured. Pavia, Malaspina Collection. Nativity, wood, ruined and not like a Buttinone.

Lomazzo (Idea 15) mentions a treatise on perspective and (Tratt. p. 652) an album containing drawings of rustic buildings, which had once belonged to Cesare Cesariano, and Gaudenzio Ferrari, both by Buttinone. We may consult for the painter's works, besides the authors named, Passavant, Kunstbl. No. 67 of 1838, whose judgment however was not then as sure as it afterwards became.

⁵ Milan, Ambrosiana. Wood, small. Virgin, with a book, holding the child, dimmed by time and neglect, on the framing a prayer, and below, the name of Zenale.

manner of Bramantino, as we observe in a broader and more powerfully wrought annunciation belonging to the Borromeo Collection at Milan.¹ A more copious illustration of his first manner might have been found in the frescos with which he adorned a chapel in San Francesco of Brescia, had not these, like so many others, perished before our time.² At what date he began his labours at Santa Maria delle Grazie of which Vasari and others tell is uncertain. Four scenes from the Passion and numerous monochrome ornaments in the church and convent of that name disappeared without leaving a wreck behind;³ but some of them were doubtless in course of execution as da Vinci composed his renowned *Cenacolo*; and a hearty friendship arose between two painters who spent their busiest hours in the same building. In despair, it was thought, of his inability to realize the superhuman excellence which he thought due to a perfect semblance of the Redeemer, da Vinci, one day, left the refectory of the Grazie and applied to Zenale for counsel and consolation. Zenale, whose good fortune we may envy, returned the visit, feasted his eyes with the greatest masterpiece of the age, and then oracularly said: "S^t. James the elder and S^t. James the less were so fine that it was hopeless to think of surpassing them. To fancy that the Christ could be conceived in nobler lineaments was to covet attributes little short of divine; and his advice, under the circumstances, was to leave the face of the Saviour as it had then been wrought, that is, imperfect if contrasted with unapproachable ideals, yet noble if considered as a work of human hands." The word 'imperfect' was afterwards explained, wrongly, we believe, to mean that Leonardo left the head of Christ in the *Cenacolo* unfinished.⁴

In daily intercourse with da Vinci, Zenale learnt to admire his superior powers, and became in time the humble imitator of his style. He acquired the various gifts for which Leonardo was known, and rose to be a man of mark amongst the Milanese. It was said of him that he was a master of chiaroscuro and architectural design; that he

¹ Milan, Casa Borromeo. Two panels with figures half the size of life. To the left the angel with the lily, to the right the Virgin seated, both in arched interiors; the head of the Virgin damaged, that of the angel retouched. But the whole of both panels is spoiled by repainting.

² Brescia, S^t. Francesco. These frescos were inscribed: "Bernardus de Senalis de Treviglio pinxit." (Averoldo [Giul. Anton.] *Scelte pitture de Brescia*. 4^o. 1700. p. 99.) They were in the chapel of the

immaculate conception and represented scenes from the new testament.

³ Milan, S. M. delle Grazie. Consult Vasari VII. 127, and XI. 271, and Lomazzo, *Trattato* 212 and 271. S^t. John the Baptist with the kneeling donor Gaspare Vimercati in this church is wrongly given to Zenale by Passavant (*Kunstbl.* 1838. No. 67) being by Marco d' Oggione.

⁴ Vasari VII. 21. Lomazzo, *Tratt.* 50—51.

knew the minutest subdivisions of proportion in the human frame as well as Leonardo or Bramante. Every subtlety of perspective; all the rules for drawing with high and low centres of vision on flat and curved surfaces were familiar to him. As proofs of these gifts, his admirers were wont to cite the cycle with which he adorned Santa Maria delle Grazie, the semi-circular spaces in which he painted incidents from the life of the Magdalen in the Carmine, the annunciation on the organ screen of San Simpliciano, the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul in a chapel dedicated to those saints at San Francesco of Milan — all of them lost. In the midst of lavish encomium we still find something to restore the balance of just appreciation. The Resurrection — one of the scenes of the Passion which attracted attention at the Grazie was admired for the beauty of certain foreshortenings and effective contrasts of light and shade; but the force of these foreshortenings and the furia of these contrasts only compensated for want of searching in the modelling of flesh. — Zenale in fact, had faults as well as qualities even in the eyes of his countrymen.¹

We are now shorn of large means for forming a judgment, but important productions of Zenale exist in which he shows himself a true disciple of da Vinci.² In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, there hangs a small half length of the Madonna, which once was an ornament of the Litta Collection. The Virgin gives the breast to the infant Saviour who plays with a finch. Grouping and design in this piece divulge the superior excellence of a great master; the treatment betrays a subordinate. Leonardo might have made the sketch which he lent to be turned to account by his disciple. In doing so the disciple failed to realize the noble grandeur, the pure contour, the subtle modelling, and balanced light and shade of Leonardo's creations, though he lavished upon it care, accuracy, and finish after the older Lombard fashion.³ Presumption is altogether in favour of Zenale as the painter for it is difficult to find another artist, except Boltraffio who could manifest so much timid dependence and yet preserve so clearly the stamp of Lombard teaching. That he should be named amongst the claimants to the authorship of such a picture may be found more natural when we compare it with the votive Madonna assigned to him at the Brera. It is not proved, but there can be little doubt, that this was once in San Francesco Grande,

¹ Lomazzo, Trattato. 100. 212. 266. 270. 271. 274. Vas. VII. 127. In the "Idea del Tempio" Lomazzo says that Zenale held, it was necessary to finish distant objects as much as nearer ones, because being small in proportion distant objects had a tendency to escape the eye

of the spectator. (Idea p. 94.)

² St Petersburg, Hermitage. The Virgin's head is almost in profil. She wears a knotted kerchief on her head. In the background are too arched windows. The colour is warm grey, laid in technically on the Lombard system.

previous to being placed in Sant' Ambrogio ad Nemos from whence it passed to the public gallery. It contains the kneeling figures of Lodovico and Beatrix Sforza with their two children, and dates no doubt about 1496. We can scarcely hesitate to believe that the sketch was given by Leonardo because his drawing of the boy Maximilian Sforza at the Ambrosiana was used for the occasion; but the execution again is as certainly that of one of his scholars. There is nothing so curious as to find a characteristically Lombard masterpiece marked by a certain form peculiar to the Florentines — such as the bone and bladder of Verrocchio's school in the infants shape or the lucid enamel and cold patience of Credi in the treatment. Coincident with this are Leonardesque masks marred by squareness and vulgarity, and crowning all, antiquated type, incorrect drawing, and overladen ornament. The portraits are so superior to the rest, that we might believe them to be taken from da Vinci; and were all in the same key we should say the whole is copied; but there is too much of the Lombard in the work to warrant such a supposition.¹

In frescos under the atrium of Sant' Ambrogio the same peculiarities of style, and some of the same portraits are repeated. They are those assigned by Calvi to old Bramante in spite of the significant presence in them of Lodovico Sforza and his boy Maximilian. There may be differences of opinion as to the manner, there can be none as to the period of the execution. In 1498 Maximilian Sforza was about 7 years old; 1498 is the date of the fresco; seven the age of the boy at Lodovico Sforza's side. Zenale, for he doubtless laboured here, has now no greater merits than of old. His subjects, which are only preserved in fragments, are the Baptism and ordination of St. Ambrose; and in the latter the portraits of the Moro and his son occur.²

¹ Milan, Brera. No. 344. Wood. M. 2. 27 h. by 1 63. The head of the Virgin is wide at the cheek bones and cast in the mould of Boltraffio's (ex. gr. Milan, Casa Poldi. Virgin and child; and London, National Gall. No. 728). Her hair is twisted into screw curls falling in strings, her hands are cramped and ugly. The attendant saints are square, with fleshy corrugations in the faces and large extremities. The drapery is of the angular Lombard class. See the line engraving in Rosini, *Stor. della Pittura*, Pl. XCIII. Consult Calvi, *Notiz.* P. II. 121, and Lanzi, II. 484 (who gives the picture to Leonardo). See also Gerli's copies of Leonardo's

drawings (*Disegni di Leonardo*) Tav. VII.

² Milan, S. Ambrogio. Cloister or portico in front of the church. Monochromes. To the right St. Ambrose's Baptism, three youths in presence of a large attendance (those to the right obliterated with the exception of the heads). To the left St. Ambrose placing the mitre on the head of a priest, in presence of several dignitaries amongst whom Giovanni Galeazzo, Maria Filippo Visconti, Lodovico il Moro and his boy Maximilian (part gone also). A frame of lyres, cornucopia, and medallions runs round the frescos, and on the border of that above the Baptism

A "Crowning of thorns" in the Borromeo Collection at Milan, bearing Zenale's name and the date of 1502, shows that he was altogether at that time in the Leonardesque current. It has the same coldness and carefulness of treatment, the same mixture of Milanese vulgarity with Leonardesque form which we have previously noticed; but the drawing is less defective than before.¹ A profile portrait bust in the same collection still more completely illustrates Zenale's intimacy with Leonardo's rules;² there is no lack indeed of such illustrations at Bergamo, Milan, Berlin, and Hanover.³

In 1501 Zenale sent in a trial picture for a projected decoration of the cupola at Santa Maria sopra San Celso of Milan. The superintendents rejected it for reasons with which we are unacquainted. From this time

are fragments of the inscription: "OPERA . VENERADI . . CVM CANONICORVM . . . PictVRA HEFACTA EST 149^o (? 8, the last cipher being half eaten away). But see Calvi, Part. II. p. 11.

¹ Milan, Casa Borromeo. Wood, figures one third of life size. Inscribed: "BERNARDVS ZENALIVS TRIVIL. PINXIT. ANNO DNI MDII MEDIO." Christ in the middle of this picture crowned with thorns, with a man kneeling at his side to the right, to the left a man striking him with a staff. In rear a captain and soldier, — all in an interior. The whole picture is said to have been cleaned quite lately. It was much smeared with repaints.

² Milan, Casa Borromeo. Wood, — a fine profile bust to the right with dark brown ground, the cap and vest red, the sleeve brown. A noble portrait of sombre enamel tone well drawn.

³ Bergamo, Lochis-Carrara. No. 166. Wood. Life size figure of St. Ambrose much injured by restoring, somewhat leaden in flesh tint. — No. 148. Wood, oil. Half length Virgin, turned to the right, giving the breast to the infant. Behind her a trellice of roses and a distance of houses with a miniature St. Joseph in a doorway, and two ducks in a canal. Inscribed: "BERNAI . . . ZINALA."

The figures are but little under life size, in Zenale's style slightly crossed with that of Borgognone. Indeed there is so much of Borgognone's type in the child, and of his gentleness in the forms that one might almost think the picture his. The surface is marbly and injured by cleaning, the outline black and the modulations of half tone red. More in the known manner of Zenale is the Virgin and child in the Berlin Museum under the name of Leonardo da Vinci, a rude and ill drawn work. In Milan, Brera, we have the following, all in Zenale's manner. No. 82. St. Louis and St. Bernardino. Wood. M. 1. 28 h. by 0. 89. No. 84. St. Chiara and St. Bonaventura. Same size as foregoing. No. 99. St. Jerome and St. Alexander. Wood. M. 1. 41 h. by 0. 86. No. 334. Virgin and child and four angels. Wood. 1. 65 h. by 0. 79. With its sides No. 340. St. Vincent, and 341. St. Anthony of Padua, each M. 1. 38 h. by 0. 42. These are all on gold ground and only catalogued as of the Milanese school. — Hanover, Hausmann Collection. No. 221. Wood, assigned to Leonardo. 1 f. 5½ h. by 1 f. 6. Christ and the young Baptist playing together as children — much injured by restoring. Pavia, Malaspina Gallery. The Nativity here assigned to Zenale is more modern.

forward, architectural plans absorbed more of his time. We hear of little else that he did pictorially, except an altarpiece in San Francesco of Cantù in 1507 and wall paintings at Varese. In 1515 he succeeded Dolcebuono, Cristoforo Solari, and Cesariano as architect of Santa Maria sopra San Celso. In 1519 he made a new model, and was appointed architect of, the Duomo of Milan. He was frequently consulted by clients from distant parts of Lombardy, as for instance when the altar of Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo was rebuilt in 1520—23, and when designs were wanted in 1525 for the *tarsie* of San Domenico of Bergamo. In 1524 he wrote a treatise on perspective. He died of stone in January 1526 and was buried in Santa Maria delle Grazie.¹

Though slightly esteemed by Lomazzo, Ambrogio Borgognone was one of the best of those artists who remained imbued with Lombard style after Bramante and da Vinci settled in Milan. His real name is Ambrogio Stefani de Fossano, and it is characteristic of the ignorance which prevailed respecting him that Lanzi attributed three periods of his life to different artists, distinguishing the "histories of St. Sisinius at San Simpliciano by Ambrogio Borgognone" from the Mantegnesque "altarpieces of Ambrogio da Fossano" at Pavia, and these again from the "Leonardesque production of Ambrogio Egogni at Nerviano."²

It has been assumed that Borgognone, in the reign of Galeazzo Maria, painted some parts of the Castello at Milan; but there is no more solid foundation for this assumption than for believing that in 1473 he designed the façade of the Certosa of Pavia.³ There is more truth apparently in the statement that he furnished the drawings for the *tarsie* with which Bartolommeo da Pola, in 1486, adorned the stalls of the choir at the Certosa — a series of ornaments with half lengths of the Saviour, the Virgin, apostles, and saints, in which the skill of the draughts-

¹ Consult Calvi, Notiz. u. s. P. II. 122—4. 125—8. Vas. XI. 271. Locatelli u. s. I. 23. Tassi, Pitt. Bergam. u. s. I. 68—9. 87—8. Anon. ed. Morelli, pp. 50 and 181; and Lomazzo, Idea u. s. p. 15.

² Consult Calvi II. note to p. 246; Lomazzo, Trattato, p. 679; and Lanzi II. 491 and 474—5.

³ Calvi II. 41, 79. 148. 162—3. — Visita alla Certosa di Pavia. 12^o. Milan 1865. p. 10.

man and carver are both uncommon. That a man of immature talent should have produced any thing so beautiful is not to be conceived; we must therefore believe that Borgognone at the time was a master of the craft and in the vigour of manhood.¹

In a fresco of 1485 at the Brera we observed something of the spirit of Borgognone clinging to a work by Foppa. It is not improbable that Borgognone received the elements from Foppa and then had lessons from Zenale. In his earliest days averse from technical innovation he clung to the old medium of tempera; but when forced at a later period to yield to prevailing fashion, he treated pictures in oil in the method of tempera. His manner was at first timid and stiff though very like that of Buttinone and Zenale in form, costume, perspective and architectonic detail. It subsequently gained but a small amount of freedom. The delicacy manifested in faint complexion and slender limb often verges upon coldness; and we miss at all times the fire which carries expression beyond grimace and action beyond posture. Like Francia, Costa, or Perugino in the measured calm of devotional subjects, his dramatic incidents recall those of Crivelli or Alunno; and the crucifixion at the Certosa, though one of his fine creations is remarkable for vulgar and exaggerated expression. It would be difficult to find a painter more attentive to the production of a clear pallor, but the contrast between this pallor and strong vestment colours is very striking, and the more so where space is almost entirely surrendered to light. The most startling impression produced by his pictures is due to the juxtaposition of flat surface in flesh and drapery on the one hand, and petty detail in landscape distances on the other; and it is curious to observe that these distances are finished with the patient minuteness and sturdy uniformity of the Mantegnesques and Flemings. In some capital pieces produced for places of honour at the Certosa of Pavia, he nearly reached the

¹ Visita 41.

mean to which we are accustomed in works of a high class, displaying unusual breadth and power of selection combined with a certain force of *chiaroscuro* and accuracy of drawing. But in monumental compositions which seem executed about the same time at the Certosa, these advantages are lost, and large planes upon which light and shade are not concentrated, produce a startling sense of void.

After a long stay at Pavia, Borgognone returned to Milan, where he soon felt the charm of Leonardo's style. The remnants of his frescos at San Satiro show how much he owed to that master, and we derive similar impressions on a smaller scale from a series of small panels at Lodi in which the softness and freshness of Luini are successfully rivalled. But the most important proofs of his progress are to be found in the vast coronation of the Virgin which fills the semidome of the choir at San Simpliciano, in the half length of saints and the general decoration of a ceiling in the sacristy of Santa Maria della Passione, and in fragments at Sant' Ambrogio, of Milan. We should be surprised to find at the close of the fifteenth century, the fervid religious spirit of the fourteenth; but there is a substitute for this at San Simpliciano in the serenity and composure of personages whose form and attitudes remind us of Perugino, Francia, and da Vinci. At Santa Maria della Passione, we have space divided after the fashion of Peruzzi and a lively impress of modern culture. In Sant' Ambrogio a "Christ after the Resurrection", in the choir, and "Christ disputing with Doctor's" in the atrium are so clever and so closely allied to Luini in style that they are frequently assigned to this favoured pupil of Leonardo.

The length of Borgognone's residence at the Certosa of Pavia has not been accurately measured. There is some evidence that his altarpiece at Sant' Eustorgio in Milan — a Virgin and child with saints of which the parts are separately preserved — was painted in 1485. In 1486 he gave the drawings for the stalls of Bartolommeo

da Pola; and we presume that he was then the guest of the Carthusians. His crucifixion in the chapel of the Santissimo Crocifisso at the Certosa is dated 1490, and the large frescos of the apses were probably finished between 1490 and 1494. A stay of many years was required to complete the works that fill the edifice; and though we ascertain that his brother Bernardino helped him in most of his undertakings, the number, size and importance of his productions are still remarkable.¹ In the chapel of St. Ambrose, the titular saint is enthroned amongst attendant martyrs. St. Sirus in majesty, with saints — a capital piece — is the subject represented on the altar of the chapel of that name; and four patriarchs in fresco adorn the ceiling. St. Augustin, a large panel in the old sacristy, was doubtless the centre of a framing which comprised the doctors subsequently taken to fill up the gaps in the dismembered altarpiece of Perugino, the four Evangelists appended to the Transfiguration of Macrino d'Alba, St. Peter and St. Paul and two pinnacles with angels in the new sacristy. Christ carrying his cross with a suite of Carthusians, St. Jerom with St. Christopher and the Doctors and Evangelists; the Virgin and child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch, are mentioned in the annals of the monastery.² But we have a goodly list besides; the Virgin adoring the child above the door, and four busts of Carthusians in the vaulting, of the Cappella di Santa Veronica; a Virgin giving the breast to the infant, and half lengths of saints and apostles in the refectory; a Virgin and child erect above the entrance to the Cappella della Santissima Annunziata; the Ecce Homo over the arch leading into the Cappella del Rosario; prophets and Saints in the ceiling of the choir; monochromes of patriarchs and prophets in the centre ceiling of the transept, and busts of apostles high up on the sides of the nave; St. Paul and St. Peter on the pulpit, and a banner of which a portion found its way into the National Gallery.

¹ Calvi II. 250. | ² Ib. ib. 250—2.

Borgognone returned to Milan in 1494 and worked for two years at San Satiro.¹ He went to Lodi in 1497, to paint the tribune of the church of the Incoronata, valued in 1500 by Jacopo de' Motti and Antonio Cicognara.² In 1508 he received an order for an altarpiece still extant in San Spirito of Bergamo, an order followed or preceded by others of a similar kind. His presence at Milan in 1512 is testified by the signature of his name in a public record.³ His feeble panel of the assumption at the Brera was done in 1522 for the church of the Incoronata at Nerviano and proves him to have been incapacitated by age or sickness. In 1524, he filled the portico of San Simpliciano at Milan with scenes from the legend of St. Sisinius which Lanzi was still able to admire;⁴ and it is said that an assumption which has disappeared from the church of Cremena in Valsassina was dated 1535.⁵ But in the absence of confirmation as to the latter statement, we may conclude that Borgognone lived till 1524, after which he produced nothing that can be considered authentic.

Characteristic of Borgognone's earliest development is an altarpiece at the Ambrosiana of Milan, a tempera on panel with figures almost as large as life. The Virgin sits enthroned with the child in her lap under a conical dais supported by angels and surrounded by choirs of seraphs floating in the air of a chapel. To the left St. Ambrose, a bishop, and St. Jerom, recommending a kneeling patron, to the right two female and two male saints, one of the latter wearing a mitre. The name of each personage is written in the hem of his garments; the gilt throne plinth, and a cushion with flowers at its foot ornamented with gold. Tasteful architecture in good perspective tells of lessons from Foppa, Buttinone, and Zenale, in whose schools Borgognone might also learn the correct laws of foreshortening applied to airy figures of angels. Whilst some forms are short and plump, that of the Virgin and those of the saints are slender and feminine with slight padding of flesh, upon thin frames of gentle regularity. What rescues the work from triviality is a freshness and finish effective in spite of minuteness and excess of gilding. The warm clear light of skin shaded with silver grey contrasts with rich-toned vestments, all treated with

¹ Records of payments are cited by Calvi II. 24. 253—4.

² Ib. ib. 133—4. 203. 254. Gualandì, *Memorie*. Ser. I. p. 172. These frescos fell when the choir of the Incoronata was altered.

³ Calvi II. 246.

⁴ Ib. ib. 255. 258. Lanzi II. 474. 491.

⁵ Ticozzi, *Dizionario degli architetti* etc. Calvi II. 258.

tempera of blended impast (the whole cooled down by modern cleaning).

Another altarpiece, in which dry nature is rendered with a certain tenderness of feeling is a nativity (under life size) in the first chapel to the left of the portal in Santa Maria presso San Celso at Milan; a large panel inscribed: "OP̃A DE AMBROSIO DE FOSSANO DICTO BERGOGNONO" with lively disparities in the size and setting of the figures, and a wooden stiffness in the infant Christ more appropriate to a Fleming like Memling than to an Italian. Two seraphs and a young devotee kneel round the Saviour who lies on the ground; in rear, the Virgin, on her knees, with the Baptist and an other saint erect at her sides, a rocky landscape and a sky with three angels singing from a scroll. The surface of this piece has been injured by abrasion and retouching; and the signature is altogether new. On the altar of the Brivio chapel at Sant' Eustorgio of Milan, rests a Virgin and child (half life) enthroned under a dais with a couple of angels supporting the crown in air. This damaged work, in which the Infant Christ is altogether renewed is supposed (Calvi II. 250) to have been executed in 1485 and is the central panel of three which once hung together. The two remaining parts are on the walls of the chapel — St. James damaged, St. Uldric with repainted mantle. It is not more easy to judge of a piece so injured than it is to criticize two figures of saints — a bishop and a cardinal at the Ambrosiana, of which we can only guess that they were originally by Fossano.

Most important as a clue to Borgognone's passionless character is the crucified Saviour at the Certosa of Pavia inscribed: "AMBROSIVS FOSANVS PINXIT 1490 MALJ 14". Angels, wailing, shrieking and praying flutter round the Saviour. The Magdalen grasps the cross; St. John looks up in an attitude of woe, and to the left the Virgin swoons between two of the Marys. There is no fault to be found with the distribution or setting of groups, nor is there any lack of expression in the heads. The short thickset form in angels is avoided, and the calmness of the principal figures recalls Francia and Costa; but expression is marked by grimace as strong and as vulgar as that of the Mantegnesques; and all sense of pleasure vanishes before sharp contours, bony shapes and draperies of parallel fold. The rich and highly finished landscape with its details of lane and path and house and incident, is that which Alunno and Crivelli liked. The colours, moistened with highly resinous mediums, are of melting enamel, but, touched in the fashion of tempera and in the spirit of Memling, Borgognone received for this piece 100 ducats, or 500 lire. (Wood. See Anonimo di Brera in Calvi II. 251.)

Of the same year though undated (Calvi, II. 251, notes the payment of 480 lire in 1490) is the altarpiece in the cappella di Sant' Ambrogio at the Certosa, in which St. Ambrose enthroned is accompanied by Sts. Marcellinus and Protasius and Sts. Satirus and Gervasius. We might judge from the second of these figures that this was one of Borgognone's fine productions, but there is much cleaning and much repaint of flesh to be noticed; and the arched top has been made square without any very apparent purpose.

In better preservation, but of the same class and time, is the St. Sirus with Sts. Theodore and Lawrence, and Sts. Invenzio and Stephen in the Cappella San Siro at the Certosa (wood, life size). St. Sirus, or as he is called in the lines which run along a footstool, "Sanctus Syrus primus ep̃us et patronus papie" sits in majesty, and gives the benediction. The scene is a quiet one suited to the genius of

Borgognone. It is one in which he exhibits more than usual power and breadth of treatment. The saints are well arranged and posed; they are of good proportion and easy movement, with extremities of more careful finish and contour than elsewhere. Light and shade are suitably contrasted; colours are properly harmonized; and drapery is more fitly cast. Perugino is the model which Borgognone follows.

The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph in rounds, in the ceiling of the Cappella San Siro are frescos framed in appropriate ornament.

St. Augustin with book and crook of life size on panel in the old sacristy at the Certosa is a fine one in the style of the foregoing; and the same opinion may be held as to the four doctors cut down to half lengths in the altarpiece of Perugino, and the four Evangelists (scaled) in the altarpiece of Macrino d'Alba. The St. Peter and St. Paul (nuder life size) and two pinnacles with angels in prayer (regilt grounds) in the new sacristy are all damaged.

High up in the lunettes at the bottom of the transepts of the Certosa are large frescos by Borgognone. In the south transept, angels at the side of a circular window, and below, the Virgin and child with St. John the Baptist and Jerom, and Sts. Benedict and Bernard adored by Gian Galeazzo Visconti and his three sons, Filippo, Gabriele, and Galeazzo (back ground injured); in the north transept, beneath the window as before, the coronation of the Virgin with St. George and St. Fortunatus in panoply and St. Peter Martyr and St. Ambrose, adored by the Dukes Francesco and Lodovico Sforza. In such large wall paintings as these Borgognone really appears to disadvantage, in spite of the finish of which he is prodigal, and it is here that he produces the sense of void to which allusion has been made. The busts of apostles at right angles to these votive frescos in the transept are no exception to this opinion. In every instance pallid tone coincides with faint shadows, and, most painful of all chances, bleach or modern smears increase the ineffectiveness of the whole.

Though injured in many parts, the Madonna adoring the infant Christ above the entrance of the Cappella di Santa Veronica is distinguished by a very pleasing head. Five angels kneel around the Saviour in adoration. The four Carthusians in medallions inside are repainted.

At regular intervals in lofty positions round the circuit of the Certosa church are half length monochromes of the twelve apostles in ornament attributed to Bernardino Borgognone (Calvi, II, 252). These figures are bold and sketchy and probably by the designer of the ornament, whose style betrays some relation to the school of Bramantino.

In the great cloister, a Virgin and child between St. Chiara and another female saint (originally feeble) is injured by time and restoring. The Virgin giving the breast to the child (round) and twenty-two medallions of Doctors and Carthusian bishops (frescos) adorn the small cloister or refectory. Some of these on the wall to the right are not by Borgognone. Of the remaining works in the Certosa it is needless to speak in detail.

The fragments of a standard (silk, attached to wood, each 2 f. 1 h. by 1 f. 4). No. 779—780 at the National Gallery comprise busts in profile of nine men (left) and a numerous group of women (right) kneeling. The standard was executed for the Certosa by Borgognone and in the course of years fell asunder. A fragment representing the Eternal belonged in 1868 to Cavaliere Bertini at Milan. The por-

tions in the National Gallery were bought at Milan of Signor Giuseppe Baslini. All three formed part of the Molteni collection.

In Casa Bottigella at Pavia, we find a large altarpiece on panel (figures less than life size) under the name of Borgognone, subject, the Virgin between St. Benedict and St. Stephen, St. John the Baptist and a bearded saint, in a vaulted chapel. On the foreground kneel the patron introduced by the beato Domenico of Catalonia and the patroness recommended by the beata Sibellina of Pavia; the names of the patrons written at foot as follows: "IO. MATHEVS BOTIGELLA MILES DVCALIS consILIAR". "BLANCA VICECOES VXOR EIVS". Pieces of pilaster framing contain small whole lengths of St. Peter Martyr, St. Francis, St. Dominick, and St. Sebastian. Bits of a predella comprise half lengths of a bishop reading, two female saints, St. Barbara, St. Ursula, and an episode — the murder of a child. — This tempera originally in the suppressed church of San Tommaso of Pavia is below the level of Borgognone's usual productions and is executed with more than his usual coldness. It may have been painted by De Rossi of Pavia, an artist who sometimes passes for Luini. The same person, whoever he may be, is doubtless author of two small panels in one frame ascribed to Borgognone in the Museum of Turin (No. 38 Baptism of a proselyte by St. Ambrose, and a male and female perhaps Domenico of Catalonia and Sibellina of Pavia, converted by St. Ambrose, each panel M. 0.31 h. by 0.32). These predellas were bought at Pavia and may have belonged to the Bottigella altarpiece. — No. 48. A Virgin and child in the Turin Museum is a copy or an original disfigured by modern smears.

Of all the frescos which Borgognone finished in 1494 at Milan, none remain but a faded and half obliterated one in the right transept of San Satiro. It was recovered from whitewash in 1857 and once represented three female saints in niches. The fragments, of successful execution, are inscribed beneath the centre spacing: "AMB. OSIJ B. R. GOGNONI 14..."

The largest and most valuable of the later Milanese frescos is the coronation of the Virgin in the semidome at San Simpliciano of Milan, a subject of which an outline may be found in Rosini's atlas (Tav. CL.). The three principal figures of the Eternal (with outstretched arms) behind Christ who crowns the Virgin are colossal and double the size of those in the choirs of angels and rows of saints ranged in stories around. The mantles of the Eternal and of Christ, the Virgin's tunic and the whole of the blue sky are repainted; and there are many spots in which the tints have faded or scaled away, but the effect of the whole is still preserved. There is a passive gentleness in all the impersonations which reminds us of Perugino and Francia; and one feels that Borgognone had now launched into imitation of Leonardesque art. The figures round the larger group are in converse, in quiet natural action, well set, and suitably diversified.

The ceiling of the sacristy at Santa Maria della Passione is a decoration of another kind. It is a rectangle with a blue starred heaven bordered with a "greca" interrupted by medallions containing raised and gilt angels. The curve, which unites the ceiling to the walls is broken into lunettes, twenty eight in number, furnished, each of them with a likeness in half length of a brother of the order of San Giovanni Laterano. Of these some are obliterated. Those that remain are drawn from life and fairly rendered; the whole is boldly executed in Borgognone's latest and most Luinesque spirit. Nine panels with life sized apostles or saints in couples by Borgognone are

scattered about the chapels of this church. They are greatly injured but in his best style.

The Luinesque frescos which, we saw, adorn Sant' Ambrogio comprise some slender but noble and graceful figures. The wall surface has recently been sawed through and the subjects were prepared for transfer to another place.

The most charming of Borgognone's cabinet-pictures are the small predellas in oil — the Visitation, Presentation in the temple, Annunciation, and Epiphany (wood about one fifth of life size) — at the Incoronata of Lodi. In the first the Virgin and Elizabeth embrace each other kneeling, St. Joachim and St. Joseph standing to the right and left. The flesh tones are seriously damaged. There are eight figures in the presentation, some of which are repainted; but those which keep their old patina, and especially the infant are very soft and Luinesque in air. The back ground is the octagon of the Incoronata itself looking towards the high altar, with the inscription copied from that on the cornice: "Locus publicæ olim Veneri damnatus Virgini maxime erecto templo consecrataque ara castus religiose salutatur. land. populi impensis anno salutis MCCCCLXXXVII". The annunciation and Epiphany are also injured. All are executed with the softness and finish of Memling. It is clear that Borgognone had diligently studied Leonardo, when he produced these pieces. They are full of grace in movement and grouping, and the turns of the heads recall similar ones in Luini. The colours are sweet and pleasant.

In San Spirito of Bergamo we find a large composite altarpiece, arched at the top and inscribed in a medallion at the base with the words: "Dominicus Tassus et pure et caste dicavit MDVIII". In the central panel, the Virgin and child enthroned are adored by the kneeling apostles. The upper semicircle is circumscribed in a square, in the angle of which are carved heads. At the sides of the Virgin are St. John the Baptist and St. Augustin; above which are half lengths of St. Jerome and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. In the lunette which has three fields is the Eternal with outstretched arms between the angel and Virgin annunciate. The framing is regilt, the picture itself in all its parts blind from retouching; all the blues without exception are new. But for this the altarpiece would be one of Borgognone's best.

Similarly damaged are a number of panels in the Sacristy of San Spirito which possibly formed part of an altarpiece in San Domenico of Bergamo (anonimo ed. Morelli p. 49. Calvi, Notizie II. 247). They are five in number, Christ in the tomb supported by the Marys (3) half life size; St. Louis and St. Stephen, full length, three quarters of life; and half lengths of St. Agatha and St. Lucy.

In the Lochis-Carrara collection, a Virgin giving fruits to the infant Christ, half length, trefoil at top (wood, quarter life) with a background of red cherubs, is a graceful production. A pretty miniature in the same collection represents St. Ambrose expelling Theodosius from the temple, a small piece (wood) not free from retouching.

The Assumption painted in 1522 for the church of the Incoronata at Nerviano is No. 370 at the Brera (wood M. 2. 72 h. by 2. 42) and inscribed: "Ambrosii bgogni 1522" (whence Lanzi's "Egogni"). It is dull toned, feebly executed, dimmed by time, varnish, and retouching, No. 378. Christ at the column in this Gallery (wood, M. 0. 49 h. by 0. 34) is a figure of regular shape but somnolent aspect.

Two sides of an altarpiece in Casa Litta at Milan are more worthy of the master than the pictures of the Brera, they are portraits of a

male and female donor with their patron saints near them. In the distance of that which contains the lady is the Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr. The figures are little under the size of nature, of lucid enamel tone and noble in air. The flesh tint in the female is damaged.

A very fine profile bust of bishop Novelli, in the Borromeo mansion at Milan, illustrates Borgognone's talent as a portrait-painter (wood, oil). It bears inscribed in the framing the words: "ANDREAS NOVELLIS EPISCOPVS ALBEN COMES". The proportions are not quite those of nature, and the person is aged about 60, in a skull cap and a close red and white dress. The finish of this work is beautifully clear, and its tone is very charming and silvery. It is cleverly modelled and drawn with great correctness and purity. In the same palace is an Eternal with orb and sceptre, once in the Certosa of Pavia, and no doubt part of an altarpiece, a clever fragment less than life size; a Madonna (half life) giving the breast to the infant Christ and adored by a dame on her knees, pretty and Luinesque but injured by cleaning and restoring and a small panel with the Virgin and child highly finished, full of grace and feeling but also rubbed down.

In the Scotti Villa at Oreno near Vimercati there are two or three single panels with a saint in each by Borgognone.

The Berlin Museum is unusually rich in specimens of this master. No. 52 (wood 5 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. 4 in.) is a Virgin and child enthroned between St. John the Baptist and St. Ambrose. Two angels fly at the sides of a conical dais. This is a pallid, flat surfaced piece, faded from washing, with figures of the slender type peculiar to Borgognone's early period. On a cartello, we read: Ambrosij bergognoni op^s. The picture is probably that mentioned as having been in Santa Liberata of Milan (Calvi II. 257). Prettier and pleasanter is No. 51 (wood 3 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. from the Solly coll.), the Virgin and child between two adoring angels.

A charming example of melancholy expressiveness is the Virgin and child in heaven (full length half life) in the palace of the Duke of Anhalt at Dessau. The extremities are not well drawn, the figures are short, and the gildings are obtrusive, but the delicate pallor and feeling of the faces are attractive. The panel is injured by the regilding of a goldground striped with clouds, a vertical split and other defects (wood, M. O. 85 in. by 0. 60). The Virgin adoring the infant Christ, a canvass tempera (No. 150, 5 ft. 3½ in. by 3 ft. 10 in.) in the Dresden gallery may once have been by Borgognone. It is now so dimmed by repaints that we can no longer see the master's hand.

In the Schönborn collection at Vienna, is a noble profile of a man in long hair falling from beneath a green cap. Round his neck is the collar of the Golden Fleece, his dress is green with sleeves strewed with yellow flowers. On the dark green ground are the words: "MAX RO REX", beneath which: "Ambrosius de p.tis milanen. pinxit 1502". This Lombard panel, darkened by time and other causes may have been by Borgognone. We are bound however to remember that there were other Milanese painters called Ambrogio, amongst them Ambrogio Bevilacqua, of whom later.

At the National Gallery the Marriage of St. Catherine, with two saints (No. 298, wood tempera, 6 ft. 7 in. by 4 ft. 3 in.), is an altarpiece originally in the chapel of Rebecchino near Pavia, an annex to the Certosa.

A feeble Borgognone is the altarpiece of the Virgin and child with four angels and the two St. Johns — once in the Bromley collection.

Mr. Fuller Russell at Greenhithe is said to possess a dead Christ bewailed by angels by Borgognone (Waagen Treasures, Supplement p. 284).

In the Louvre (No. 90 bis. Wood M. O. 97 h. by 0.73) is a presentation in the Temple by Borgognone, which once formed part of the collection of Duca Melzi.

We have further written notices of a Baptism of Christ signed: "Ambrogio da Fosano Brgognone" at Melegnano. Christ in the lap of the Virgin and other pieces mentioned as having been purchased "for the National Gallery" (Calvi II. 246—247), we believe perished at sea.

No family was held in better odour of art amongst the Lombards than that of the Solari, and there is scarcely an edifice in Milan or Pavia that is not connected with their name. As early as 1428 Giovanni Solari received his first commission as a builder in the Certosa of Pavia. He lived to see his son Francesco a sculptor of some fame, and his son Guiniforte an architect of celebrity. Whether he was allied by blood to Cristoforo or Andrea del Gobbo Solario we have no means of ascertaining, but they too commanded respect as craftsmen at Milan towards the close of the 15th century.¹

About the year 1490, Cristoforo del Gobbo was induced — some say because of the heavy competition amongst Milanese artists at that time — to wander to Venice whither he was accompanied by his brother Andrea. It is hard to understand how a painter of purely Lombard education could hope to find settled occupation at Venice at this period. It was a period of fierce rivalry between the workshops of Vivarini and Bellini, when strangers from the South like Antonello da Messina, strangers from the hills like Cima, and strangers from the Lowlands like Previtali and Catena outbid and jostled each other. Yet Solario soon found employment, and Venetian taste showed itself capable of sympathy with the softness and smile of the Leonardesques.

¹ For the Solari, Giovanni, Francesco, Guiniforte, and Cristoforo del Gobbo, as well as for Andrea Solario, consult Calvi, *Notizie*, II. 32. 42. 75—78. 124—7. 144. 167. 186. 219—34. 256. 271—80. Andrea

is mentioned by Vasari at the close of the life of Correggio, VII. 103; he is noted by Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio*, p. 131, as a follower of Leonardo, and by Cesariano. (*Vitrinv.* p. CX a tergo.)

In 1495 Andrea Solario furnished a Virgin and child with St. Joseph and St. Jerom to San Pietro Martire of Murano, and thus introduced into Venice a new and hitherto unknown style. His picture long remained on the altar for which it was ordered, but was removed after years to the Gallery of the Brera. It could have found no more appropriate home, for in the weighty forms of the principal figures we detect school models familiar to Luini and Boltraffio, whilst the broad masks and widely parted eyes remind us of Zenale, and meanders of contour which escape analysis yet impart character, tell of Lombard teaching. Distinctive also of the master's habits as illustrated in this first altarpiece, is the curious contempt for proportion which prompts small heads and broad shoulders or small hands with large arms, and — tokens significant of Leonardesque influence — glossy surface, puffy skin, flowing drapery, and precise touch or contour. Peculiarly Solario's own is overdone meekness in look and attitude, want of transparence in sombre flesh tints, and a general air of coldness.¹ We thus arrive at the conclusion that Solario was taught amongst the Milanese; that he was no stranger to the lessons of Leonardo, and that he acquired some of the secrets of manipulation and conventionalism of form inherited from the Florentine workshop of Verrocchio. But it was scarcely to be expected, at the same time, that he should remain unimpressed by Venetian example, and it is clear that his palette though technically Lombard and Florentine was not without admixture of Venetian tricks; for his drapery tints, in the depth and richness of their shades,

¹ Milan, Brera, No. 358. Wood. M. 1. 04 h. by 0. 86. Inscribed in the left hand corner of the stone seat on which the Virgin rests:

"ANDREAS MEDIOLANÆSIS 1495. F." The picture is noted by Boschini, *Le R. Min. Sest. della Croce* p. 24, and by Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 53, but Ridolfi gives the

date falsely as 1493. In the air above the Virgin's head are two heads of cherubs, behind the figures a distance of water and verdure. The picture was given to the Brera by prince Eugène. It was repaired and retouched and thrown out of its original harmony.

and his landscapes in the gaiety of their tones, are distinctly reminiscent of Previtali.

We may believe that Solario left Venice with his brother in 1495; yet we have no proof of his retirement from thence till 1499 when he finished the St. Catherine and Baptist in the Poldi collection, at Milan, in both of which there is visible trace of Leonardo's lessons.¹

In a crucifixion of 1503 at the Louvre in which numerous and not inexpressive figures are grouped with considerable skill, we find Solario's deep, red, and uniform flesh tints combined with enamel surface and filmy glaze,² whilst in the highly finished portrait of Cristoforo Longoni, — a panel of 1505 at the National Gallery, a tinted landscape again reminds us of Previtali. A portrait of such power and finish as this, when clear of the dimness of age and retouching would alone have aroused attention at Milan.³ In other creations of this time we discern the tendency to repeat — in Leonardesque form and not without disagreeable gloss and hardness — the subject of Christ carrying his cross, the best specimen of which is in the

¹ Milan, Casa Poldi. Wood, arched; figures seen to the knees and about one quarter the size of nature. In both panels there is a landscape background; on that of the Baptist are the words: "1499 Andreas Mediolanensis f." It is not possible to say whether both are executed in the same year. The St. Catherine is older and more silvery than the Baptist, but the latter may have been altered by restoring.

² Louvre. No. 36. Wood. M. 1, 10 h. by 0. 77, under the name of "Andrea of Milan." Christ on the cross surrounded by men at arms on horseback, one of whom has just given the lance wound; in the left foreground the Virgin in a swoon, and, near her, the Evangelists looking up; to the right the dicers; in the distance

a river with a town on its banks and vessels in the stream; inscribed: ANDREAS MEDIOLANENSIS F. A. 1503."

³ London, National Gallery. No. 734. Wood. 2 f. 7 h. by 1 f. 11½. Purchased from Sign. Giuseppe Baslini of Milan. Full face, half length, of a man in a black cap and dress at a parapet, behind which is a landscape with houses and trees. On the parapet we read: "IGNORANS QVALIS PVERIS QVALISQVE FVTVRVS SIS QVALIS STVDEAS POSSE VIDERE DIV." — on the wall to the left: "ANDREAS SOLARIO F. 1505." The surface is blinded by restoring and minute stippling. On the letter in the figures' hands are the words: "Nobili Joanni Christophoro Longono amico."

Borghese Palace at Rome and the feeblest in the Galgani collection at Sienna.¹

Meanwhile French rule had been established in Lombardy under the direction of an ambitious and powerful churchman, who, not content with the cardinal's hat, aspired to the see of St. Peter; Cardinal George of Amboise had had occasion to admire the best examples of all the Italian schools, but had probably devoted more time to politics than painting. When he began building a chapel at Gaillon after his return from Italy he remembered how nobly the churches of the Peninsula had been decorated by the genius of her artists and he longed to invite one of these to France. It might be a question with him what school would best suit the taste of Frenchmen, or what craftsman would consent to leave his country for a foreign land. Of all the craftsmen of that age there were none with whom the French were better acquainted than the Lombards, none more admirable in their eyes than Leonardo. Confident of the influence wielded at Milan by his nephew Chaumont, the Cardinal might hope to win Da Vinci to his purpose; but that the king of France had already taken steps to secure his services. It happened, we should think, at that time, that Chaumont had been sitting to Solario for his portrait and was satisfied with the result, and Solario was therefore induced

¹ Rome, Palazzo Borghese. Room III. No. 1. Half length. Wood, under life size. Christ crowned with thorns carries his cross with the help of a man in profile on the left who supports it with one hand, whilst a captain, in a red cap, presents his full face in half gloom to the right. The ground is black, the red drapery hard, the flesh glazed like porcelain. Sienna, Signor Francesco Galgani. The same subject with the figures of the two soldiers right and left in helmets, ruined by abrasion and of doubtful originality, though bearing fragments of a signature

ex. gr.: ANDRE.S . . . EDIO.... Same collection. The same figure of Christ as the foregoing, but without the soldiers, pallid glassy, but apparently genuine, much abraded in surface, and signed in the upper corner to the left:

“AD MEDIOLANES
F
1505.”

The hand is injured, the face sealed in spots and the inscription not free from taint. No. 211 at the Berlin Museum, Christ carrying his cross (wood, 2 f. 4 1/2 h. by 1 f. 10 1/4), is a pallid glassy school piece.

to accept a commission from the cardinal. He left Milan for Paris, with an assistant, on the 7th of August 1507, crossed the Alps perhaps by the Mont Cenis to Lyons and thence to Paris and Gaillon, by the road subsequently taken by Cellini and del Sarto.

For two years Solario remained at Gaillon surrounded by men of French nationality who worked in various parts of the castle at salaries infinitesimally small compared to his. In September 1509, he retired after completing a nativity and composing subjects for an entire chapel.¹

The portrait of Chaumont or Charles of Amboise found its way to France in Solario's keeping, or after Chaumont's death; it came, a century ago, into the royal collection of France, and was persistently held to be a likeness of Charles the VIIIth by da Vinci. This honorable name it does not in any sense deserve. It is a fine half-length, in which Chaumont appears in a rich damask vest and pelisse, with a medal in his cap, and the order of St. Michael at his breast; it is most carefully drawn and minutely finished but executed with cold precision, and as remarkable for the combination of gay landscape, with ruddy, uniform, and sparsely shadowed tints as any that Solario had hitherto produced.²

The frescos and pictures of Gaillon were amongst the first to suffer from the frenzy of the French revolution, and in 1793 the chapel of George of Amboise was razed

¹ The records of Solario's labours at Gaillon were found by Mr. Deville, but no one as yet has printed them. They are noticed by Mündler, *Analyse*, p. 122, and the substance of them is given in the catalogue of the Louvre. For the journey he received 70 *écus*, for wages of a year 370 livres and for the expenses of himself and man, per annum 100 livres. The pay of French painters at the time in Gaillon was 4 sous per diem. The nativity is noted in an inven-

tary of the treasures of Gaillon in 1550.

² Louvre. No. 404. Wood, 0. 75 h. by 0. 52. Bust, $\frac{3}{4}$ to the left, assigned by different critics to Leonardo, Perugino, and Boltraffio, and correctly by Mündler (*Anal.* 122) to Solario. There are marks of restoring on the throat and right cheek, and some want of transparency may be caused by repeated varnishings. The touch is firm but fluid.

with pitiless rigour to the ground. But Solario, long in the pay of a powerful dignitary, had formed a large French connection with which he kept up relations after his return to Italy; and thus we account for the number of his masterpieces which found a market in France.

The Madonna "au coussin vert" was painted for the Franciscans of Blois who gave it to Mary of Medicis. It fell into the hands of Mazarin who sold it to the Prince of Carignan; and at the sale of that Prince's Gallery it was bought for Louis the XVth and placed in the royal collection.¹

A beautiful "Christ crowned with thorns" which wandered into the palaces of the Dukes of Liancourt and La Rochefoucault, is now one of the ornaments of Baron Speck's countryhouse at Lütshena near Leipzig, whilst a second almost equally fine came into the Lochis-Carrara Gallery at Bergamo. The Baptist's head in a silver charger, sold at the Pourtales sale some years ago, bears the painter's name and the date of 1507.

The Madonna "au coussin vert" charms us more by rich and glossy tones than by concentration of feeling. The Virgin smiles; but the smile which hangs on the lips is belied by the eye. The same rigidity which marks the muscular play of features pervades the surface generally; the drawing is accurate but dry, the flesh unbroken and stony; yet the treatment is polished and fresh; and tender grey half-tones of gauzy texture almost conceal the streaks of the hatchings. Brilliant contrasts are produced by the white cloth on the Virgin's head, the green cushion on which the infant rests, the marble of the parapet and the

¹ Louvre. No. 403. Wood. M. 0. 60 h. by 0. 50. Copied for the cordeliers of Blois by Jean Mosnier in 1600. On the back of the panel are the words: "Tablond Andrea Solario achte de M^r le Duc de Masarin par moie Prende de Carignan A.D.S." No. 92. Compare Louvre Catalogue, Mündler, Anal. 204, and Felibien, Entretiens 8^o. Trévoux. There is a copy of

this piece by some old master in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. No. 79. Wood. 1 f. 3¹/₂ h. by 0 f. 11. — In the Lochis-Carrara Gallery at Bergamo, a small Madonna giving the breast to the infant, is catalogued under the name of Andrea Salai and might be a feeble adaptation of the Virgin of the Coussin Vert by Solario himself.

pure sky and clear landscape. The group is gracefully arranged; and the child clings prettily to the breast which the Virgin stoops to give.

With greater softness and truer inwardness, the Christ of Lüttschena is a creation of deeper significance than the Madonna of the Louvre. Resigned suffering abounds in the gentle bend and placid calm of the face. Tears flow from the downcast eyes, blood drops from the punctures of the thorns; but the fettered hands, unwrung by pain, hang loosely on each other, and the rope round the neck is a mere emblem of constraint. Long hair in auburn locks falls to the shoulders and lies on the scarlet mantle. A reed in the right hand is painted with truthful cunning. Finely chiselled features and select forms are combined with natural action; yellow flesh lights fade into mellow half tone and shadow with effect not unlike that of Leonardo, yet the life blood trickles thinly through the forms; and something of wan coldness strikes the view.¹

Softer and more velvety the "man of sorrows" in the Gallery of Bergamo, is distinguished by a tender and moving mournfulness; and the frosted bloom of the surface is worthy of the greatest admiration.²

Of singular dignity in the regularity and beauty of its features is the head of the Baptist in a silver charger, a picture unsurpassed in the Lombard school for brilliancy, finish, and subtle treatment of detail, and an almost matchless combination of smooth modelling and fine polish. The hair and the reverberations in the vase are masterly.³ It is only

¹ Lüttschena near Leipzig. Canvass, on panel 2 f. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 1 f. 8. Purchased from the Friesische Sammlung in Vienna, on dark ground. In gold letters at the bottom to the left: "ANDREA. DE SOLARIO . . . A . . ." See Felibien, *Entretiens*. 8^o. London 1705. Tom. I. 172.

² Bergamo, Lochis-Carrara. Bust of Christ crowned with thorns on a black ground, attributed to Cesare da Sesto. It reminds us of

the Christ at Lüttschena. The head is inclined in the opposite direction, but has the same type, tenderness and tone. There is however more furry softness in the handling.

³ Paris, ex-Pourtales Coll. Wood, life size, a repetition of the subject treated by Bramantino at the Ambrosiana (see antea) and of the same type. The cup on which the head lies is on a table and painted against a dark underground. On the table: "Andreas de Solario fecit"

after seeing such works as these that we confidently assign to Solario the "Colombine" of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, a figure of such charm that in the Orleans and Hague collections it was considered worthy of Leonardo and in the Petersburg Gallery worthy of Luini. It is one of Solario's clearest productions and gay alike in subject and in treatment. Colombine sits in poetic undress under the lee of a rock overgrown with weeds and ivy; the rich festoons of a white dress strewed with yellow blossoms held by a jewelled brooch, leaving one breast uncovered. A blue tunic falls from the shoulders. The hair in a profusion of short curls is brushed off the forehead. In the left hand Colombine holds a flower at which she is glancing. There is much coquetry in the air of the person; and it is curious to observe that the form was first drawn from the nude and then sketchily clad with its loose conventional garments. Leonardo would probably have imagined something less gallant than this beauteous apparition. He would have drawn the right hand more accurately and modulated the flesh with more subtly broken tones. Yet the Colombine is to be prized amongst the best productions not only of Solario but of the Lombard school.¹

A striking feature in Solario's later period is the Raphaelesque element introduced into his Virgins or groups of Virgin and child. It has been stated with some confidence that he accompanied Andrea da Salerno to South Italy and was employed in 1513 in the "Chapel of San Gaudenzio" at Naples.² This might account for the new direction which he gave to his art. In a Madonna belonging

1507." and on the frame: "Alvo virginis latentem christum ex vero agnovi editum indicavi LA/1. EI lotus future salutis angelus cruore fidei. Testimonium Sanxi.

¹ St. Petersburg, Hermitage. No. 74. Wood, transferred to canvass. 1 f. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ h. by 1 f. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$." Some bits of the blue mantle are repainted

afresh. Compare Waagen, *Ermitage* n. s. p. 54. The picture was purchased by Egalité, Duke of Orleans, with the whole coll. of the banker Walekiers in Brussels. Before coming into the gallery of the Hague it was in possession of the banker Danoot.

² Calvi, *Notizie*, II. 277.

to the late Pourtales collection there is distinct evidence of Raphaelesque influence in the graceful momentary action of the child who strides from a balcony over the Virgin's lap and looks round as he hangs to her neck. Solario's rendering of movement in this instance is not without affectation nor is the treatment remarkable for impulsiveness; but the execution is very characteristic; and the landscape equally so.¹ We also detect Solario's determined precision of hand and semi-opaque uniformity of flesh surface in a handsome bust portrait assigned to Antonello da Messina in the Duchatel collection in Paris.² Not less certainly his but with the Leonardesque smorphia which clings to Luini and Cesare da Sesto is the daughter of Herodias receiving the head of the Baptist from a grim executioner — a picture which once formed part of the Orleans Gallery and some years ago, belonged to Mr. Georges in Paris. But in this large composition, the general tone is more sombre and empty than usual.³

One of the cabinet pieces in which Solario rose to the rarest refinements of thought and treatment is the Holy Family of the Poldi collection at Milan, a group of three figures finished in 1515. The scene is a landscape unusually well harmonized in its detail and effect, in which the Virgin, dismounted from the ass who roams in a glade, sits holding the infant Christ, St. Joseph divested

¹ Paris, Pourtales Coll. Wood, under life size, half length. Through openings in the room hilly landscapes with two little figures are seen. The figures are slender and dry, the flesh a little empty and uniform.

² Paris, Comte Duchatel. Wood. Small bust of a bareheaded youth, whose yellow hair is shorn straight over the brow. A blue vest is partly covered by a dark cloak.

³ Paris, M^r. Georges. Wood, with three figures, full length and almost life size. At a table is the daughter of Herodias, with one hand on the vase over which the Baptist's head

is held by the executioner who stands in rear with a scimitar in his right, an aged spectator between the two. Herodias has a red bodice and skirt, a white sleeve and blue cenerine mantle. A green cloth lies on the table. — Same subject at Hampton Court No. 258 under the name of Leonardo is a copy more empty in flesh tint and feebler in execution than the original of M^r. Georges. The same subject without the spectators in the Belvedere at Vienna, First Floor, Room IV. No. 24. (Wood, 4 f. 3 h. by 2 f. 6). It seems a Flemish copy (?) Franz Floris.

of his water bottle, presenting a piece of fruit to the child. We note with peculiar interest how truly Leonardesque the Virgin's type and pose appear; we mark a decided leaning to Raphaellesque models in St. Joseph, who much resembles his counterpart in the Earl of Ellesmere's Madonna of the palm (Raphael). We detect the source of Gaudenzio's numerous creations in the figure of the Saviour.¹

It was during these years that Solario finished the pretty Virgin with Christ and the young Baptist in the Leuchtemberg Gallery at St. Petersburg, the well known panel upon which a clumsy forger wrote the words: "Antonius de Solario Venetus" in order to give some colour and life to the legend of the Neapolitan Zingaro.² Solario was a man of great artistic activity and he probably finished a considerable number of works preserved under various names in public and private collections amongst which we should dwell on the Virgin and child of Mr. Baring miscalled Verrocchio; St. George and St. Sebastian, two miniature panels in Hamilton palace near Glasgow, and the St. Catherine ascribed to Luini in the Pinakothek at Munich.³ As a portrait painter too he

¹ Milan, Casa Poldi. Panel with figures one fifth of life size, inscribed: "Andreas de Solario Mediolan f. 1515." Some parts of the dresses have undergone a necessary repair, but the landscape is in admirable preservation.

² St. Petersburg, Leuchtemberg Gallery. Wood, transferred to panel, small round. 1 f. 6 h. by 0 f. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$. The Virgin holds the infant in the crenelated opening of a parapet, behind the higher portion of which the young Baptist stands with a reed cross and fruits. The infant Christ holds a bird with a string. Ground: a curtain and through an opening a landscape. On a cartello on the parapet the signature. See Rosini's History of Painting III. 28, and Tav. XXXVII. See also the

attempt to prove the signature to be that of Antonio Solario, in a pamphlet of 24 pages by G. A. Moschini called: "Memorie della Vita di Antonio Solario etc. Firenze 1832." The forgery imposed on Reumont, who notices the picture then in the hands of the Abate Celotti in Venice. Compare his article in Kunstblatt No. 38, anno 1832. Compare also Waagen (Ermitage p. 374) who ascribes the panel "to a pupil of Giovanni Bellini." It may be that this is the piece catalogued in the Carignan Coll. and sold in 1742. (Mündler, Anal. 123.)

³ London, Baring Collection. Small panel. The Virgin behind a parapet of coloured marbles holds the infant Christ erect on a checkered carpet on the parapet. In

had a select practise; and we may accept as genuine not only the bust of a man attributed to Cesare da Sesto at the Brera,¹ but the masterly likeness of Maximilian Sforza in Casa Perego at Milan. There are few more successful efforts of the kind in the Milanese school, than this portrait of the hapless Sforza, bred a fugitive in the antichamber of an Austrian Emperor, for two years (1512, 1514) at the head of the Milanese state and then a pensioner in Paris on the bounty of France. He was drawn by Solario in the splendid costume of his palmy days, in the cap to which a medal is affixed, bearing the image of a patron saint, in a pelisse with fur lining and a richly ornamented jacket. It may perhaps be thought that this picture could be assigned with equal justice to Cesare da Sesto; but the landscape seen through the openings of the room is altogether in the manner of Solario.²

At the close of his life, and at a date little remote we should think from 1515 Solario had an order for a large altarpiece of the Assumption for the Certosa of Pavia. He painted the lower part of it and left the rest to be

the distance a castle, in the upper left hand corner of the picture a green curtain. An arabesque in the border of the Virgin's dress, which originally read we should think "Ave Maria etc." was twisted into A. Ver . . . etc., and thus suggested the name of Verrocchio. The picture is by Solario, of lively and well blended colour with figures of a regular and gentle type. The drawing is accurate but dry, the drapery broken and angular. The date of this piece may be about 1503. It would then be contemporary with the crucifixion of the Louvre. Hamilton Palace. These two small panels represent St. George and St. Sebastian in niches with the crown of martyrdom suspended over their heads by angels, St. George at three quarters in armour trampling on the dragon, St. Sebastian with the sword and two arrows in his hands. The

flesh is clear and shaded in silver grey.

Munich, Pinakothek. Saal. No. 565, under the name of Luini. Wood, 2 f. $3\frac{3}{4}$ h. by 1 f. $7\frac{1}{4}$. St. Catherine in a landscape ($\frac{1}{2}$ l.) with the palm in her right and the wheel at her side. The distance of hills is painted with Solario's usual clear touch, but it is of a hazy blue and partly injured by repaints which impinge on the hair. The drapery is a little involved and of a dull red tinge; the right hand spoiled, the left well preserved.

¹ Milan, Brera. No. 236. Wood. M. 0. 43 h. by 0. 32. Man with long hair in a black cap and blue vest.

² Milan, Casa Perego. Wood, half length at a parapet. With a red curtain and an open window, with a landscape as background.

finished by Bernardino Campi; but he evidently retained his powers to the last, and we detect no diminution of his skill in the life size apostles whom he placed round the Virgin's tomb.¹

Abundant illustrations may be found in the domestic annals of the house of Sforza to characterize the relations of Milanese artists with their patrons. The frequency and splendour of pageants or progresses and the number of men whose service they absorbed are less striking than the high handed authority with which artists were treated. Lodovico Sforza, recently married to Beatrix of Este was about to present her, in state, to the people of Milan. In December 1490 he issued commands that the castle of Porta Giovia should be prepared for his reception, and, without a moment's delay, a circular was despatched to all the guildsmen of the state, ordering them under penalty of fine, to appear in Milan within twenty four hours. At the summons, Buttinone and Zenale from Treviglio, Troso from Monza, and others from Como, Pavia, Cremona, Tortona, Novara and Lodi, hastened to the rendezvous; they were told off to their several duties by Ambrogio Ferrari, the commissioner of works, and adorned the great hall of the palace "ad istoriam". In the earlier reign of Galeazzo Maria the castles of Milan and Pavia were decorated with almost equal speed, by Bonifacio Bembo, Constantino Vaprio, Gadio and Stefano de' Fedeli; whilst about the same period Zanetto Bugatti, painter in ordinary to the Ducal court, covered Santa Maria delle Grazie at Vigevano with frescos, and Jacopo Vismara with Bonifacio Bembo, Gian Jacopo di Filippo of Lodi, Gabriel Vaprio and Gregorio Zavattari filled with their designs the sanctuary of Caravaggio and the palace of the countess of Melzi. It was customary to subject even these hasty

¹ Pavia, Certosa, Sacristy. Three large panels with life size figures. The Virgin with angels in the sky and the landscape by Bernardino Campi. The figures have suffered from repainting. This altarpiece is assigned to Solario by Vas. VII. 105.

productions of the brush to a rigid inspection, and, accordingly, Foppa, Montorfano, Gadio, Moretto and Stefano de' Magistri were deputed to value the work of Stefano de' Fedeli, whilst Vismara and Gottardo Scotto valued that of Zanetto Bugatti. Of those we have named Zenale, Buttinone, and Foppa, are masters of mark, Bembo and Montorfano are known; the rest have seldom, if ever, been noticed. We may add to the list, Antonio and Stefano da Pandino, Jacopo and Christoforo de' Motti, Francesco de Vico; Ambrogio and Filippo Bevilacqui, Bernardino de' Conti, and Civerchio without exhausting the catalogue of Lombard craftsmen.

Antonio da Pandino painted the apostles in the pendentives of the cupola at San Satiro of Milan, for many generations attributed to "old Bramante" (Calvi, *Notizie*, P. II. 24, 281), and a window at the Pavian Certosa with St. Michael overcoming the dragon, which still bears his signature. There is reason to believe that he was a skilled glazier taught in the early part of the century (1416—1458), by Stefano da Pandino of Milan (Calvi u. s. I. 127, 136, 143—147).

Gregorio Zavattari bore a name of frequent occurrence in Milanese annals. He was employed in the sanctuary of Caravaggio before 1477 (Michele Caffi, *Archiv. Stor.* Tom. X, Part. I. 1869. p. 173). His namesake Francesco, a glazier at Milan in 1417, was, later, a partner of Cristoforo Zavattari (Calvi, *Notizie* I. 127; II. 144, 238), with whom (1444) he executed forty scenes from the legend of Queen Theodolinda in Santa Maria del Rosario, an oratory annexed to the Monza Duomo. Nine years after, they were on the roll of the Certosa of Pavia where (1453) the walls of a chapel were covered with their designs. Though dimmed by age and dust, the Monza frescos are still visible and authenticated by a signature:

"Suspice qui transis ut vivos corpore vultus
Peneque spirantes et signa simillima verbis
De Zavattaris hæc ornare capellam
Preter in excelsum convexe picta truine.
1444".

They comprise hundreds of figures and copious details of animal and still life with gold grounds and embossments in a careful style recalling Nelli, Fabriano, Pisano, or the Sanseverini, but with ruder contour and sharper contrasts of tone and less knowledge of drawing than we find even in the juvenile efforts of those masters.

Akin to these in childishness though not directly related to them in manner is a cycle of scenes from the Passion, with separate impersonations of the Redeemer, the Virgin, Baptist, Peter, Paul, and apostles (half length) in Sant' Abondio of Como — a cycle as antiquated in conception as any belonging to the Siennese school of the 14th century. Like these again in rudeness are: St. Sebastian and St. Roch "Ambroxio de Muralto pinxit" a Virgin, child, and kneeling

patron and the annunciation inscribed: "1487 die X3 mensis Novembris factus fuit hoc opus" — (frescos) in the Duomo at Lugano; a Virgin of mercy; "Jacobinus de Varlate fecit", in a lunette, a St. John the Baptist with other saints, dated 1471 and 1479, and a coronation of the Virgin with numberless canonized saints in Zavattari's manner on the walls, a St. Christopher, fragmentary, with the words: "1442 die 3. Junii [hoc opus fecit.] magistri Jacobi de Murinis de Mortara, in the façade, at Santa Maria in Selva of Locarno; the Virgin and angel annunciate and a figure pointing to a scroll inscribed: "EGO IOHANNES LAMPVGNANVS PINSIT ANNO 1494" (monochromes) on a house front in the contrada San Domenico at Legnano.

Cristoforo de' Motti of Milan is proved by a record of February 9. 1468 to have been commissioned at that date to decorate a chapel in the cathedral of Genoa (Santo Varni, *Appunti artistici sopra Levante*, 8^a. Genova 1870. p. 78). He stained windows for the Milan cathedral in 1476, designed a St. Bernard on glass, "opus Cristofori de Motis 1477" still extant in the Certosa of Pavia, and a series of wall pictures, in good preservation it is said, at the Madonnina of Cantù — the latter inscribed: "Ambrosius Vigievensis et Cristoforus Motus 1514 p." (Calvi, *Notizie*, II. 197, 203).

The most notable point in the life of Jacopo de' Motti is that, in company with the Cremonese Antonio Cicognara, he valued Borgognone's frescos at the Incoronata of Lodi in 1500. Between 1485 and 1490 he executed some of the glass work of the Pavian Certosa and in the following years, he worked in many chapels of the same edifice, particularly that in the ceiling of which there are medallions of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. He also finished a Madonna between two canonized bishops for one of the altars in 1491. In 1497 he was ordered from Milan to the Incoronata of Lodi, to value an altar by the sculptors G. P. and A. Donati. He died of plague fever at Milan on the 18th of Dec. 1505. From the remains of his frescos at the Certosa we judge him to have been an artist of the most ordinary power (Calvi, *Notizie* II. 201—203, 254).

Giovanni Jacopo di Filippo da Lodi a contemporary of Foppa, and author of an annunciation (obliterated) above the portal of the great cloisters of the Ospitale Maggiore at Milan, completed an altarpiece for the Gesuati of San Girolamo (missing) in 1472 (Caffi, *Arch. Stor.* 1869. Part. I. p. 173. Calvi, *Notizie*, II. 130).

Troso di Giovanni Jacobi of Milan has been considered by many authors (ex gr. Lanzi, *Hist. of Painting* II. 476), as the true painter of the frescos bearing the signature of the Zavattari in the Duomo of Monza. A deed, from which we learn that he was of age in 1477 (Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.* I. p. 30), proves that he was then practising at Bergamo in partnership with one Scanuardi d'Averara. During his stay at Bergamo he designed cartoons for Fra Damiano's tarsias in San Domenico (anonimo ed. Morelli p. 50) and adorned the front of a mansion in Porta Pinta. At Monza in 1490, he received the commands of Lodovico Sforza to paint in the Porta Giovia palace (Calvi II. 242). He subsequently worked largely at Milan decorating the façade of the Mendoza palace in the Via de' Maravigli (Lomazzo *Tratt.* 271), with designs "surprising for their beauty" (ib. ib. and S. Rosta to G. Ghezzi. *Lettere Pitt. racc.* Bottari, Milan 1822. III. 505). His latest specialty was "grotesques, arabesques, chimæras, fruit and birds" (Lom. *Tratt.* 475.)

Zanetto Bugatti enjoyed the emoluments of place at the courts of Francesco and Galeazzo Maria Sforza. On two important occasions he was

charged with the delicate commission of taking the likenesses of marriageable princesses — that of Ippolita Sforza, sent to France in 1450, that of Bona of Savoy taken for Galeazzo at the French court in 1467. Bugatti's next sitters were Galeazzo Maria, his wife and their only child, placed (1473) in the choir of San Celso of Milan. His latest creations were frescos in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Vigevano. In 1476 he was still living (Calvi, *Notizie* II. 192—194, 195).

Francesco de Vico would have remained unknown but for the discovery of his name in the books of the Milan Hospital. After the foundation of that edifice in 1456, active measures were taken to secure its being adorned with suitable paintings; and Poppa was employed to represent the laying of the first stone in a fresco of the portico (see *antea*). One of the minutes of a chapter meeting held in April 1464 contains a resolution ordering portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Milan to be taken as a tribute of honour by an artist of skill. Between that date and 1472 when payments are recorded (Ms. Milan Hospital) de Vico completed the two pictures which are now preserved in the Hospital church.

The interest of these canvasses lies in the subjects rather than in their treatment. One of them represents Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza kneeling before Pius the II^d who grants a bull to build the hospital. The Pope is surrounded by Cardinals, the Duke and Duchess in gala dress. In the second canvass the Duchess and her consort kneel at an altar in front of the hospital attended by the archbishop of Milan and suite. It is a pity that de Vico's power as an artist should be lost in a maze of repaints. We may safely consider him to have been a third rate Milanese (compare De Pagave ms. life of Bramante and Calvi II. 62). His manner may perhaps be traced from earlier efforts of the school of which remains are preserved.

At Cascine d'Olna, within twelve miles of Milan, there is an oratory containing the crucifixion, last judgment, and other gospel subjects. The four doctors are in the ceiling, St. Anthony and another saint in a fragmentary state on the façade. A stone within the portal bears words in Gothic letters to this purport: "*Ista elexia est edificata et consecrata p. P. paulus de Mantegazis ad onore S^{ti}. Johⁱ Batiste anno MCCCCLXVIIJ*". These frescos are not well preserved, being in part obliterated and stained, but where time has spared them they divulge an art akin to that of the Milanese of the middle of the 15th century, the figures being wooden and shadeless and outlined with black stringy contours. They are lower in the scale of art-production than those of the Schifanoia at Ferrara yet of similar impress, recalling works by persons of the following of Benozzo and Rosselli. Work of the same stamp, but not without signs of improvement is to be found in a lunette fresco of the Epiphany in the right transept of Sant' Eustorgio, in a fresco of the Flagellation on the walls of the cortile at Santa Maria delle Grazie, and in a monumental altarpiece alternately given to Bramantino, Civerchio and Poppa in San Pietro in Gessate, at Milan (see Rosini, u. s. Tav. XCVII. Calvi, *Notizie* II. 207, and Passavant, *Kunstblatt*. No. 67. anno 1838). Amongst the second rates at Milan there were doubtless some whose style bore the general impress of the early Bramantinesque coincident with distinct marks of inferiority. The altarpiece at San Pietro in Gessate is of this kind, a large canvass tempera divided into fields by architrave and pilaster. The Virgin and child adored by a kneeling couple (supposed to be Mariotto Obiani and his wife Antonia Michelletti) between St. Anthony and St. Benedict, sit enthroned in the lower

course; the upper contains Christ supported on the edge of the tomb by angels, with St. Sebastian and St. Roch at the sides (condition: dimmed by varnishing — Virgin's blue mantle retouched). — The group of the Madonna is fairly conceived and not unattractive, the Virgin comely and the child of pleasant shape. The drawing is careful and precise, the architectural background tasteful and appropriately filled. The nude in the upper course is dry and wooden in consequence of the primitive way in which the projections of bone and muscle are indicated by lines. A dull grey tone pervades the surface. Without the merit of Foppa or Bramantino, this piece reminds us in some points of de Vico; and it may be placed in the same class as the Flagellation at Santa Maria delle Grazie or the subjects at the Hospital. Examples of the same sort are to be found in certain wall-paintings at San Pietro in Gessate assigned to Civerchio and forming the decoration of a chapel dedicated to the Virgin (Calvi 208, yet in another place the same author assigns these frescos to Pisano, *ib.* 107). On one of the fields is the marriage, on the other, the death and ascension of the Virgin. The ceiling, much damaged by damp, is divided into sections containing saints in couples and angels in medallions. We might attribute the free motion of certain figures in the assumption to a man under the influence of Borgognone, but we distinguish something akin to the manner of de Vico, in the hardness and ugliness of oblong heads, the black and broken contour of the frames and drapery, and the dryness or stilted air of the personages in the foreground of the same composition.

Giovanni Donato Montorfano is better known to us than other Milanese artists of the second or third rank because every traveller who visits Santa Maria delle Grazie to mourn over the ruins of da Vinci's last supper, feels bound to cast a glance at the crucifixion on the opposite wall. The blotches on the foreground of that vast and dramatic composition indicate where Leonardo once painted those likenesses of the Duke and Duchess of Milan, which from the peculiar nature of their technical treatment were doomed to speedy and complete destruction. There is much richness and variety in the distribution and movement of the life size figures which are thrown in numbers upon the wall. Besides the chief incidents of the subject *per se* a line of saints occupies a portion of the ground and gives to the whole design something of a formal unartistic character. Anthony, Peter Martyr, Chiara, and others stand in the middle distance; whilst St. Dominick and a brother of his order kneel opposite each other in front. Between the latter, a cartello exhibits the words: "1495. IO. DONATVS MONTORFANVS. P.". Vasari says truly of this fresco that it is in the antiquated manner (VII. 24), yet the figures, if not remarkable for beauty or expression, are correct in proportion and diverse in character. A dignified calm pervades the forms of the crucified Saviour whose frame is rendered with studied imitation of the anatomy of nude; but the coldness of flesh parts, the want of strong shadow and the realism of embossments detract from the merit of the picture; and awkward stiffness is produced to the eye by opaque tone, defective drawing of feet and hands, and angular break of drapery folds.

Before acquiring the power undoubtedly displayed in this piece, Montorfano must have had considerable practise; and we may believe that he is the same person whom we discover in records under the name of Batista Montorfano as valuer of the decorations at the Porta Giovia palace in the reign of Galeazzo Maria Sforza.

There are fragments from the ruins of the Milanese Ch. of S. M.

della Rosa representing single figures of saints, two female (one half gone) and one male in episcopals, now in the court of the Ambrosiana (assigned by Calvi II. 250 to Borgognone) which are clearly by the author of the crucifixion; but we may perhaps most correctly class amongst his works the scenes from the legend of St. Anthony in a chapel at San Pietro in Gessate. Though some writers give these frescos to Civerchio (Vas. annot. VI. p. 107), the tendency of criticism has been to ascribe them to Buttinone and Zenale (Passavant, *Kunstblatt*, ann. 1838. No. 67. Calvi II. 107, 116); but we can see by comparison that though somewhat reminiscent of Zenale they are not similar to the fragment in the chapel of Saint Ambrose. Montorfano here has an advantage denied to him at the Grazie, in the smaller size of the personages and the more pictorial nature of the subject; he is for that reason more successful, though he never rises to a very high level. In both lunettes of the chapel there are three standing saints; and figures fill the ribbed vaulting as well as the window slants. One of the principal episodes on the walls below is St. Anthony driving out the devil, the other is St. Anthony communing with his disciples and receiving food from an angel. There are many points of resemblance between the group of the possessed girl and her relations, and that of the swooning Madonna in the crucifixion at the Grazie, a resemblance of form, of drawing, and technical execution. In the other frescos this resemblance is confined to the features of a landscape and the general order of distribution. It may be that Buttinone and Zenale contracted for this chapel, but we might then suppose that they entrusted the execution to Montorfano.

It has not been proved, yet it may be likely, that Ambrogio da Vigevano who was de' Motti's partner at Canth in 1514 was one of the Bevilacqua mentioned by Lomazzo (Tratt^o 405). There were two brothers of that name, Ambrogio and Filippo, both as partners, employed in the Milan palace (Ib. ib.) but the latter less known than the former. Ambrogio painted a charity and scenes incidental to the exercise of charity on the front of the Milan poor house in 1486; he had for some time a salary in the Duomo. We are not acquainted with more than one of his pictures — a Virgin and child with a kneeling devotee between king David and Peter Martyr at the Brera (No. 375. W. m. 1.36 square) inscribed: "Jo Ambrosius De Beaquis Dictus Liberalis pinxit 1502". We still discern beneath the injuries of time the original feebleness of this panel. It is a cold washy production suggesting the influence of Borgognone. It leads us to give Bevilacqua the Madonna with saints and devotees catalogued in the Berlin Museum (No. 1137) as a Bramantino. (See Calvi, *Notizie* II. 236.)

Of Stefano de' Magistri and Stefano de' Fedeli, of Gottardo Scotto, and Jacopo Visnara we know no more than has been stated in previous paragraphs.

Bernardino de' Conti is a follower of Zenale of whose life no record has been kept. A profile bust of a prelate in the Berlin Museum (No. 55. W. 1 f. 8 h. by 1 f. 7) bears his name: "ME FECIT BERNARDINVS DE COMITIBVS" and the date "MCCCCCLXXXVIII". It is a harsh sombre panel with flesh shadows of an earthy tinge. Of similar technical treatment and reminiscent alike of the schools of Zenale and Gian' Pedrini is a Virgin in profile giving the breast to the infant at a window, with a flower vase on its sill and a landscape outside. This Madonna is known at Schleissheim (No. 1115) as a Garofalo and has suffered from flaying; it is the original of a

replica of feeble character in the Lochis Carrara Gallery at Bergamo inscribed: "Bernardinus de Comitibus pinxit 1501". In both pieces the child looking round and turning its back to the spectator is outlined in the manner of that which we see ascribed to Leonardo though really by Zenale at the Hermitage in Petersburg (No. 344, Petersburg, see *antea* in Zenale). Though an artist of small means Bernardino sometimes succeeds better than usual when copying or adapting the works of superior masters. We just observed some likeness between parts of a Madonna at Schleissheim, and another at Petersburg. A copy of the latter (wood, half life) in the Casa Poldi at Milan displays Bernardino's stiffness of impast and sombre key of tone. The same group apparently by the same hand is in the Borromeo collection at Milan, and in a round (much repainted, but assigned by Waagen *Treasures*, III. 122 to Boltraffio) at Blenheim. At Milan, however, the background is a wall with two windows. Of this class again we should register No. 288 at the Lochis Carrara gallery representing the marriage of St. Catherine, a copy of which, in half lengths, with the addition of a St. Jerom is called Leonardo in the collection of the Earl of Dudley.

Lomazzo mentions, besides Foppa, two painters of the name of Vincenzo; he speaks of Vincenzo Civerchio and Vincenzo Bressano, assigning to the first the miracles of St. Peter Martyr and the four doctors in the pendentives of the capella di San Pietro Martire at Sant' Eustorgio, and frescos in the castle of Milan. Of Vincenzo Bressano he merely notes the talent in producing friezes and foliage ornament (*Trattato* 317, 405). The loss incurred by the destruction of most of the works ascribed to Vincenzo Civerchio of Milan is under these circumstances serious; yet we may find some means of correcting Lomazzo in the small fragments which remain. The doctors at Sant' Eustorgio are seen looking out of circular openings in steep perspective, in the manner of those designed in the semidome of the *Eremitani* at Padua. It is difficult to shake off the impression that they were executed by Foppa whom we saw imitating the accessories of Mantegna in a martyrdom of St. Sebastian; nor can we think it likely, that two persons called Vincenzo should have lived at Milan after receiving their education at Padua. We should be strengthened in these doubts by the fact that there are no other frescos at Milan to be classed with those of Sant' Eustorgio except the frescos of Foppa; and further by the fact that the Doctors at Sant' Eustorgio, injured as they have been, still bear marks of the pleasant colouring and natural action which are common to figures by Vincenzo Foppa. Nor is there any pretext, for attributing either to the artist of Sant' Eustorgio, or to Civerchio Bressano, the wall paintings of the chapel of St. Anthony or the Obiani altarpiece at San Pietro in Gessate, which, as before remarked are in the manner of Montorfano, Francesco de Vico, or others of that school. (Lomazzo u. s. Carlo Torre, *Ritratto di Milano*, p. 319, Lattuada *Descriz. di Milano*, Calvi II. 207, *Passavant*, *Kunstblatt* 1838, No. 67.)

Vincenzo Bressano is probably the person known to us as Vincenzo Civerchio, or, as the anonimo calls him, "il Forner" of Crema, (Anon. 55) who appears for the first time at Brescia in 1493 as the successor of Foppa. He spent four years in adorning the choir of the old Cathedral, a laborious work which perished early (Zamboni *memorie* . . . di Brescia); and his signature appears to authenticate an

altarpiece on panel in San Barnaba of Brescia inscribed: "OPVS VINCEN-CIV DE CREMA 1495"; but the massive smears which cover the surface, and the present condition of the syllables of the name suggest unpleasant suspicions; and it may be prudent to withhold a confident opinion as to the authorship of the picture. In a lunette affixed to the upper framing the Saviour is supported on the sepulchre by the Virgin and Evangelist, whilst, lower down, St. Nicholas stands on a crystal orb in the transparence of which a quaint demon writhes. A bishop and a female hold a crown in air above the saint's head, and four angels adore his presence. At the sides are St. Sebastian and St. Roch in landscapes of very copious details. The drawing is resolute and cornered, but very poor in the extremities, the colour sombre, rough, and of that olive tinge in flesh which we meet in the works of Liberale da Verona. A vertical split runs down the middle of St. Nicholas; the gold grounds are new, and the signature in the hem of St. Roch's garment is re-gilt.

Of Civerchio's residence at Brescia during 1504 we have further proof in a *Pietà* executed for Sant' Alessandro of Brescia. In a landscape rich in minutiae but harsh in its contrasts of dark ground and green trees the Virgin bends over the dead body of the Saviour on her lap, whilst the Magdalen in tears clasps the feet. St. Paul looks over the Virgin's shoulder and St. John stands grieving to the left, the naked Adam in rear symbolizing original sin. On a cartello we read: "VINCENTIVS CREMENENSIS A MDIII." Though artistically arranged, this piece remains ineffective from lack of shadow. The drawing, of careful finish, is neither bold nor correct; nor is there any delicacy in the form of extremities. Draperies are purposeless and frittered away in angular breaks; flesh of earthy brown coincides with vestment tints of pallid key, and both are melting, empty, and unsubstantial. Scenes from the Passion, thrown off with some spirit in a predella, show no less neglect than the rest of the picture. Of the same date, and probably by the same hand, is the Entombment in the Chapel of the Sacrament at San Giovanni Evangelista, a composition of nine figures in a landscape with Golgotha in the distance assigned (ante I. 191) to Giovanni Bellini. Unauthentic as works of Civerchio are the small subjects in the framing of the annunciation under Angelico's name in Sant' Alessandro.

Though Brescia conferred on Civerchio the honour, without the charges, of citizenship (so the word "*Civis Brixie donatus*" has been interpreted), he did not reside there constantly. He returned to Cremona, after its surrender (1507) to the Venetians, and it was he who painted for the townhall the customary St. Mark between Justice and Temperance for which two years later the French governor Ricand substituted the arms of France (Ridolfi, *Marav.* II. p. 163). Other productions of Civerchio perished later, — amongst them the annunciation on the shutters of the organ and a carved figure of St. Pantaleo in the Duomo of Cremona (Anon. 55. Ridolfi, *Marav.* II. 163), a Virgin and Gabriel annunciate in the spandrels, with the Eternal in the key of the choir arch, besides St. Jerom and other figures in chapels, at San Bernardino (Calvi II. 210) and pictures in San Giacomo, of Crema (ib. ib.).

The earliest of Civerchio's works at Crema is the altarpiece of St. Sebastian between St. Cristopher and St. Roch (wood, oil, life size) on the foreground of which are the painter's monogram, two V's interlaced with C, the date "DXVIII" and the name: "Vincētius Civertus Creñsis civis Brixie Donatus faciebat." This panel, on the second

altar to the left of the portal in the Duomo was painted for the Braguti family for twenty nine ducats (Calvi II. 212), and is in respect of treatment similar to that of 1504. We discover some slight changes of style in a Madonna attended by angels and saints (wood, life size) in the old Duomo of Palazzuolo. As in earlier pieces, angularity and stilted affectation mark the form and drapery of certain figures, that of the Baptist to the left especially, whilst the opposite one of St. Fedele and the half lengths of St. Catherine and the Magdalen in the upper course denote an effort to cast off old stiffness and assume the freedom of Romanino; yet the drapery is not so broad but that it betrays the tendency to angularity, and the colour is not so bright but that it displays the fault of emptiness. On a cartello is the monogram with the words: "VICENTIVS CIVERCHIVS DE CREMA PINXIT MDXXV." St. Sebastian, St. Augustin, and St. Roch are introduced into the plinths; the daughter of Herodias presenting the head, the decollation and the nativity of Mary into the intermediate fields, of a predella. We had occasion to compare this piece with others of a similar manner by Brescianino; it has been broken out of its old frame and removed from the high altar to the sacristy, a series of operations by which its value was seriously impaired.

Large commissions were given to Civerchio in 1526, the most important of which was doubtless, for painting fresco portraits of illustrious citizens in the townhall of Crema (Ridolfi, Marav. II. 163; Calvi II. 213). To the same period are assigned the restoration of an old and miraculous effigy of the Pietà in the Duomo of Crema (Anon. 55), the "death of the Virgin" (1531) in the same place (Calvi II. 212), and other pieces which came into the Monte di Pietà (ib. ib.). The latest authentic picture of Civerchio is the Baptism of Christ, originally executed for Santa Marta of Crema in 1539 and now in the Tadini Collection at Lovere, a canvass with life size figures of the Baptist, pouring water on the head of the Saviour, three angels holding the garments at the side of the stream, and the dove with boy cherubs floating in air. On a cartello: "VICENTIVS CIVERCHIVS DE CREMA CIVIS BRIXIE DONATVS FECT I.D.XXXVIIIJ." In the neglected treatment of the work and its marked exaggeration of earlier failings, we detect the result of age and carelessness. A Virgin and child between St. Stephen and St. Lawrence in the same collection with a variety of form in the monogram (the C being placed in the centre of the interlaced V's) is catalogued under the name of Carlo Urbino, which may point to an erroneous nomenclature or to the fact that Carlo Urbino was Civerchio's disciple. Another example in which the monogram is an upturned V with the C in the centre is a canonized monk in the Lochis Carrara gallery, a canvass tempera, the true character of which is lost in repaints.

Before his style was reduced to the state in which we find it at Lovere, Civerchio, probably, designed fifteen scenes from the fable of Psyche, of which there are still remains in the house now called Casa Carioni but of old Vilmarcà at Crema (Anon. 56). The manner in these compositions, and the manner in busts of males and females, which form part of the same decoration, might prove that the artist did not disdain to use designs by Giulio Romano. A triad with angels in Sant' Andrea, and a frieze in Casa Zurla at Crema are mentioned as works of Civerchio (Calvi II. 213—15). A Virgin and child adored by four saints was ascribed to this master in the late Northwick Collection.

Pavia, the old capital of the Lombard kings and favorite resort of the Sforzas was too much dependent on Milan to support more than a small band of local craftsmen. It was not overlooked in 1490 when Lodovico il Moro undertook the hurried decoration of the Porta Giovia Palace. In the chequered list of artists ordered to Milan for this occasion we find the names of eight painters residing at Pavia and a ninth who was a Pavian resident at Cremona. Of the nine, four are known by extant productions.¹

Augustino da Vaprio is probably identical with Augustino del Maestro Leonardo summoned to Milan as above described, and perhaps disciple of Leonardo da Pavia, whose antiquated Madonna with four saints, dated 1466, is preserved in the Palazzo di Genoa. He shows much of the quaintness of the olden times in a Virgin with four saints dated 1499 at San Primo of Pavia; and though he laboured close upon the end of the 16th century he preserved something of the feeling of Foppa and Civerchio under the modern garb of Borgognone.²

Bernardino Rossi, who was completing a contract at Castel San Giovanni near Piacenza when called to Milan, began in a form which slightly recalls Borgognone and ended as a follower of the Leonardesques. In every phase of change he preserved his mediocrity. There is a decent staidness and fair proportion in one of his frescos at Santa Maria della Pusterla at Pavia, which bears the date of 1491. In the latest of the wallpaintings which he finished between 1498 and 1508 for the Carthusians of Pavia he inclines to imitation of Luini; and there is no better proof of this than the Eternal and prophets or the angel and Virgin annuntiate on the front of the vestibule leading into the great court of the Certosa. His earlier tendency to borrow from Borgognone may be illustrated in the Madonna of Casa Bottigella which even now bears Borgognone's name.³

¹ Calvi, *Notizie*, u. s. p. 242.

² Augustino da Vaprio is but one of a large family of craftsmen, of whose works no trace has been preserved (see *antea*; and consult Calvi, *Notizie*, p. p. 91, 96, 97, 101, 102, 194). The picture in San Primo of Pavia, is an altarpiece in three arched compartments, representing the Virgin and child between a prior presenting a kneeling patron and St. John the Baptist. In an arched pinnacle is the Eternal — all on gold ground. On the base we read: "hoc opus fecit fieri D. io. ambrosius de podio qui ex voto facto beato io. Philippo De Faventia liberatus fuit a mortali infermitate 1498 die 9 Setembris Augustinus de Vaprio pinxit 1498 die 4 Aprilis (ergo n. style 1499)." The figures are half the size of life. In Vaprio's style are an Eternal bust and two groups of angels, fragments of a fresco of the coronation from the church of S. Francesco di Paola in the elementary school of painting at Pavia.

The Madonna of Leonardo da Pavia

is a canvass *tempera* with numerous repaints representing the Madonna enthroned between St. Francis, St. Chiara, a bishop and St. John the Baptist, inscribed on the throne: "OPVS LEONARDI DE PAVIA 1466." The execution is childishly antiquated.

³ Pavia, S. M. della Pusterla now Seminario. The Virgin seated in profile with a male and female kneeling at her feet near whom stands a saint. On a cartello: "fecit fieri Antonius de Padua de anno MCCCCLXXXI BERNARDINVS DERUBEIS PINXIT". Two neighbouring figures have been recently whitewashed. The lost frescos of Rossi in the Certosa are noted in Calvi (II, 264) together with others completed in 1511 at Vigano, a church belonging to the Carthusians of Pavia. The small church of the monastery of S. M. della Pusterla is filled with monochromes which may well be (as Calvi states I, 264) by Rossi. For the altarpiece of Casa Bottigella, see *antea* p. 48 and compare Calvi II, 242.

Lorenzo de' Fasoli, the third on our list, wandered at the beginning of the 16th century to the western coast and took the freedom of his guild at Genoa. What his art may have been previous to this migration we cannot pretend to ascertain; it afterwards betrayed a decided familiarity with the models of Brea. In the church of the nuns of Santa Chiara at Chiavari there is an altarpiece by Fasolo, dated Sep. 30th 1508, representing a deposition from the cross with St. Chiara, St. Bernardino, and eleven nuns, and a patron with his wife and children (Santo Varni, *Appunti artistici* u. s. p. 34). In 1513 Fasolo painted the Virgin with the Marys of scripture and the members of their families for a church at Savona, and this altarpiece, in a favorable place at the Louvre, displays the same class of types and masks as those which Brea derived from Panetti and other followers of Lorenzo Costa. Fasolo here scarcely attains to more than a cold and conventional symmetry; there is a calm serenity in the attitude and expression of his figures which verges on lifelessness; a patient minuteness in outline and treatment which palls. Borders and detail are gilt after the fashion of Mazzone of Alessandria and some of the masks recall those of Macrino d'Alba. Documentary evidence of the painter's death before 1520 has been recently discovered.¹

Lorenzo educated one of his sons to the practise of his craft; and Bernardino di Lorenzo Fasolo was member of the council in the guild of Genoa as early as 1520. A Madonna which bears his name and the date of 1518 at the Louvre, displays an earnest and not unpleasant approach to the tenderness, if not to the strength of the Leonardesques. In a Holy Family at Berlin the figures are dry and slender but freely treated in the mode of Pier Francesco Sacchi; but both pieces lack clearness and light.²

¹ Paris, Louvre, Nr. 237. Wood transferred to canvas. M. 2.02 h. by 1.44 ins.: "LAVRENTIVS. PAPIEN. FECIT MDXIII". The same composition in the style of a disciple of Macrino d'Alba may be found in the Cathedral of Asti. Compare Spotorno (G. B.), *Storia Letteraria della Liguria*, 8^o, Genova, 1824—1825, Vol. IV, p. 263. In a memorandum of agreement between the guilds of painters and goldbeaters signed on the 42th—17th of July 1520 by Bernardino, the son of Lorenzo of Pavia, we find Bernardino's name written thus: "Bernardinus Faxolus qm laurentii", from whence we have to conclude that Lorenzo was dead. (See Professor Santo Varni's *appunti artistici sopra Levanto*, 8^o, Genoa, 1870, p. p. 118—119.)

² Paris, Louvre, Nr. 189. Wood, m. 1.38 h. by 0.83, once in the Braschi collection at Rome (Lanzi, II, 491) inscribed: "BERNARDINVS. FAXOLVS. DE PAPIA. FACIEBAT 1518". Berlin Mus. Nr. 209. Wood, 1 f. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 1 f. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$, from the Giustiniani Coll. St. Joseph and the Virgin in front of a green curtain read together in a book whilst the infant Christ sleeps on his mother's lap. Distance landscape. — For Bernardino's presence at Genoa in 1520 see Spotorno, u. s. IV, p. p. 202, 203. On the 12th—17th of July 1520 he signed a memorandum of agreement drawn up to regulate the relations of the guilds of painters and gold-

beaters at Genoa. See Santo Varni *appunti artistici* u. s. p. 119. Amongst other works of the same class and style in that of the Louvre we note: Pavia San Marino, first altar to the right. The Virgin and St. Joseph raise the cloth that covers the infant Christ; in rear to the left, St. John the Baptist, to the right, St. Joachim, distance, architecture — injured panel, with life size figures. Frescos of the same school in the chapel to which the altar belongs. Nativity, annunciation, and saints in couples of which some are obliterated. In the soffit of the entrance arch, the Virtues, abraded and retouched. An art much akin to this again is observable in the Virgin and child between the kneeling St. Jerom and the standing Baptist, with a background of landscape, pillars and green drapery held up by angels, an altarpiece in the choir of San Marino with a long inscription and the date 1521. We may register in the same class the following: Pavia, San Teodoro, transept frescos (retouched) of 1514, representing scenes from the legend of St. Theodore. Pavia, St. Francesco, sixth chapel to the right. Wood $\frac{1}{2}$ of life. St. Mary Magdalen supports a female making the gesture of benediction whilst two youths stand and kneel to the right; at the sides St. Francis recommends a kneeling female, and a bishop in prayer. — Pavia, Malaspina Coll. a St. Jerom. Wood M. 1.57 h. by 0.93.

The last name on our list is that of Antonio della Corna, whose summons to Milan in 1490 was directed to Cremona. The only picture which bears this painter's name is in the Bignami Collection at Casal Maggiore and represents a murder. A frenzied man near a couple lying in bed having stabbed one of his victims is about to stab the second. A woman behind him witnesses the act, and through the opening of a triumphal arch in the distance the crucifixion and the martyrdom of St. John Evangelist are depicted. According to the legend, St. Julian killed his father and mother in a fit of jealousy believing them to be his own wife and her paramour, and this scene della Corna tries to delineate with all its concomitants of rage and sorrow. There is no means unhappily of giving pictorial expression to St. Julian's mistake, and for this, if for no other reason it would have been wise to avoid the subject, but Antonio, thought it afforded a good opportunity for exhibiting his knowledge of movement in the stride and action of the assassin and his skill at foreshortening in the persons of the victims. He only succeeds in exhibiting a total lack of artistic power, and caricaturing the disagreeable features of Mantegnesque art. One point of interest may be found in this that the picture bears the date CIOCCCLXXVIII, and a signature as follows:

HOC Q. ANTONI DIDI SVBDOGMĒ
CLARI

ANTONI CORNE DEXTERA PINXIT OPVS.

We shall identify Antonio della Corna with the Pavian of the same name who was noticed amongst the feeble disciples of Mantegna at Mantua, and we may attribute to the same hand the Virgin and child with four saints in the Malaspina Collection at Pavia, on which a falsified signature insufficiently vouches for the authorship of Mantegna.¹

In addition to these, we shall notice Donato of Pavia, who lived at the close of the 15th century, and painted the crucified Saviour between the Virgin, Magdalen, and Evangelist in the hospital of Savona, and Bartolommeo Bononi, whose Virgin in glory with saints in the Louvre bears the date of 1507. We may distinguish the paltry creations of Donato from those of Bononi, by observing that the first combines much of the old Umbro-Siennese type with elements derived

¹ Casal Maggiore, Bignami collection from the Averoldi gallery at Brescia. Wood, tempera, figures one half of life size. The bed to the right and the figures in it are strongly foreshortened. A wound in the throat of the female who lies to the right shows that she has already been despatched. The date in the medallions of the arch is renewed. Zaist, who once owned this picture described it in his *Notizie* (l. p. 38), the date as he gives it was written "MCCCLXXVIII".

A Virgin adorning the child with S. Joseph and S. Jerom (not seen) is said to be in the Casa Martinelli at Soucino, a hard, dry example of Antonio Corna's manner. Pavia, Malaspina Coll. Canvass tempera 8 f. 8 h. by 5 f. 7 with life size fi-

gures of the Virgin erect on an ornamented pedestal holding the infant between the two St. Anthonys and two female saints: inscribed with a doubtful signature as follows: "ÆNDREA. MTINLÆ. PATAVNVS. PET. 1491." This injured piece is assigned to Mantegna (see antea l. 416) and is very dim in surface. The figures are coarse, heavy and ill-drawn; the execution is that of a feeble Mantegnesque like Corna. In this character and full of grimace, are the Christ crucified, between two kneeling donors, male and female, with their patron saints, and Christ dead in the Virgin's lap with 4 attendant saints on two of the piers in the church of the Carmine at Pavia.

from the school of Borgognone, whilst the second recalls the more modern form of Pier Francesco Sacchi.¹

Pier Francesco Sacchi is erroneously placed by Lomazzo in the list of those who practised at Milan in the reign of Francesco Sforza. It is quite certain that his works were all executed in the 16th century.² The earliest date to which we can trace him is 1512, when he painted the parting of John the Baptist from his parents for the Oratory of Santa Maria of Genoa, and from that time till 1527 we have numerous extant examples of his style. In 1514 he finished the crucifixion at the Berlin Museum, in 1516 the four doctors at the Louvre. He was member of council in the Genoese guild during 1520,³ and in 1526 he completed the glory of the Virgin with saints at Santa Maria di Castello of Genoa. His last authentic composition is the deposition of Christ from the cross in the parish church of Miltedo. The petrified figures, which he put together in the crucifixion of 1514, are unattractive from the stony surface of their flesh, the dry smoothness and thick substance of their impast, and the coarse heaviness of their outlines. The drawing is cramped, defective, and unnatural,⁴ but as time wore on, Sacchi's style gained flexibility, and he made some progress towards modern ease in the picture of St. Jerom and St. Martin sharing his cloak, at the Berlin Museum. There are few painters whose manner is more characteristic. He is quite alive to the picturesque features of feathered hats, trimmed dress, and slashes, but the hardness and uniform of his treatment neutralizes their effect, and the dull harshness of his tones is increased by sombre rawness and copious detail in landscapes full of accidental upheavals and obtrusive vegetation.⁵ It has been said that Sacchi was the master of Moretto, because the same types and forms of tailoring or accessories recur in the pictures of both. It is true that in the St. Martin at Berlin and "doctors of the church" at the Louvre Sacchi's fashions are those of Lotto, Moretto, and Morone, but the styles differ essentially, and the comparison bears no analysis.

The four doctors seated round a table were executed for the church of San Giovanni di Pré, afterwards Sant' Ugo, of Genoa, the crucifixion at Berlin (perhaps) for San Francesco di Paola of Nervi. The St. Jerom and St. Martin is not traceable to any particular locality and was till lately assigned to Zingaro.

Sacchi nowhere betrays want of pictorial flexibility more openly

¹Savona, Hospitale. Crucified Saviour with four angels in flight under each arm of the cross, distance, landscape, encribed on a Cartello. "Donatus comes

bardus papieſis pinxit hoc opus." Dim and injured canvass distemper with ill drawn and affected life size figures adapted from Borgognone's composition of the same subject dated 1490 in the Certosa of Pavia. Paris, Louvre, Musée Nap. III. Nr. 190. Wood, M. I. 68, h. by 1. 14. The Virgin in glory, a kneeling Franciscan recommended by a bishop; and St. Francis, on a cartello on the trunk of a tree: "OPVS BARTOLOMEI BONONII CIVIS PAPIENSIS 1507, from San Francesco of Pavia. The feeble figures are out of drawing and rawly coloured, with a substantial stony impast.

²Lomazzo Trattato, p. 405.

³Soprani (Raf.). Vite de' Pitt. etc. Genova 1768. I. 375, and Spotorio, u. s. IV. 201. As member of the painters guild at Genoa, he signed the memorandum of arrangement, with the guild of goldbeaters of the 12th and 17th of July 1520. (See Santo Varni's Appunti Artistici, n. s. p. 119.)

⁴Berlin, Mus. Nr. 53. Wood, 5 f. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 4 f. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ from the Solly coll. Christ crucified, the Magdalen, Virgin, John and another female saint and a kneeling donor. inscr.: "Petri Franci, Sacchi de Pavia opus 1514". This picture is probably the same which Soprani, u. s. noticed in S. Francesco di Paola of Nervi near Genoa.

⁵Berlin, Mus. Nr. 116. Wood, 6 f. 4 h. by 4 f. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ from the Solly Coll. In the distant landscape, scenes from the legend of St. Jerom.

than at Santa Maria di Castello, where the Virgin and child appear on the clouds in a square sarcophagus supported by two aged men. Yet neither in the form of Mary nor in that of the saints on the foreground is there lack of that delicacy of feeling which distinguishes Borgognone and the Umbro-Peruginesques of the Bolognese and Ferrarese school. The dusky flesh is warmer, the landscape and accessories are less obtrusively marked, than before.

The most important of Sacchi's compositions is the deposition at S. S. Nazario e Celso of Multedo, where the groups surrounding the lifeless body of Christ, though still defective in shape and vulgar in expression are put together with some feeling for the agonized expression of grief and pain.¹

Lodi gave employment to few local artists in the 15th century; and the summons issued in 1490 to so many Lombard craftsmen was only directed to Maestro Giovanni, or as we should probably call him, Giovanni della Chiesa of Lodi. Giovanni and his brother Matteo were men whose style was apparently formed under the Umbrian miniaturists and modified by subsequent contact with Borgognone. They had had occasion to meet Borgognone about 1493 at the Certosa of Pavia, and there felt the influence of his manner. We learn to assign to them a coronation of the Virgin in the vestibule, an organ screen and other works in the church, of the Incoronata; and they probably designed a fresco of the nativity in San Lorenzo of Lodi.² Contemporary with these we notice Albertino Piazza, commonly called Toccegani, whom Lomazzo by mistake registered amongst the painters of Francesco Sforza's time. His death at Lodi in 1529 is noted in a contract in which his sons undertake to complete a picture which he had left un-

¹ Paris, Louvre. No. 371. Wood. M. 1. 98 h. by 1. 67. The four doctors inscribed: "PETRI. FRANCISCI. SACHI. DE PAVIA. OPVS 1516."

Genoa, S. M. di Castello. Arched panel, with St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, and St. Dominick in the foreground. On a predella between St. Margaret, St. Jerome, St. Francis, St. Dominick, St. Catherine, and another saint, is the figure of Christ lying dead on the ground. On a cartello to the left: "Pet. Francisci Sachi de Pavia opus 1526. mense Aprilis." The figures are life size.

Multedo, ch. of (near Genoa). Arched panel with thirteen figures and the incidents of the crucifixion in the distance, inscribed: "Petri Francisci Sachi de Pavia opus 1527." In the sacristy of this church is a small panel with several episodes of the Passion including the crucifixion by Sacchi. In the same style the following: Pavia, Malaspina Coll. Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelist, with the Magdalen at foot of the cross much injured, under life size. Pavia, S. Michele. Second chapel ceiling and arch, soffits, frescos of the four doctors, symbols of the Evangelists and Prophets. Paris, Coll. of the late O. Mandler. Holy Family. Milan, Brera. No. 362. Holy Family, once under the name of Solario. But here perhaps the name of Cesare Magno may be suggested

— a feeble follower of the Leonardesque manner, of whom there are frescos in the church of Sarommo, signed: "Cesar Magnus faciebat MDXXXIII." and a Madonna between St. Peter and St. Jerome in possession of Signor Baslini at Milan, signed: "Cesar Magnus 1530."

² For the Della Chiesa consult Cesare Cantù, *Illustrazione del Lombardo-Veneto*, 8°. Milan 1850. Vol. V. p. 622. Calvi, *Notizie*, II. 133, 242 and 252. The coronation of the Virgin on the wall of the vestibule of the Incoronata is all but obliterated. The organ shutters in this church are on canvass with figures under life size. On the outer side are St. Basilian (retouched) and St. Albert, and the arms of Lodi carried by angels. Inside are the Virgin and child and St. Catherine. Two fragments of Madonnas on the walls of the choir loft are attributable to the same hand, as likewise a nativity (fresco) with copious retouches above the first altar to the left in San Lorenzo of Lodi. The figures are fairly proportioned but full, the execution careful in an extraordinary extent. At San Lorenzo the nimbus and other parts are raised and gilt. These painters may have executed the frescos representing gambols of children in the small refectory of the Certosa of Pavia and an assumption in a tabernacle in the outer wall of the same edifice.

finished; and this document is one of the few which clearly defines the relation of Albertino to Calisto Piazza. There is not the slightest evidence that Albertino ever practised as an independent master before the opening of the 16th century, and the first work with which his name is authentically connected is that which he executed after 1513 at the Incoronata of Lodi for the heirs of Albertino Berinzaghi. It is generally believed that he seldom painted any panels without the cooperation of his brother Martino, and there is much to confirm this belief in every production attributed to his pencil. The brothers furnished not only the altarpiece, but likewise the frescos of the Berinzaghi chapel. They painted in 1519 a coronation of the Virgin which hangs in the choir of the Incoronata, and in 1526 two important creations, the Madonna and saints with the Majesty of St. Augustin at Sant' Agnese of Lodi, and the Virgin between St. Roch and St. John the Baptist at the Incoronata of Castiglione d'Adda. Neither of these Piazzas rose above mediocrity. They are meek, delicate, and feeble. Their slender figures are not without serenity, their colours not without harmony; they show capacity for high finish; the forms which they reproduce are well proportioned, and their modelling is blended with excessive softness, but there is languor in their movements, tameness in their tones, and flatness in their shading. We distinguish two individualisms in their works, an affected gracefulness, and a yielding nature, distantly recalling Borgognone and the Bolognese Peruginesques and a leaning to the Raphaellesque as in Manni or Eusebio of Perugia. Both masters were probably assistants to Borgognone, as Calisto, the son of Albertino, was journeyman to Romanino of Brescia.¹

¹ For A. and M. Piazza consult Calvi u. s. II. 96, 130—1 136—40, and Lomazzo, Tratt. p. 405. Their works are to be registered as follows: Lodi, Incoronata (post. 1513.) Altarpiece in two courses. Wood, figures of half life size. Virgin and child between St. Anthony, who recommends the kneeling Berinzaghi, above which Christ's crucifixion with the Virgin and Evangelist between St. Roch, St. Sebastian, St. James, and St. John the Baptist. In a predella the twelve (half length on gold ground), the whole dimmed by old varnish. In one of the lunettes of the chapel are St. Catherine and St. Appollonia, frescos of life size by the Piazzas. Lodi, S. M. della Pace. Life size fresco: Epiphany. Lodi, Duomo. Altarpiece. Wood, $\frac{1}{2}$ life size. Virgin and child with angels between St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine (part of the red dress of the latter abraded). In the upper brackets the angel and Virgin annunciate, Raphaellesque types. Lodi, Incoronata, choir. Coronation of the Virgin with angels — repainted canvass, executed in 1519 as a gonfalone, of cold execution and Umbrian character. Lodi, S. Agnese. St. Augustin enthroned, be-

tween SS. Martin, Nicholas of Tolentino, Anthony and Albert. In a second course the young Baptist and the Virgin holding the infant Christ, who blesses the donor, Niccolò Galliani, between SS. Catherine, Clara, Theresa, and Agnes. In an arched pinnacle the Eternal and the Virgin and angel annunciate in side brackets. On the predella Christ between the twelve, half lengths on gold ground, above the second course the words: "VEN FRATRIS NICOLAI GALLIANI JVSSIO MXX." Wood, a little bleached, the principal figures under life size. All the grounds, except those of the predella, are blue dimmed by repaint and varnish. Castiglione d'Adda, Incoronata. Virgin and child between St. Roch and St. John the Baptist, the twelve in a predella. The crucified Saviour between the Virgin and St. John, St. Joseph, and St. Basiano, the Eternal with the angel and Virgin annunciate form the upper courses. Wood, same style and arrangement as the foregoing, but of bolder handling and suggesting the probable cooperation of Calisto da Lodi, of whom we shall speak amongst the followers of the Brescian school.

CHAPTER II.
NEAPOLITANS, SICILIANS,
AND
ANTONELLO DA MESSINA.

A glance at the growth and expansion of art in upper Italy teaches us to value highly the influence of Mantegna's teaching, which in that part of the peninsula lying north of the Pô extended to the Vivarini, the Bellini, and all the masters of the Lombard and Venetian cities. Not less interesting and hardly less important is the influence of Antonello da Messina who imposed his technical system of treatment on every painter of the Venetian state. What strikes us most in Antonello is the fact that he was born in the South yet preferred the lands and skies of cooler latitudes. In the rich but distant Netherlands he found those elements of culture which suited his taste and inclination; in Venice and Milan, he loved to dwell; at Naples or Messina he never had the wish to stay. To what other cause shall we attribute this curious bias in a man of acknowledged genius unless to this, that Naples and Sicily gave no encouragement to native talent. We saw reason to believe that South Italy at a very early date fostered a school of sculpture of the very highest order; and the latest researches of historians point to Amalfi as a centre from which the carver's craft was taken up the continent and across the waters to Constantinople.¹

¹ Consult D. Andrea Caravita's *sino*, 8^o. Monte Cassino 1869.
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But what may be true of sculpture in the 13th century can by no means be held of painting; and at the time of the great Florentine revival, Naples being without skilled workmen of her own was content to borrow those of her neighbours. The same necessities which made it incumbent on the Neapolitan dynasts to send for Cavallini, Giotto and Simone Martini, were equally felt by their later but less fortunate successors. There is nothing more melancholy than the contemplation of pictorial creations ascribed by local patriotism to Neapolitans, except perhaps the study of examples due to Italians or Flemings of an inferior order. There is nothing more painful than to read the lives of men whose existence rests on no sort of historical basis. One thing is perfectly clear. What Antonello found in vogue as art in Sicily and Naples was mostly carried thither from abroad; and the very oldest Madonna of which Palermo boasts is by Camulio a Genoese guildsman of the 14th century, whilst on the mainland the frescos attributed to Agnolo Franco are Umbro-Siennese, and those assigned to Zingaro are Tuscan or Flemish.² The testimony of numerous authors unanim-

¹ Consult Santo Varni, *Appunti artistici sopra Levanto*. 8°. Genoa 1870. p. 46. And see postea.

² For Zingaro see postea; but as regards Agnolo Franco, we register the following list of alleged works which prove that we are in the dark as to anything that he may have really done:

Agnolo Franco died according to De Dominici circa 1445 (*Vite dei pitt. etc. Napoletani*. 8°. Naples 1840-8.), and with reference to one of the cycles of frescos alleged to be his, we have to correct ourselves (l. 321 of *History of Italian Painting*). We made allusion to the cappella di Sant' Andrea at San Domenico Maggiore as being attributed to Simone Napoletano. The cappella Sant' Andrea is now known as the cappella Brancaccio and is said to have been painted not by Simone, but by Agnolo Franco. There are two walls covered with frescos in three courses. On the left in a lunette below the martyrdom of a saint in boiling oil, is the miracle of a saint taken to heaven by angels in presence of an archbishop and his clergy,

and the crucifixion between the Virgin and Evangelist, with St. Dominick and St. Peter Martyr. On the right Christ at the table of the Pharisee; his appearance to the Magdalen in the garb of a gardener, and the Magdalen penitent. These frescos are all covered with repaint and oil varnishes. They are, as far as one can judge, of Umbro-Siennese character. — Same chapel; Madonna delle Grazie fresco by another hand, but without an original touch left. — Same church; Cappella San Bonito, triptych, Virgin and child enthroned between St. John the Baptist and St. Anthony the abbot, and in three lunettes the Eternal and two angels. Wood, under life size. This is a rude performance in the style of the Siennese followers of Fungai or Benvenuto di Giovanni. — Naples, Duomo, Cappella Capece-Galeota. Virgin and child with a more modern figure of Rubino Galeota. Wood, completely repainted. De Dominici pretends that this piece was done in 1414, and Luigi Catalani, who assumes that the portrait of Galeota is of contemporary execution with the rest of the picture corrects him by saying it must have been done after the death of Rubino on whose tomb (which this Madonna adorns) an epitaph

ously proves that there was a large trade in pictures between the ports of Flanders and Italy; and we have it from Vasari that Flemish merchants took the compositions of the best Northerns to the Mediterranean; but the traders who imported the choice things of this kind also dealt in those of the second and third class — all of which found buyers in Italy; and it is evidence of the condition of taste in the South that these were proportionally more numerous at Naples than in any other part of the peninsula.¹ It is impossible to say whether the favour extended to Flemish productions led Neapolitans to imitate the Flemings or whether natives of the Netherlands settled at Naples for the purpose of acquiring some breath of Italian style, the artist in either case becoming partially denationalized. It is not doubtful that by the side of purely Flemish creations, others exist which commingle Italian and Belgian features. René of Anjou during his captivity in Burgundy is said to have spent his leisure in learning to paint. Alphonzo of Arragon bought an annunciation by John Van Eyck. The purest product of unmixed Flemish type extant at Naples and the best pictorially as well as technically is the St. Jerom of the Naples Museum, which before it came into its present place adorned an altar in San Lorenzo. The saint in his brown frock sits in an armchair, a raised nimbus round his head, a copious beard falling from his chin. With one hand he grasps the lion's paw, with the other he holds a knife and probes the wound. The lion, with tail outstretched sits firmly on his quarters. To the left is a table on which the cardinal's hat is lying; behind it a desk and a cupboard with a book, a bottle, and an hourglass. Shelves lining the low wall of the hut are strewn with volumes and manuscripts. The grouping is masterly, the saint, stern and admirably draped in cloth of drooping fold,

is written as follows: "Hic jacet . . . Rubini . . . A. D. MCCCXLV." See Catalani, *Le Chiese di Napoli*. 8°. Napoli 1845. p. 19.

¹ See *inter alia*, Hirsch and

Vossberg's "Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik," Berlin 1855, in which proofs of this statement will be found, and Vasari IV. 77.

the lion is grand in the calm of his repose. Every part is drawn and modelled with conscious power; and such is the minuteness of the finish in every line that we count the hairs of Jerom's beard or the lion's mane, the nails in the floor and the veinings of the boards. The flesh, of a warm and dusky brown, is shaded in deep leaden olive, and the tone of the whole surface is full of fine gradations. If there be a defect to note, it is the small size of the room as compared with the figures.¹

Of unadulterated Flemish origin likewise, and once a part of the same altarpiece is "S^t. Francis distributing the rules of his order" in the chapel of San Francesco at San Lorenzo Maggiore. The saint stands between kneeling votaries whilst two angels hold scrolls above his head. It is a picture of the Van der Weyden school, careful to a fault in outline and detail, of varied character in the heads, of a dim ruddiness in tone and a curious rigidity in pose.² Feebler but in the same style is an entombment in San Domenico Maggiore; of later date a S^t. Vincent in benediction, with ten scenes from his legend at San Pietro Martire. We may consider this last production — a capital one of its kind — to have been painted by some Italianized Fleming, if not by a Germanized Italian in the latter half of the 15th century, its brown but rich and blended colour, well distributed groups and broken drapery almost suggesting the hand of the author of the S^t. Jerom, grown older and locally Neapolitan.³ Belgian again, but most unattractive is a com-

¹ Naples, National Gall. Neapolit. sch. XIIIth and XIVth centuries No. 6. Wood. 4 f. 10½ long by 4 f. 6½. A date of 1436 on this picture has been spoken of but does not exist. Compare Crispien and others quoted in Catalani, *Discorso su' Monumenti patrii*, 8^o. Napoli 1842. pp. 10. 13.

² Naples, San Lorenzo Maggiore. This panel, at one time framed together with the S^t. Jerom attributed to Colantonio del Fiore, re-

mained in San Lorenzo, when the S^t. Jerom was separated from it. (See Catalani, *Discorso*, u. s. 11.)

³ Naples, San Pietro Martire. 3^d chapel to the right as you enter. Wood. S^t. Vincent Ferrerio stands erect with a book, in benediction in a niche. In the framing at the sides and base are eleven panels, the uppermost of which, angel and Virgin annuntiate, are modern additions (17th century). Amongst the subjects are S^t. Vin-

posite altarpiece in the crypt church of San Severino at Naples, in the principal course of which the titular bishop sits enthroned between the Baptist and Evangelist, S^t. Sosius and S^t. Savinus. In the upper course the Virgin helps the infant Christ to cherries from a basket and S^t. Jerom, S^t. Paul, S^t. Peter and S^t. Gregory are placed in half lengths at the sides. There is much gravity of mien in S^t. Severinus and S^t. Jerom, but the Evangelist might have been drawn by a Rhenish disciple of Van der Weyden, and the drapery is altogether Flemish in cast. Dim tints, sharp contours, and high surface shadows are characteristic peculiarities of treatment.¹ That the S^t. Jerom should have been ascribed to Van Eyck and Colantonio, the S^t. Francis to Colantonio and Zingaro, the S^t. Vincent and S^t. Severin to Zingaro, is due on the one hand to the inexperience of judges, on the other hand to a wish on the part of annalists to create a Neapolitan school at the expense of strangers.² The real interest of these pieces apart from their intrinsic value, lies in the fact that they found a market in Naples and suited Neapolitan taste. They explain the reasons which induced Antonello da Messina to visit the Netherlands and they are the real groundwork for the story which Vasari tells as to the cause of the visit. Two versions of the same anecdote are in Vasari's pages. In one place he says that Van Eyck sent an altarpiece to king Alphonzo, in another place that certain Florentines offered one of Van Eyck's compositions to Alphonzo for sale.³ But he is consistent in stating why Flemish examples were popular. Van Eyck's panel

cent preaching — S^t. Vincent in prayer before an image of the Madonna. He restores to life a decapitated child. He receives the blessing of Christ. Vow of mariners in a storm. S^t. Vincent cures a woman possessed of a devil. Death of S^t. Vincent. The colours are embrowned by age, the compositions are lively and well put together.

¹ Naples, Crypt church of S. Severino. Wood, figures nearly life size, treatment mixed tempera and oil. The panels are injured by neglect and repainting in every part.

² De Dominici n. s. Catalani, *Discorso*, pp. 11. 13, and *Chiese di Napoli* II. 166.

³ Vas. IV. 77, and I. 163.

he affirms, excited unusual attention not only because of its beauty but because the medium in which it was executed was new. Crowds of artists flocked to see and admire it; and Antonello, amongst the rest, chanced to see it on a visit to the mainland. The novelty and charm of a technical treatment hitherto unknown to him were such that he neglected all other claims upon his time and went to the Netherlands where he struck up a friendship with John Van Eyck and learnt his secrets. We may reject the letter of this anecdote, but grant that Antonello saw Flemish altarpieces at Naples. We may take exception to the statement that Antonello became personally acquainted with Van Eyck and yet concede his visit to the Netherlands. We have no direct supporting evidence of this from Belgian sources,¹ for what little testimony of the kind there was has been found unsafe and tainted;¹ but we have a tacit confirmation in Van Mander, and a proof in the large acquaintance of Flemish models which Antonello's works betray.

Mauroluco of Messina, compiler of a Sicilian chronicle which has been frequently reprinted, wrote of Antonello, not more than half a century after his death, that he rose from the Messinese family of the Antonii and learnt to paint in a new system. He adds that he was in the pay of the Venetian government and acquired a name at Milan.² Summonzio, an architect of the 16th century alludes to Antonello in a letter addressed on the 20th of March 1524 to Marcantonio Michele at Venice.

¹ MS. of Charles van Rijn in de Bast, *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de Belgique*. 8°. Ghent 1824—5. p. 347. Belgian critics doubt altogether the genuineness of this MS. See Ch. Kuelen's critical annotations to O. Delepierre's translation of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Flemish Painters*. 8°. Brux. 1863. p. CXIX and CXLIV.

² *Francisci Maurolyci etc., Sicanicarum rerum compendium*. The

first edition published at Messina in 1562; the latest, from which the present quotation is taken, that in Græve and Burmann's *Thesaurus antiquitatum et Hist. Siciliæ*. Fol. Lugd. Batav. 1723. Vol. IV. Lib. V. p. 263. Maurolyco speaks of certain portraits by Antonello, which he had seen at Palermo—an old man and an old woman laughing.

Speaking to a connoisseur well acquainted with Venetian artists, friend of Catena, and almost witness of Raphael's death, he says that, since the reign of king Ladislaus, no better craftsman had been employed at Naples than Colantonio, though he failed to acquire the perfect skill in design attained by his disciple Antonello. Summonzio then proceeds to relate how Colantonio took a fancy to the Flemish mode of colouring and would have visited Flanders, but that he was prevented by king Raniero (? Réné) who taught him in person. There is a striking analogy between this tale of Colantonio and Vasari's account of Antonello; and it seems not improbable that Summonzio unwittingly made two painters out of one.¹

In the midst of these conjectures, little or nothing is to be ascertained, as to the birth or education of our artist.² That he studied in Rome is not confirmed by his style; that he did not learn much in Sicily is clear.³

A portrait in the Berlin Museum has long been considered the earliest of his works. It was supposed to bear the date of 1445; and critics held that a man who could paint in this style at that time must have been in the Netherlands and might have been personally acquainted with John Van Eyck; a more complete knowledge of extant samples of Antonello's skill, a careful consideration

¹ See the letter in full in Lanzi, *History of Painting*. Vol. II, note to p. 11.

² Grosso Cacopardo in *Memorie de Pitt. Mess.* 1821, mentions several of Antonello's relations without giving sufficient authority for his statements: Antonio d' Antonio author of a martyrdom of St. Placidus in the cathedral of Messina now missing (p. 2); Jacobello d' Antonio (p. 4) of whom the annot. of Vas. IV. 77 say that he was the painter of St. Thomas Aquinas in San Domenico (?) of Palermo a picture which, we shall see, may be assigned to Saliba and Salvatore d' Antonio, father of Antonello (p. 4) to whom the an-

notators of Vasari (IV. 77) assign a St. Francis receiving the Stigmata by a follower of Antonello, in San Francesco of Messina. (See *postea*) and a Madonna in the Santissima Annunziata of Messina, which seems no longer to exist. To Jacobello and Salvatore jointly are ascribed by Grosso (u. s. p. 13) an altarpiece in San Michele of Messina, still catalogued in guide books as of the school of the Antonii, but not worthy of attention being of the 16th century. (See Murray's *Handbook for Sicily* by Dennis, u. s. p. 498.)

³ Amongst the works at Messina that may be taken as preceding Antonello, one only is of

of the masterpieces of the Venetian school, but above all minute examination of the alleged signature will not permit us to believe that the picture was done in 1445.¹

When, and in what part of Italy Antonello settled after he became a master is uncertain, but the oldest of his pictures which we now possess, the Saviour at the National Gallery, appears to have been painted at Naples in 1465.

In the grave and serious task of representing Jesus as the Saviour, Antonello is foiled by difficulties of many kinds. The bust is all that he ventures to depict. Christ stands with his fingers on the edge of a parapet, giving the blessing, and gazing into eternity. The face is oval, regularly divided, but low in forehead, with small black eyes of lack-lustre fixity close under the sides of a broad-barrelled nose. Copious hair falls in equal drooping curls along the cheeks and neck to the shoulders; and a nascent beard tufts the point of the chin. The hands are thin and strained in bend. It is a solemn but not an elevated mask; half Flemish half Italian, small as compared with the breadth of the frame. Through the abrasions of the surface we see corrections of the outline of the fingers placed at first a little nearer to the throat. The colour is warm but not quite clear, solid in light, brownish, uneven, and showing the ground in shade, but without the brightness or pellucid finish of a later period.²

At the date of this work, Venetian artists were culti-

any real interest. It is a panel representing St. Bernard full length in the sacristy of the church annexed to the monastery of San Spirito, a rubbed and repainted tempera of the beginning of the 15th century.

¹ See postea.

² London, National Gall. No. 673. Wood, 1 f. 4³/₄ h. by 1 f. 0³/₄. On a cartellino fastened to the parapet: "millesimo quatricentesimo sexagesimo quinto viij (?) Indi. Antonellus messaneus me pinxit -C." In the "Journal des Beaux Arts",

for 1862, the indiction is given as "Xij" and this would show that the picture has been subjected to some flaying at the National Gallery. According to the same authority the panel once at Naples but since 15 or 20 years in Piedmont bears (? bore) the seal of the city of Naples. It was purchased in 1861, from Cavaliere Isola at Genoa. The surface has been cleaned off in parts and in this operation the surface has been laid bare in certain places. The ground is a dark brown green, the dresses with broken T folds.

vating a style altogether different from that of Antonello, Gentile Bellini was composing the panels of the organ of St. Mark, and the majesty of Lorenzo Giustiniani; Giovanni Bellini was designing his familiar subject of the Pietà, Bartolommeo Vivarini had just completed the Madonna of the Naples Museum. The medium used by all three was tempera.

In a notice of the sculptor Gagino published by Vincenzo Auria in 1653, there is a description of an *Ecce Homo* by Antonello dated 1470 in the house of Giulio Agliata at Palermo. We identify this piece as that which successively belonged to the Prince of Tarsia the Duke of Gresso, and Don Dionisio Lazzari, and is now in possession of Signor Gaetano Zir, at Naples. It represents a bust of Christ, naked and lashed to the pillar. His straggling hair is bound by a crown of thorns; the jaw-bones are high and prominent, the temples receding, and a curious disproportion marks the upper and lower parts of the face. The eyelids are drawn up into angles, the nose is long; a wail seems to issue from the parted lips, and tears of blood trickle down the wasted cheeks. On a cartello fastened to the parapet are syllables of the name and fragments of a date which seems to read as 1470. Few extant panels have been injured by time and restoring more completely than this: but we can still see an early form of the master's art, a realistic type with all the outward signs and unpleasant contractions accepted by the Flemings as concomitants of grieving. The red and highly blended flesh is copiously impregnated with resinous vehicle, the half tones and shadows are superposed so as to produce the highest surface in the darkest parts, the nude is well rendered and carefully outlined, and the hair seems to float in the breeze.¹

¹ Naples, Signor G. Zir. Wood. tore ab, V. G. D. D. Vincentio on dark ground, 11½ inches h. Auria, 8°. Palermo 1653 p. 17") by 1 ft. 4. in the cartello "1.7 the Agliata Ecce Homo, which .ntonellus messa". According to Auria ("notitia della Vita, one, was signed: "Antonellus de ed opere d' Antonio Gagino scul- Messina me fecit 1470".

In further confirmation of the painter's stay in Sicily during these years, is the triptych of 1473 at San Gregorio of Messina, a composite altarpiece, with the Virgin and child enthroned in the centre and S^{ts}. Benedict and Gregory at the sides. Under the green dais above her head two angels hold the crown of glory. With one hand, the child grasps an orange; with the other, takes a cherry from its mother, turning its head meanwhile with playful archness. Of the upper course, two panels remain, containing half lengths of the angel and Virgin annuntiate on gold ground seen at a low angle of vision indicated by precipitate lines of perspective. The Virgin's arms are crossed over her bosom as she sits under a dais; the angel, winged, comes forward affectedly, dressed in a stiff brocaded pivial. In this most interesting example we trace Antonello's Flemish education and the progress of his art. He seems since 1465 to have gained a more natural tenderness, greater blending, and a golden transparency of tone. His drawing is more accurate, his sense of chiaroscuro stronger. Flemish peculiarities in drapery and Flemish plainness have not altogether disappeared; there is still some want of freedom and breadth in rendering movement and extremities, much profusion of gold in the damasking and embroidery of stuffs as well as in the delicate stamping of the nimbuses, but the face of the Virgin is pleasant and regular. The manner is a cento of the transalpine and Italian without being essentially Venetian.¹

Many pictures at Messina might be accepted as a further proof of Antonello's stay in Sicily if we could consider them genuine; none of them bear the necessary impress

¹ Messina. San Gregorio. Central panel. 4 f. 2 h. by 2 f. 5½ sides, including the upper panels 6 f. h. by 2 f. Signed on a cartello on the pediment of the Virgin's throne: *Ano Dni m^o cccc^o sectuagesimo (sic) tertio. Antonellus Messaneus ꝑ me pinxit*". In the central Virgin the flesh of the Madonna's cheek and forehead,

and the body of the child are retouched, the blue mantle with gold flowers repainted. The annuntiate Virgin's head is half new, the mantle and dais have become black and pieces are scaled out of the parapet and desk. The annuntiate angel, a Flemish profile with a top-knot, wears a rose coloured but now abraded pivial.

except a majesty of S^t. Nicholas attributed to the school of the Antonii, a large panel embrowned by time surrounded by eight small incidents from the saint's legend in the church of San Niccolò at Messina. In the central panel the bishop of Bari sits in episcopals on a throne and, with solemn gravity, gives the benediction; the compositions at the sides are small and sketchy. We are not accustomed to find such free handling or bold finish at one painting in Antonello, nor has he shown himself hitherto so timid in relief by shadow; yet we know of no disciple who could treat the subjects as they are treated here, who has such sombre power in tone or such clever boldness in design and composition.¹

Early in 1473, we may believe, Antonello da Messina settled at Venice and had the good fortune to produce a Madonna with S^t. Michael, which for upwards of a century was considered the chief ornament of the church of San Cassiano. Matteo Colaccio, in a letter written shortly after the completion of the picture, praises it with enthusiasm. Sabellico who described Venice in the first years of the 16th century and found little to admire in its edifices but Bellini's altarpiece at San Giobbe, made an exception in favour of San Cassiano.² There was a general commotion

¹ Messina, Museo Peloritano. Virgin adoring the child, half length, originally part of an altarpiece, on gold ground and greatly injured. Same Museum, Virgin and child half length. Wood. 1 ft. 8 h. by 1 ft. 4½. The Virgin, seated, holds the child asleep. A stamped gilt nimbus surrounds her head, the distance is a landscape. The flesh is retouched and there is so much repainting generally as to deprive us of a correct opinion. The style is a mixture of Bellini and Cima. Messina, San Niccolò. Wood, the central panel 4 ft. 5 h. the surface dimmed by dust and dirt, with the small panels, eight in number all in a raised frame, like those of the Muranese. The small subjects

are: 1. Birth of S^t. Nicholas, 2. S^t. N. saves a foundering ship, 3. S^t. N. rescues a man about to be killed by an executioner with a hammer. Two other culprits kneel hard by. 4. S^t. N. presents the youth with the cup, 5. S^t. N. throws money into the room of the sleeping girls, 6. S^t. N. appears to three youths in prison, 7. S^t. N. saves a person from drowning, 8. S^t. N. expels the devils. (See Guida per la Città di Messina, 8^o. Messina 1826. p. 28.)

² Colaccio in Anonimo, ed. Morelli. p. 189. Sabellico (M. A. Cocc.) *De situ urbis Ven.* p. 9. in Graeve and Burmann's *Thesaurus Antiq. Ital.* fol. Lugd. Batav. 1722. Tom. V. (Sabellico's *de situ* was first

throughout the artistic world when the picture was exhibited. Bartolommeo Vivarini with pardonable eagerness launched into an imitation of the new manner in his majesty of St. Augustine at San Giovanni e Paolo, Giovanni Bellini, with more earnestness and slower step joined in the race, patiently working his way through various discouragements to perfection, yet accused of gaining his knowledge by a fraud.¹ Gentile Bellini followed, disapproving yet quickly convinced of the necessity for change; then came Luigi Vivarini, Carpaccio, Cima, and the swarm of lesser masters. But Antonello's fame as a portrait-painter in the Flemish style soon overshadowed that which he obtained in composing religious subjects; and he was tacitly admitted by his contemporaries as the originator of the models improved in subsequent years by the higher genius of Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian. We have no written testimony as to the value attached to his portraits on their first appearance; but, the specimens which exist lead us to believe that he was soon largely patronized and fashionable.

Of the busts which appeared in 1474 that of a youth in the Hamilton palace near Glasgow is too heavily repainted to give much pleasure.² That of 1475 in the Louvre is of a most surprising realism. Like many easel-pieces of the kind, it shows the head and shoulders of a man at an opening in a dark cap which covers a wig shorn across the forehead and concealing the ears. A white shirt just fringes the plain straight collar of a close pelisse. The face is that of a man of mature age, inured

published in 1514.) Vas. IV. 79. Ridolfi Marav. I. 86. and Sansovino, Ven. des u. s. 205.

¹ See Ridolfi's anecdote of Bellini's introducing himself in disguise to Antonello. *antea* in Bellini.

² Hamilton palace near Glasgow. Wood. 1 ft. 3 h. by 1 f. 1½, inscribed on a cartello: "1474, Antonellus Messaneus me pinxit" bust of a man in a brown cap and

with a curtain or hood and in a red vest. The hair falls low on the forehead, but with the exception of a lock to the left of the cheek, the whole picture is repainted. Lanzi mentions a portrait in possession of the Martinengo family bearing the inscription: "Antonellus Messaneus me fecit 1474." What has become of it? (Lanzi II. 96.)

to exercise, hale, muscular, and in perfect training, a man of prodigious bone, with the self possession of command in his mien, in the glare and unflinching openness of his eye and in the compression of his mouth. A scar just below the nose, a protruding under lip and chin, give additional character to the person. The flesh is ruddy, vivid, and massively shaded. It is difficult to find so much power, warmth and relief combined with such blending and transparence. With the exception of some projections in the deepest shadow, the whole surface is smooth and lucid. It shows all the minutiae of nature, the finest reflections, infinitesimal modulations of colour in the texture of the parts, the reverberation of objects in the eye, the blood vessels inside the lids. Form is rendered in masterly perfection and with excellent modelling. Bellini only equalled this towards 1487—1488, in the Virgin of the Venice Academy (No. 94) the Madonnas of the Frari and San Pietro Martire, or the Loredano of the National Gallery.¹

Amongst similar creations of which almost contemporary notices are preserved, we have to register as belonging to Antonio Pasqualino in the 16th century "Alvise Pasqualino", in a red vest, with the hood of his cap falling on his shoulders and "Michael Vianello" in a black cap and red dress, both dated 1475. We cannot trace the first; the second is almost surely that preserved in a mutilated state under the name of Giovanni Bellini at the Borghese palace in Rome. It is a head of less perfect execution than that of the Louvre, but almost equal to it and perhaps more Venetian in air.² Still more Italian,

¹ Louvre, Large room. Wood bust, a little under life size, inscribed on a cartello, "1475 Antonellus Messaneus me pinxit" bought at the sale of the Pourtales coll. in May 1865 for 113,500 francs.

² Rome, Palazzo Borghese. Room 11. No. 27. Wood. 11³/₈ inch. h. by 9 inch. well preserved but cut

down, and without the parapet, consequently without the cartellino and signature which may be supposed to have been there originally. This may be Michael Vianello, in black cap and fall and red dress. The lips here are raised at the corners to produce an incipient smile. (See Anonimo p. 59.)

but less carefully executed is the bust of a man of forty — five with shorn hair, in a red cap and brown vest, belonging to Signor Molfino, an advocate at Genoa. The track of the brush, so much more apparent in this than in other examples is perhaps only visible because the proportions are larger than Antonello's usual ones; but the drawing is less precise and the relief less powerful than before; there is not so much impasto, nor is the colour as subtly fused or as transparent in shadow as elsewhere. The same handling in a panel at Milan might lead us to assign to this piece the date of 1476, but we cannot do so with any certainty; and we regret this the more as it purports to represent Antonello himself and is said to have once borne an inscription to that effect.¹ The portrait at Milan is in the Casa Trivulzi and once formed part of the Rinuccini collection. It is a highly finished and most precisely outlined bust of a man of sixty in a black cap and hood and red vest, of enamelled brilliance and smoothness yet less melodious in transparence and more uniformly red in general tone than the scarred personage at the Louvre.² The same peculiarity of treatment with broader and freer touch distinguishes another representation of this time, a young patrician in a full wig, with a very marked face now preserved in the Casa Giovanelli at Venice.³ In this phase of Antonello's art we have less of the elements

¹ Genoa, Signor Molfino, bust, cut down, and without the usual parapet. Wood, all but life size. The face is seen three quarters to the left, on dark ground, the eyes very open, and the eyebrows bushy. The flesh of the upper lip is injured by rubbing and dirt.

² Milan, Casa Trivulzi. Wood, oil, 1 ft. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 0 ft. 11. signed: "1476 Antonellus Messaneus me pinsyt". (Sic.)

³ Venice, Casa Giovanelli. Wood, 1 ft. 1 h. by 0 ft. 10. on dark green-brown ground — cut down and without the parapet and cartello:

also spotted by restoring under the nose, in the right eyebrow and neck. This portrait, without a name, is supposed to represent one of the Contarini family. It was once in the Casa Alvise Mocenigo a San Stae. The wig is combed over the forehead and ears. There is no cap; the eyes are grey, the nose large, fleshy, and aquiline, on the shoulder the patrician's stole. The colouring is somewhat hard and uniform; it is ruddy, positive and enamelled; otherwise altogether in Antonello's style at this period. The light too is more undefined than in previous cases.

which the Bellini assimilated, but more of the metallic precision preferred by the solid and substantial taste of Cima.

Brighter and of more silvery smoothness is the portrait of the Berlin Museum.¹ In its minutest details, this panel displays extraordinary perfections. It is the likeness of a youth showing his head and bust at an opening through which a landscape with fine gradations of twilight is seen. His hair — shorn across the forehead — is covered with a black hood-cap; the shirt collar just appears above the border of a black vest; and a fur pelisse hangs on the shoulders. An open cheerful glance, and chiselled features, distinguished mien and fair complexion, indicate luxurious nurture. The mask is wonderfully relieved by contrast of light and shade. The outlines are fine and clean; the touch firmly delicate, the finish perfect; we see the reflections in the iris, the moisture of the orbit, the hairs of the lashes; yet none of the labour of the brush. Polished lustre rivalling that of metal is combined with morbidity of flesh; clear light is blended imperceptibly into grey half tint and rich brown shadow with a medium crystalline in its purity. Colour of full substance in the prominences is worked over with a scumble in the transitions and transparents in darks; and general keeping is attained by a flush of glazing. It is the treatment of Van Eyck in the Arnolfini couple of the National Gallery (1434) or the Jan de Leuw at Vienna (1436) with more modern appliances and more exquisite sparkle. Since the purchase of this picture from Mr. Solly for the Berlin Museum, no one ever ventured to doubt that the date represented by the mutilated ciphers on the cartello was 1445. We now ascertain that the panel of which the origin had

¹ Berlin, Mus. N^o. 18. Wood, 8 inch. by 5³/₄, inscribed on a cartello: "14 (the two final ciphers illegible). Antonellus Messaneus me pinxit". On the upper right hand corner of the cartello marks of a half abraded date. On the

parapet beneath the cartello in gold letters: "prosperans modestus esto, infortunatus vero prudens." The colour in the under lip is slightly abraded, and the tone of the sky is altered by time and dirt.

hitherto been concealed, is the same which Zanetti described as belonging to the Vidman and Vetturi collections, and we learn from Zanetti's own printed statement that it bore the painter's signature and the date of 1478. Close observation enables us to detect the tampering to which the signature was subjected; — and it is obvious that the two last ciphers of the date were purposely abraded and retouched.¹

Though busy with so many sitters in these years Antonello did not entirely abandon sacred painting, and in 1475 he brought out a beautiful miniature crucifixion, taken years ago to the Netherlands by a Fleming and purchased at last for the gallery of Antwerp. We need but look at the illustration in these pages to discern how neatly the landscape is varied with buildings, figures and animals, how cleverly the writhing agony of the unrepentant is contrasted with the quiet of the repentant thief. The characteristic attitudes of these figures are repeated in Carpaccio's panels; and the nude of the Saviour is fairly rendered in bright warm colour, but Flemish reminiscences are still preserved in the angular folds of the dresses.²

Naturalistic as he appears in the treatment of this composition, Antonello is still more in the religious current than in later subjects of a sacred character which we find in Italian collections. We have seen how deeply impressed he was with the grimace of grief peculiar to the Flemings in the "man of Sorrows" at Naples. As he grew older he changed his mode of handling without losing realism; and in the Christ at the pillar of the Venice

¹ Zanetti, Pitt. Ven. p. 21. Our information respecting the identity of the Berlin portrait, we thankfully acknowledge having received from Dr. Woltmann who consulted a catalogue raisonné of the Berlin Museum, bequeathed to him by Dr. Waagen in 1868.

² Antwerp Mus. N^o. 17. Wood, m. 0.58 h. by 0.42, now inscribed: "1475 Antonellus Messaneus me pinxit." Whether the 7 was

ever a 4, is a matter of evidence and credibility. (See De Bast. *Messager des sc. et des arts*. 1824. p. p. 344—45.) The treatment is that of Antonello's later period. The panel was once an heirloom in the family of Maelcamp, one of whose members had purchased it in Italy. It was bought by Professor van Rotterdam at the Maelcamp sale, by M^r. van Ertborn of Professor Rotterdam.



THE CRUCIFIXION, by Antonio da Messina in the Antwerp Museum



Academy which he doubtless completed after 1476, the vulgar type and the coarse form in which suffering is expressed bespeak a nature incapable of rising to the refined idealism of the Tuscans. The Saviour, a model of muscular and bony strength is seen almost in profile, bound by the neck and arm, tossing his head into the air in an agony of pain: a crown of green thorns wounds his temples; the crisp spirals of his chestnut hair float in wild disorder. Tears of blood issue from the punctures and trickle from the eyes. The mouth is open, the brow contracted into angles; minute finish is combined with smoothness and lustre. The flesh looks like chiselled bronze outlined with unexampled cleanness, burnished to a highly coloured tone of polished enamel. Complex means produce the effects we observe; the glowing preparation of the lights toned down by the superposition of cool and more substantial tints contrasts with cold preparations of shadow warmed by superposed rubbings of thinner texture; more or less vehicle is used according to the necessity for transparence. To break the monotony of this process, a touch completing the chord of harmony is thrown in, red on the lip or grey on the hair, the whole being brought into keeping at last by a film of glaze. In this way, high surface is given to lights and darks, as in the earlier practise it was given to the darks alone, but the general result is a ruddy uniformity of fine grain and great solidity.¹

Bellini, as we saw, remained altogether a stranger to this phase of Antonello's handling. There was too much precision in the technical process to suit his delicate taste as a colourist; but what he rejected became fascinating to Giorgione; and we may believe that Giorgione left his first master's models to follow those of the Sicilian, se-

¹ Venice Acad. N^o. 264 fr. the Manfrini Palace. Wood, oil, m. 0.40 h. by 0.33 (15 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 $\frac{1}{4}$.) There are spots of restoring on the breast to the left: on the cartello on the parapet are the words: "Antonellus Messaneus me pinxit." The ground is a brown green.

parating himself for good and all from that branch of Venetian art which was finally represented by Titian.

Antonello himself only held for a time to this complicated system of execution. He did so in a beautiful replica of the Christ at the pillar, which may still belong to Mr. Robinson in London, whilst in a second variety of the same subject, but of more conventional design, he shows that he is about to enter on a final transformation.¹ Till now he had excited the rivalry of the Venetians and forced the Bellini to struggle for the acquirement of skill in oils. The time was at hand when he was to lose the lead which he had hitherto preserved.

Boschini, in describing a half length of Christ at the pillar which stood on the altar of the sacristy at San Giorgio in Alga of Venice observes that it bore the false signature of Giovanni Bellini, but was considered by many as a work of Antonello. We may suppose that this very picture subsequently passed into a private collection and now belongs to the Miari family at Padua. It bears no signature but seems a genuine example preceding by some slight interval of time a number of others in which the influence of Bellini is apparent. Leaner and less muscular but not less unselect shape characterizes the form, which looks as if it had been drawn from memory rather than from nature and tinted with the conventional uniformity of a monochrome scumbled and glazed to a general dusky olive.²

In the same Bellinesque manner Antonello designed the Christ supported on the slab of his tomb by three angels,

¹ London, Mr. Robinson 16 Pelham Crescent. Wood, oil, in 1865 at the British Institution. The execution is not so finished, nor the colour so red as at Venice; but the surface is somewhat altered by cleaning.

² Padua, Casa Miari. Wood, m. 0.60 h. by 0.50 (23½ inch. by 19½). Christ seen to the hip three quarters to the left in a stone recess under

an arch. There are two or three retouches on the breast to the right and on the ground of the sky. The head is raised and surrounded by a nimbus. (See Boschini *Le. R. Min. Sest. della Croce* p. 62.) In this style we have also the St. Sebastian of Casa Maldura (antea Vol. I. p. 440) which though it recalls Buonconsiglio's manner, may also be by Antonello.

commissioned for the tribunal of the council of ten at Venice and now in the Belvedere at Vienna. Painting for such an important place, he may have desired to excel; and it is possible that before the panel was injured by abrasion and restoring, it had some attraction; but in its present condition of wreck, disagreeable prominence is given to a species of realism which taking its rise in the Vivarini and continued by Crivelli produced a strange mixture of transalpine and Italian ugliness. Drier and leaner than at Padua, but equally Bellinesque in treatment, this Christ still called forth imitators and a semi-replica without a name exists in the Correr Museum.¹ We might number amongst the illustrations of Antonello's later time one or two specimens of comparatively small value, a portrait in the Malaspina collection at Pavia and a man of Sorrows in the Casa Francesco Spinola at Genoa, but they are so injured that other and more important panels at Berlin, Frankfort and Bergamo should be preferred.²

Venetian painters, by this time, had become so familiar with the innovations of Antonello that they found no

¹ Vienna, Belvedere, First Floor. Room. 7. Ven'sch. N°. 60. Wood. 4 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 4 in. inscribed in a cartello on the tomb: "ANTONIVS MESANESIS." Three angels support the Saviour in the tomb. Their heads are surrounded by stamped nimbs. The wings of the angels are of peacock feather touched with gold. Distance landscape. Repaints, upper part of head of Christ, flesh of the angel to the r., body of the tomb. A vertical split cuts the leg and arm of Christ and the face of the angel to the r. All the flesh parts are flayed and the landscape is touched over throughout. — Venice, Correr Mus. No. 42. m. 1.17 h. by 0.85 much repainted. Here Christ is seated so that the legs hang outside the tomb. There is a death's head on the ground to the r. The painter is a follower of Antonello.

² Pavia, Gal. Malaspina. Wood, small bust at a parapet in which the name: "ANTONELLVS I;ES-SANEVS PINXI". The yellow hair is covered with a green conical cap, the vest is red; the ground green. The only part not repainted is a bit at the throat. The likeness is that of a man laughing and aged between 50 and 60. — Genoa, Casa Francesco Spinola, Piazza Pellicerva. Man of Sorrows. Wood, oil, half life size — abraded and retouched — a regular type without grimace or contorsion. The head is softly bent, the hair divided in the middle falls to the shoulders. The crown of thorns is on the head and a puncture on the forehead. Round the neck a knotted cord. The colour must once have been warm and golden.

difficulty in making experiments of their own. In more than one instance, those who had looked up to the Sicilian with the hope of, one day, rising to an equality with him, now looked down upon his efforts from a higher vantage ground. It became Antonello's turn to inquire whether it might not be for his benefit to adopt some of the improvements apparent in the works of his contemporaries; and in this way, or it may be unconsciously, his art came more and more to lose its early stamp. Form and mask in his figures began to take another shape, drawing a new style, and drapery another cast; and the Fleming was merged in the Venetian as far as it could in a man of his fibre and education.

In a Madonna at Berlin the Bellinesque impress and something which shows where Cima studied captivates our attention. The Virgin, behind a wall supports the child leaning back but erect on a parapet. With her left hand she touches one of his feet; he throws his arm round her neck and grasps the hem of her bodice. Her slender and not inelegant figure is moulded on those of Bellini and Cima. His is a little stilted and disfigured by a short neck and protruding belly. The drapery, though still Flemish in break is no longer entirely transalpine. But we shall observe in addition Venetian feeling in the rendering of the body and features, a modern, and for Antonello an unusual, method of handling. The flesh, of solid impasto with brown olive shadows and cool transitions, is glazed to a sombre tinge; the reds of the dress are transparent throughout, the blues of full texture, enamelled and high in texture in every part; but in this application of a system invented by Giovanni Bellini, Antonello is no longer the master but the disciple.¹

Many pictures, which as we shall have reason to suppose, followed the Madonna of Berlin are of a similar class. The same technical handling, but colour of a sadder tinge

¹ Berlin, Mus. N^o. 13. Wood, "ANTONELLVS MESSANĒSIS. 2 ft. 2½ h. by 1 ft. 8½ from the P." There is a spot in the sky Solly coll. inscribed on the parapet: to the right.

and a very coarse expression of pain mark a series of busts of St. Sebastian martyred, at Berlin, Frankfort, Bergamo, and Padua, some of them almost too feeble for any but the master's journeymen;¹ a portrait of a nun in the Venice Academy, to be classed amongst the least prepossessing creations of the atelier, a bust of the Madonna in the same repository that looks as if it might have been done by Basaiti; a Christ on his winding sheet with angels in the Casa Morbio at Milan, betraying advance in years and decline in power or a good natured weakness on the part of the painter in lending his signature.²

Catherine Cornaro on her return from Cyprus, in 1489, bought of Antonello a small Madonna which she gave to

¹ Berlin, Mus. No. 8. Wood, oil, 1 f. 6½ h. by 1 f. 1½ from the Solly coll. inscribed on the parapet: "ANTONELLUS MESANEUS P." the frame seen to the breast, struck with three arrows and a large halo encircling the head, distance landscape. The surface is somewhat opaque either from retouching or bad varnish. Frankfort Stædel. No. 16, replica of the same size, from the Baranowski collection, but poorer in execution and without the name. Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. No. 83. Wood, 4 f. h. by 3 f. 3. Replica of larger size, still more feeble and restored, the two last probably school pieces.

Padua, Casa Maldura. — Same subject three quarters to the l. Wood, oil, 1 f. 7 h. by 1 f. 1⅞, on dark ground with a spot of restoration in the cheek. This is perhaps by a disciple (? Pino da Messina). In this same gallery is a bust portrait, one third of life size, under Antonello's name, much repainted. It has been recently cleared of its heaviest retouches but still leaves us in doubt as to its genuineness. The frequent repetition of the Milanese saint St. Sebastian might lead us to believe

that Antonello was at Milan at this period.

² Venice, Academy, No. 349. Wood. M. 0. 46 h. by 0. 29. A brown cloth falls from her head, a puckered kerchief confines her neck; her hands are wrung together and tears fall from her eyes. The colour is dull and olive. This looks like the work of an aged painter. Same Gallery No. 356, Virgin annuntiate (with a book at a desk). Wood, bust, oil, 0. 45 h. by 0. 33, from the hall of the Anti-Collegio de' 20 Savii, inscribed on the border of the table at which the Virgin is sitting: "ANTONELLUS MESANIVS PINSIT." The colour is rich in vehicle but heavy and raw and laid on at one painting in the manner of Basaiti (circa 1510). The handling and the name do not exactly correspond. — Milan Casa Morbio — Christ outstretched on the cover of the tomb, two angels holding the winding sheet stretched over him, in the distance Golgotha. On a cartello to the left on the face of the tomb: "Antonellus Messani pinsit." Wood, oil, 2 f. 1 h. by 1 f. 8. This is a very common and sketchy panel; it may be a copy from a better original by Antonello.

one of her maids of honour on her marriage with one of the Avogaros of Treviso. Till very recently this Madonna was preserved in the collection of the Avogaro family, but we are unable to trace it now, and thus find it difficult to determine what Antonello had made of his art at this period.¹ Were we to believe Ridolfi, the frescos of the Onigo monument at Treviso are his; but if so Antonello's style had become a counterpart of Bellini's.²

In some pieces which collectors attribute to him we discover varieties of handling which practically make the name impossible; in others a conscientious opinion can scarcely be held.³ One little jewel, the St. Jerom of the Baring collection, still puzzles and excites curiosity. As early as the 16th century it was doubtful whether the author was Van Eyck, Memling, or Antonello. The saint in his study amidst books and numerous articles of fur-

¹ Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 86. Federici (*Memorie* I. 226) says that the Virgin was an *Annunziata* and was inscribed: "Antonellus Messanensis P."

² Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 86.

³ Venice, *Correr Mus.* Nr. 10. Bust of a young man crowned with laurel. The execution is more like that of Bellini than that of Antonello. — Nr. 11. Profile of a man with a black cloth on his head, of the Ferrarese School of Tura and Zoppo. — No. 12, a portrait, modern and of the 16th century, and much repainted in the hair. Padua, Casa Ferdinando Cavalli Wood, under life size, bust of a man in a purple cap and dress and long hair, repainted. This might be by Luigi Vivarini as well as by Antonello, but cannot be recognized as the work of either in its present condition. Bergamo, Lochis Carrara Gall. Bust of a man in a dark cap and brown vest with yellow hair, full face looking up, half life size. This panel has Bel- linesque and Antonellesque character, is transparent but a little empty in tone. It was once assigned

to Holbein. Cefalù in Sicily. Casa Mandralisca (1859). Bust portrait of a man of middle age of good humoured aspect, laughing, in a black cap coat and waistcoat, on dark ground; his beard is of a day's growth, wood, 1 ft. 1½ h. by 0, ft. 10½ inches. This piece is injured by restoring but seems technically like a work of the period in which the St. Sebastian of Berlin was produced. It is modelled with solid impasto and finished with transparent glazes. Lonigo, Casa Pieriboni, wood, under life size. Bust of the Saviour carrying his cross, landscape distance with towers and houses. This panel supposed to be of "Titian's school", is of Antonello's school, and very like one which Antonello himself might have painted at the end of his days. — Paris, Comte Duchatel, small bust of a youth of twenty, bareheaded and with long hair. This beautiful and delicate piece is not by Antonello, but by Andrea Solario. Palermo, University Gall. Coronation of the Virgin. This is a curious picture but by a German painter.



niture, and surrounded by birds and other animals as he sits reading at a desk, was a favorite personage with Venetian artists and had been painted by its best masters; but it had never been painted in this way. Firm outline, rich blended tone, and breadth of light and shade combined with angular drapery and profuse accessories, make up a cento of which it is hard to say how much is Bellinesque and how much is purely Antonello.¹

This however is not a solitary example in which Antonello's manner, modified by extraneous elements, is noticeable. There are numbers of portraits in divers galleries in which we mark a curious mixture of the Sicilian with the softness of Memling. We cannot venture to be positive as to the authorship but we may register such works for the sake of inquiry. One of them is a likeness in the Antwerp Gallery supposed to represent Pisano, in which oil medium is imperfectly applied. Another, bare headed, at the Uffizi, is very like that of Antwerp in treatment. Yet another with a cap is in the Venice Academy; a fourth in the Corsini collection at Florence.²

Vasari assures us that towards the close of Antonello's career there was a contest between him and Bonsignori as to who should paint certain episodes in the palace of the Signoria at Venice; and in spite of the influence of the "Duke of Mantua", Antonello received the commission.

¹ London, Baring Coll. Wood, oil, 1 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 1 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$. Compare the Anonimo (ed. Morelli) p. 74.

² Antwerp Mus. No. 18. Wood M. O. 29 h. by 0. 21. Portrait of a man in a black cap and dress in a landscape, in his hand a medal with the words: "Ner. Claud. Cæsar. Aug. C. E. T. R. P. IMPER." The distance is not unlike that of Memling in an altarpiece at Chiswick. — Bought at the sale of M^r. Denon in Paris. Florence Uffizi Nr. 780. Bust of a man in a landscape in a frizzled wig and a dark pelisse with a fur collar.

This portrait is technically like that of Antwerp and is very reminiscent of the school of Van der Weyden and Memling. It has been somewhat cleaned. In the same spirit is a portrait bust in a dark cap and vest in the Venice Acad. No. 255. Wood, 0 27 h. by 0. 26, from the Manfrini Coll. but the colour is warmer. Better and nearer in style to the genuine likenesses of Antonello is a fine bust of a man with a free aspect and glance in a cap, in the Corsini Gallery at Florence. This portrait was ascribed for a time to Pollaiuolo and is now catalogued as unknown.

It has been usual to assume that this contest occurred in 1493 at which date the Palazzo della Signoria was restored to its former state. But there is nothing certain in the whole of this story, except that Antonello did not live to carry out the commission. He died according to Vasari before turning fifty and was buried with honours at Venice.¹

We saw that the Flemish element had been introduced into Naples by the importation of pictures from the Netherlands. Strangely enough most of the panels and frescos in which the presence of that element is detected were attributed to Antonio Solario otherwise called il Zingaro. It may not be unnecessary to attempt to elucidate the mystery which surrounds this "ghost of a painter," and, at the same time, to give some idea of the state of art in Naples during the lifetime or immediately after the death of Antonello.

We might expect to learn of Zingaro that he visited the Netherlands or consorted with Flemings. The very reverse appears to have been the case. The story of his life has a striking analogy with that of Quintin Massys. Some say he was a Venetian, others that he was born, about 1382, at Civit  di Peuna near Chieti. He became a painter in order to win the love of Colantonio's daughter, and took lessons of Lippo Dalmasii at Bologna. He visited Venice,

¹ Vasari, IV. 81—2. — We may add here a list of missing works. Venice, San Giuliano, St. Christopher at the side of a statue of St. Roch (Sansovino Ven. des. 126. Rid. Mar. I. 86.) Scuola della S. S. Trinit . The dead Christ and the Marys (Boschini Le R. M. Sest. di Dorso Duro p. 30). Casa Conzarini, a Madonna (Ridolfi Marav. I. 86.) Casa Zanne di Piazza; figure of St. Christopher (ib. ib. ib.) Antwerp, Van Veerle Collection. Virgin ch. and 4 saints (ib. ib. 87). Collection of Baron Tassis. — Madonna with a book before her. Boschini Carta del Navegar. 324.

Florence, Messer. Bernardo Vecchi-etti, St. Francis and St. Dominick on one panel (Vas. IV. 80). According to annotations in Sir Ch. Eastlake's Materials u. s. l. p. 211, and in Schorn's Vasari, u. s. II. 374, this panel really represented a Franciscan and a canon of the Lateran. It was sold at the beginning of the century by one of the Vecchietti family to Ignatius Hugford, and afterwards belonged to Mr. Woodburn the picture dealer in London. It would be desirable to know what became of the picture, which may yet be in England.

Florence, Ferrara, and Rome, and studied under the Vivarini, Bucci, Galasso, Pisano, and Gentile da Fabriano. At the end of his travels he married at Naples the girl of his choice, and died in 1455.¹ The first compositions to which our attention is called in connection with Zingaro are those to which allusion has been made, — the *S^t. Francis of San Lorenzo*, the *S^t. Vincent of San Pietro Martire* and the *S^t. Severin of San Severino* at Naples. Others betray an influence foreign to the Netherlands.

The Virgin and child in the Naples Museum under a hanging dais attended by *S^t. Paul*, *S^t. Aspremus*, *S^t. Peter*, *S^t. Sebastian* and four other saints is a large altarpiece of the early part of the 16th century, in which the habits of a school different from that of the Netherlands are observable. The figures are drawn with firm and marked outlines, of weighty and even heavy frames; the colour of a dull brown tinge, is strongly impregnated with vehicle, highly enamelled, yet sombre and raw; Umbrian feeling may be detected in the grouping of the Virgin and child as well as in the style of the ornamentation; it is of this picture that we are told: the Virgin is a likeness of Johanna the II^d of Naples (1414—1435) the female behind *S^t. Peter* is a daughter of Colantonio; and the man on the extreme left is Zingaro himself.²

S^t. Jerom in the desert in the Berlin Museum hitherto assigned to Zingaro is by Pier' Francesco Sacchi of Pavia; and *S^t. Ambrose* and *S^t. Louis* in the Munich Pinakothek are Lombard panels by Cesare Magno or some other follower of Sacchi.³

In one of the cloisters of the monastery of San Severino at Naples, we find no less than twenty frescos illustrating the legend of *S^t. Benedict*, besides a Virgin and child between *S^t. Severinus* and *S^t. Sosius* in a lunette. The earliest is a monochrome representing the saint accompanied by his father, his nurse *Cyrilla*, two runners and servants, on his way to Rome. *S^t. Benedict* rides a horse, his father a mule and *Cyrilla* a donkey. All are in the dress of the 15th century. This pleasant composition is remarkable for the firmness of the outlines and individual character of its figures, for the broken but appropriate cast of its drapery; it is rich in detail and landscape and betrays a painter of Umbro-Florentine education. The rest of the series — in colours — was probably designed by the same artist but executed by assistants. We are told that the authors are Zin-

¹ De Dominici, *Vite dei pitt. etc.* Napoletani. 8^o. Naples 1840—48. Lanzi u. s. II. 5. the local Neapolitan chroniclers in Catalani, *Discorso* u. s. 16. 17. 18. 19. — and Piacenza in Baldinucci, *opere* u. s. Vol. V. 148.

² Naples, Nat. Gall. Neapol. Sch. XIV, XVth centuries No. 6. Wood

figures life size, on the hanging dais are two angels. — The colours are partly altered by age, partly by retouching.

³ Berlin, Mus. No. 116. Munich Pinak. Saal. Nrs. 537. and 543, purchased at Naples in 1832 by king Ludwig.

garo, the Donzelli his pupils, and Simone Papa, to whom the poorest of the twenty — meeting and reconciliation of the king with St. Benedict — are ascribed. The frescos are all more or less injured by damp and retouching; they are, throughout, rich in distances and accessories and reminiscent of Pinturicchio, della Gatta or even Cosimo Rosselli, though more minute than any thing that we know of those masters. The heavy forms are almost invariably rigid or cold; the drawing is marked, black, and frequently incorrect, especially in the extremities; the flesh is dim and cold and shaded up to the outline, the drapery broken and angular. There is much inequality in treatment and considerable diversity in masks. Of the numerous heads in one fresco, some are better than others; of the figures one may be coarsely, the other carefully, handled. Here and there, a transalpine form is revealed in large noses, heavy jaws and receding chins. A few numbers of the cycle are crowded and confused and poor in architectural perspective; others are lifeless, defective, and greatly neglected; and this applies particularly to the subjects attributed to Simone Papa.¹

We close the list with the Virgin and child and youthful Baptist in the Leuchtemberg collection at St. Petersburg which proves to be an important production of Andrea Solario of Milan.²

It is almost a pity that the historians who take Antonio Solario or the Zingaro round Italy should have forgotten to send him into the Netherlands. We may accept, because we cannot disprove, the existence of the man, but we refuse to acknowledge as productions of one pencil the diverse creations we have named. It was not unnatural that whilst such a king as René of Anjou governed, there should have been a demand for Flemish pictures in South Italy. It was almost a necessary result of René's own cultivation of Belgian art that Flemings should secure a footing as painters at Naples; but that Flemish legends should find a home in Italy and be received as veracious by Neapolitan writers is a positive misfortune.

Piero and Ippolito Donzelli are honestly believed at Naples to have been Neapolitans. We have seen how little ground there is for as-

¹ Naples, S. Severino. These frescos were greatly damaged by the restoration of Antonio della Gamba in 1759, they will be worse still when restored anew, as is being done at the moment of penning these lines. (See Catalani, *Discorso* n. s. 19.) On the basement of a pier supporting the painted ornamental framing of one of the frescos is a tablet with initials and

ciphers now illegible but interpreted by Aloe (Stanislas) "Le Pitture dello Zingaro". 4°. Naples 1486 a. S. "Nicola Antonio lo Zingaro... fece," the two frescos assumed to be by Papa are coarsely executed and much repainted. The figures are short in stature.

² St. Petersburg, Leuchtemberg Coll. See antea Andrea Solario.

signing to them the annunciation, nativity, and coronation of the Virgin in the refectory of Santa Maria la Nuova at Naples. In the same refectory we have a fresco ascribed to Ippolito representing Christ carrying his cross with numerous figures; though damaged, it still displays the Raphaelesque manner adopted by Andrea da Salerno or Leonardo da Pistoia.¹

The Naples Museum contains several panels separately or jointly attributed to Piero and Ippolito — a crucifixion which might have been executed by a Venetian follower of Mantegna and Carpaccio, or Michele da Verona; — a crucifixion heavily daubed over; — a S^t. Martin sharing his cloak, which if found at Udine, would be classed amongst the works of Giovanni Martini; — a Virgin and child with saints — an altarpiece in courses from San Domenico — in the rude style of the School of Benvenuto or Cozzarelli of Sienna; — a Virgin and child with S^t. Jerom and S^t. Francis, equally poor, by an unknown Neapolitan. In the chapel of Santa Barbara which is part of the Castello of Naples, an Epiphany is shown in which we are invited to admire the hand of John van Eyck and the corrections of the Donzelli; that the artist was a stranger to Naples, and that his panel was retouched at a later period is obvious; but Van Eyck and the Donzelli are both out of question in a feeble and injured picture of the 16th century.²

¹ Naples, S.M. La Nuova. Refectory, fresco of Chris carrying his cross, much injured by damp and repainting, not without life in the composition and action of the figures; the fleshtones of a raw and dim red tone. There is no connection whatever of style or of treatment between this and the other frescos in the refectory, though they are ascribed to the same painter.

² Naples, Museum. Neapolitan Sch. XIV and XVth centuries. No. 1. Wood, composition of numerous figures, assigned to Pietro. No. 17. Wood, same subject of the same period and style but ruined by repaints — assigned to Ippolito. It is stated that both these crucifixions, which were originally in Santa Maria la Nuova, were ordered of the two brothers at the same time. (Compare Piacenza in Balducci, Opere V. p. 398.) — No. 3. wood, under the name of Pietro — lunette with small figures once said

to be by Andrea da Salerno No. 22, wood, tempera almost life size. The Virgin and child, on goldground, between S^t. Sebastian and S^t. Giacomo della Marca; in the lunette, Christ and two angels between the Virgin and Evangelist the latter injured; in a predella, Christ and the 12 apostles in half lengths (small). On the frame, "Drusia Braccizia ha facta fare questa fiura ad te se recomanda virgine pura et he dotata per piu de una messa el di. Dedicata ad honore di Santo Sebastiano." The altarpiece is under the joint name of Piero and Ipp^o. Neapolitan-Sch. XIII and XIVth cent. No. 4. Virgin ch. S^t. Francis and S^t. Jerom. Wood. Naples, Castello. Cappella S. Barbara. The best preserved part of this picture, is that to the right, that to the left was renewed; but the whole piece is of a very low class. (The authors thus appeal from their own judgment as expressed in Early Flemish Painters p. 97—8.

De Dominici asserts that Piero Donzelli was born in 1405, that Ippolito was the son of the same father by another mother; and that both were trained in the ateliers of Colantonio and il Zingaro; he repeats Vasari's account of the manner in which the Donzelli were employed by king Alphonzo in decorating the palace of Poggio Reale, adding that they painted in Santa Maria La Nuova at the request of Ferdinand the II^d and concluding with the statement that Piero died at Naples in 1470, whilst Ippolito ended his days at Florence.¹ This scanty summary of facts contains discrepancies of no common kind, for Poggio Reale was built after 1481, at the request of Alphonzo the II^d Duke of Calabria, and was probably adorned before the close of the century with the Donzelli's designs.² We learn from authentic records that these artists lived and laboured much later in the century than the Neapolitans believe; and that they were Florentines by birth and education. Piero, the son of Francesco d'Antonio di Jacopo bailiff (donzello) of the Signoria of Florence was born in 1451, Ippolito his brother was born in 1455. It is not known by whom Piero was taught; Ippolito was apprentice to Neri de' Bicci from 1469 to 1471. The brothers were companions in the so-called "Studio" at Florence as late as 1480. The death of Ippolito is not registered; Piero's name occurs in the accounts of the opera of Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence as a painter of escutcheons and flags in 1503 and 1506, he died on the 24th of February 1509 (n. s.).³ It is hard to say which of the pictures at Naples are genuine and which are not so; they are all different in style and little related to the school of the Bicci. The Donzelli may have had some share in the frescos of the cloister at San Severino in which we observe a distant reminiscence of Cosimo Rosselli and the Umbrians of the close of the 15th century.

We revert to a decided Flemish type of art in pictures assigned to Simone Papa the elder (1430 to 1488?) to whom we have seen the guides allude as assistant to the painter of the cloisters at San Severino of Naples. A S^t. Michael weighing souls between two kneeling personages attended by their patron saints once in the convent of Santa Maria la Nuova and now in the National Museum, seems taken, as far as the S^t. Michael is concerned, from Memling's last Judgment at Danzig and is quite of a low class Flemish treatment. An ascension with several saints, a triptych in courses in the same museum is also transalpine but feebler and probably by another hand, whilst a

They are now more experienced than they were 25 years ago. Compare De Dominici u. s.

¹ De Dominici u. s. Vasari IV. 3—12, and notes to Vas. IV. 77.

² Vas. annot. IV. 12.

³ See Neri di Bicci's Ricordi in Vas. annot. II. 260. and the Portata al Catasto of "Piero e Polito di Francesco d'Antonio di Jacopo," dated 1480, in Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani anno VI. 1862. p. p. 13.—16.

Virgin and child with two angels, under the name of Zingaro, really betrays the same style as the *S^t. Michael*.¹

Equally unimportant as craftsmen are Silvestro de' Buoni, Giovanni Ammanato, Roccadirame² and others whose alleged works in Naples and its vicinity may be left to the compass of a note.³ What Naples in its best could produce we see in the numerous altarpieces of Cola dell' Amatrice and Andrea da Salerno.

¹ For Simone Papa the elder see De Dominici I. 172 and Piacenza in Baldinucci — op. V. 519. He is said to be a pupil of Zingaro. — Naples Mus. Neap. Sch. XIV and XVth cent. No. 31. Wood, figures life size. The patrons are Bernardino Turbola and his wife Anna de Rosa. The scene is in a landscape of Flemish minuteness and finish. The figures are short and stout, the drapery broken in its folds. The flesh colours are reddish and dull. Nos. 20. and 24. centre and wings. In the centre, Jesus on the cross with Mary and the Evangelist weeping; and below, the Virgin and child; on the wings, the two *S^t. Johns* with *S^t. Michael* and *S^t. George* in half lunettes. This triptych is opaque and of a bluish grey in flesh. Wood, small figures. No. 30. Wood. The Virgin gives a piece of fruit to the child who holds his hand in the act of benediction.

² Of Silvestro de Buoni, Roccadirame and Amanato, we put together the following.

Buoni's life is in Dominici u. s. Vol. II. 219 and in Piacenza in Baldinucci, op. V. 51. He is a pupil of Zingaro and the Donzelli? and lived till about 1480? Naples, Santa Restituta. Virgin and ch. under a baldachin between *S^t. Restituta* and *S^t. Michael* — Predella — scenes from the life of *S^t. Restituta*. On the throne step a signature purporting to be that of Silvestro de Buoni with the date 1590, but the words have been tampered with. The style of the picture is of the opening of the 16th century, recalling that of the pupils of Perugino and Pinturicchio. Wood, figures three quarters of life size much damaged by repaints. Monte Oliveto (ch. of) near Naples. Ascension between *S^t. Sebastian* and a saint in episcopals, three arched panels in one, with figures a little over half life size. The Saviour in the centre appears in heaven with the orb, and in benediction. He is surrounded by angels. Below, the Virgin and apostles in a landscape.

This picture is by the same painter as the foregoing but earlier in date, the personages dry, lean, and angular; the details are touched in gold. — Naples Mus. Neap. Sch. XIII and XIVth cent. No. 1. Magdalen. No. 7. *S^t. John the Baptist*. No. 11. Death of the Virgin. These panels are under Buoni's name but very poor in the style of his school, Naples, San Pietro Martire, 1st chapel to the r. Death of the Madonna, much injured by repaints dated 1501. This seems likely to be by Buoni, though the lower part of the composition has a transalpine air, whilst the upper is more Umbrian in character. In the same chapel, Virgin and child between 2 saints and a numerous kneeling congregation heavily repainted; but perhaps originally by Buoni. The coronation above is more modern by a century. We may also give to Buoni a *S^t. Michael* and *S^t. Andrew* in Sant' Angelo a Nilo, two panels of soft treatment and colouring that recall Giannicola Mani falsely assigned to Angiolillo Roccadirame, another so-called pupil of Zingaro (De Dominici I. 152), who is said to have painted a *S^t. Michael* for this church.

Giovanni Ammanato the elder. His life in Dominici II. 52, b. 1475. d. 1553. What is supposed to exist of this painter is so little and so worthless that we pass it over, and the same course may be followed as regards Simone Papa the younger.

³ Eboli, S. M. della Pietà. Coronation of the Virgin, wood, tempera, figures one third of life size much repainted. This is an Umbro-Siennese picture of the close of the 15th century. Amalfi. Duomo, Christ dead on the knees of the Virgin, betw. *S^t. Augustin* and *S^t. Andrew*, ornament of a chapel founded in 1505, by Giorgio Castrioti juniore (notice of Dr. Matteo Camera). Same ch. Virgin and child betw. *S^t. Andrew* and *S^t. John the apostle*, and in a lunette (daubed over) Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist. These are also Umbro-Siennese and very poor. — Savona near Genoa. Duomo, Virgin and ch. and four saints. Umbro-Siennese altarpiece inscri-

Cola has been described by Vasari as the best painter and architect in the Neapolitan province, and there is nothing contrary to the truth in his opinion, for the best artists in the march of Ancona or the Neapolitan border might be matched by the third rates in other parts of Italy. Cola's practise was chiefly confined to Ascoli and its vicinity; and dates from 1513 to 1543. Till 1520 or 1523 he painted in a dry and exaggerated style which recalls Crivelli, Signorelli, Alunno, and Pinturicchio. At a later period, though he never, it is said, visited Rome, he fell into a bolder manner which displays a fair acquaintance with the modern art of the Raphaellesques.¹

Andrea Sabbatini da Salerno, whose life is confined by annalists

bed: "Tucius de Andrea de Apulia hoc pinxit MCCCCLXXVII." This also is a coarse work altogether repainted.

¹ Cola Filotesio or dell'Amatrice. His life is in Ricci, *Memorie Storiche delle arti &c. della Marca di Ancona*, and he is mentioned by Vasari (IX. 116. 117):

His earliest panel is said to be a Virgin and ch. with Sts. Francis, Januarius, and Augustin, dated 1512 or 13 (Ricci II. 87. 104. Vas. annot. IX. 117), originally in a ch. at Follignano and later in the Pesch Collection. At S. Vittorio of Ascoli is a Virgin and child between Sts. Victor in pontificals, Corradino, Andrew, and Cristeziano kneeling, inscribed "PIA CI-VIUM DIVOTIONE FACTUM MDXIV" Wood, gold ground, figures under life size, the blue mantle of the Virgin new and the rest of the picture injured. Rome. Museum of S. Giovanni Laterano. Assumption of the Virgin arched, with the apostles about the tomb below, insc. on the face of the sepulchre. "COLA AMATRICIVS FACIEBAT MDXV". In the same gallery, a pilaster with six saints and two arched panels, in one of which we see St. Benedict and St. Lawrence; in the other St. Mary Magdalen and St. Agnes. In the assumption we note a disagreeable contrast between the yellow lights and black shadows, the execution is dry and hard. Rome. Gall. of the Capitol, from San Domenico of Ascoli, No. 196, wood, mixed tempera and oil — lunette of the Virgin amidst angels (8). Below, the death of the Virgin. — The figures are of small stature and paltry proportions — the movements boldly vulgar; and the faces common in mask. The drapery is angular and carelessly cast — much damaged by varnishes. Same gallery No. 199, assumption, genuine. — Ascoli. Ospizio degli Eposti. ruined tavola in oil with a nativity — in the upper part five saints, Jerom. Anthony, Francis, Giacomo della Marca

and Dominick and two kneeling devotees in the foreground. In the same place but originally in the brotherhood of Corpus Domini, the communion of the apostles, inscribed: "COLA AMATRICIANUS FACIEBAT." All but two figures on the left are repainted. The subject is very familiarly treated. Same place, Christ carrying his cross with life size figures. The same subject in the refectory of the minorites is a fresco signed: "VIVIT HOMO DAPIBUS . . . ANNO D. MDXIX." There are no less, certainly, than a hundred figures in the composition but much confusion in the arrangement and the drawing is greatly mannered; retouching has also impaired the value of the work. Besides there are several panels in the Eposti at Ascoli whither they were transferred from the chapel of Corpus Domini in San Francesco ex. gr. Abraham leading Isaac to sacrifice, David, two Sybils. — These are all on gold ground and have been described as bearing originally the date of 1523. — The style is expanded to the breadth of the Raphaellesques. Ascoli, Santa Maria dell' Ospitale Here are remnants of frescos; a Christ crowned with thorns with three other figures, a Christ presented to the people, St. Catherine, St. John, St. Margaret of Cortona, Sermon on the mount and part of a crucifixion. In the same place, further, are canvases of Christ carrying his cross, Christ dead on the Virgin's lap — and Christ crucified. Both canvases and wallpaintings are ruined. Aquila. Santa Chiara. A wall in this church is filled with paintings assigned to Cola, but they are altogether daubed over. — Amongst the subjects are a crucifixion. By the same hand but in similar condition are frescos in the refectory of Santa Chiara. Ricci mentions in addition frescos representing scenes from the Passion in S. Margherita of Ascoli, a St. Joseph in Santa Maria del Suffragio at l'Amatrice inscribed "Cola Philotesius MDXXVII." A last supper at S. M. delle Laudi at l'Amatrice; the same subject in the Palazzo Scimitarra near Teramo, frescos in the Palazzo della Canoniera and a Christ going to Calvary in Santa Croce of Città di Castello.

within the years 1480 and 1545, is a man of another stamp. What we learn of him is on doubtful authority, but to the effect that — struck by the works of Perugino at Naples — he started for Perugia, and was only prevented from proceeding thither by his admiration for Raphael's creations at Rome. He became a disciple of Raphael and subsequently settled at Naples where he produced pictures in large quantities. Amongst the number of assistants — some of them of humble talents — whom Raphael employed it is fit that Andrea Sabbatini should be numbered. He may be classed on the same level as Jacopo Siculo or Pacchia of Sienna; and with Penni, Leonardo da Pistoia, and Polidoro, he contributed to the rise of that branch of the Neapolitan school which fills the 16th century. His best works are in the museum and churches of Naples and Salerno, and there are a couple of canvases by him in the Ellesmere collection.¹

Sicilian art never recovered its splendor after the close of the Norman period. What remains of the 13th and 14th centuries in the island is scarcely worthy of attention.²

¹ The following are particulars of Sabbatin's practise:

The best picture assigned to Andrea Sabbatini is the adoration of the Magi in the Naples Mus. but originally in Salerno — Neapol. Sch. XIV and XVth centuries, No. 32, wood, the figures are little less than life size, well arranged in good and graceful action. The masks are pleasant and the colours (somewhat injured) warm and harmonious. No. 23, a miracle of St. Nicholas (much damaged). Grand Salon No. 43, St. Benedict enthroned between St. Placidus and St. Maurus, with the four doctors below (life size). Neapol. Sch. XIV and XVth cent. No. 29, St. Benedict receiving St. Maurus and Placidus and 33, St. Benedict clothing Sts. Maurus and Placidus — the two last, predellas of No. 43 — are all in the style of the adoration. Another fine work of Andrea in an adoration of the magi with figures half life size in the sacristy of the Oratorio de' Gerolamini at Naples. We may also notice the following. Naples, Santa Maria delle Grazie a Capo di Monte, 1st altar in the transept. The Virgin enthroned holds the child who presses the milk from her breast and causes it to flow down up the souls in purgatory; right St. Andrew; above, in a lunette, St. Michael with the balance kneeling on the form of Satan. Naples, San Giorgio de' Genovesi, St. George and the dragon (restored and repainted). Naples, San Domenico Maggiore, Virgin, ch. St. Dominick, St. Martin and other saints. This picture is no longer to be recognized as

a work of Sabbatini, it is so repainted. Salerno, S. Giorgio, Virgin and child, between St. Catherine, a bishop and two other saints; to the left a kneeling nun. On a cartello, fragments of an inscription; in a lunette, Christ appearing to the Magdalen, originally a fine work but now in a very bad state. Salerno, Duomo, Christ dead on the Virgin's lap, St. John, St. Jerom and another saint is probably by Andrea. Salerno, S. Agostino, Virgin and child between two monkish saints life size, injured and repainted. Eboli San Francesco, Virgin and child in glory — angels, with St. Francis and St. John Evangelist in the foreground. This picture is not certainly by Andrea but has some of his style. London, Ellesmere coll. No. 79, St. Catherine, No. 80, St. Rosalia.

² Of old works in Sicily we may quote the following: Palermo, Chiesa del Carmine. The Redeemer between two angels, fresco in one of the ceilings much restored but probably of the close of the 14th century. Palermo, Compagnia di Sant' Alberto. Coronation of the Virgin, St. Peter and St. Albert with Christ, the Virgin and Evangelist and eight other figures in a predella; a poor work of the style of Turino Vanni or Gera. Palermo, gall. of the University. Depot. Cor-

Under the Viceroy, pictures were imported from Central Italy or the Netherlands; and the painter's craft was in the hands of unimportant guildsmen. We are unacquainted with a single artist of the 15th century at Palermo who can be called older than Antonello da Messina; and of these not one is known beyond the place of his habitual residence. Of Tommaso de Vigilia, Ruzulone, Crescenzo, or Saliba, not one laid the foundation of a school or became entitled to historical recognition; and it is as clear as possible that Antonello could not have learnt his business from any of them.

Tommaso de Vigilia of Palermo whose life is circumscribed within the years 1480 and 1497, is cold, careful, and without power; his drawing is so elementary that selection in masks or extremities is not to be expected of him. His figures are straight, lifeless and ill-draped; he prefers rounded contour to angular break; and this is a marked peculiarity of his style. His flesh tints are dull, ashen, and unshaded, in strong contrast with the sharp tones of his dresses. The earliest of his works with which we are acquainted is a triptych originally in the church of Sciacca, a virgin and child enthroned with saints, dated 1486, in the collection of the Duke of Verdura at Palermo, a canvas tempera of 1488 representing St. John in San Giovanni Evangelista, a Madonna between two saints of the same year in the convent of "Le Vergini", a figure of a saint — of 1489 — in San Niccolò, of Palermo. We may assign to him the sixteen canvases with scenes from the life of the Virgin in the church de' Dispersi and a Virgin with saints in the house of Count Tasca, at Palermo; a Pietà and a Virgin and child afterwards repeated by Saliba, at Castro

onation of the Virgin between St. Peter (repainted) and St. Paul with fragments of an inscription of which this much is legible: "SOTT. DISCIPLINA ECCLA S. PETRI DA BAGNARA A. D. MCCCC." This is a rough tempera, with small figures. The same subject in the same style is to be found in the same room; but here the Redeemer is placed in a pinnacle between the angel and Virgin annuntiate, and Christ with the Virgin and apostles is in a predella. Palermo, S. Niccolò Reale. A third cor-

onation with a bishop and St. John the Baptist of the same defective character is to be found here. Palermo, Santa Maria del Soccorso; triptych the Virgin with a staff covering with her cloak a frightened child, between St. Nicholas and St. Oliva, on gold ground. This is a picture of the close of the 15th century which suggests reminiscences of De Vigilia. There are saints in pilasters, but the predella is repainted in oil; wood, figures half life size.

Reale, and a series of frescos in the deserted church of Risalaino near Missilmeri.¹

With similar defects but more energy and character, Pietro Ruzzone is the fellow workman or disciple of Vigilia — a realist, unconsciously transalpine in style, and without feeling for anything that is noble or select in nature. He was a Palermitan as we learn from Baronius who compares him to Raphael, and is known to have painted at Palermo as late as 1517; but we only remember one production attributable with certainty to his hand, a crucifix commissioned in 1484 for the Duomo of Termini, and of this there is a partial replica in the church of Cefalù. The peculiarity of the crucifix at Termini is, that it represents the crucified Saviour with the wailing Virgin, Magdalen, Evangelists, pelican and serpent on one side, and the

¹ Palermo, Duke of Verdura. Wood, tempera. The saints are Joseph, Calogerus, Agatha, and Lucy. On the foreground, a small kneeling donor — behind, four adoring angels, on the right wing, St. Dominick, on the left St. Christopher; on the closed shutters, St. Sebastian and another saint: This damaged altarpiece is inscribed: "Thomas de Vigilia Panormita pinxit MCCCCLXXXVI. Earlier works by Vigilia are noticed by de Marzo (u. s. III. p. 134) ex gr. a Virgin and child betw. S. S. Peter, Francis, Paul, and Chiara; inscribed: „MCCCCLXXX, Thomas de Vigilia pinxit" in the convent of the Chiarine at Palermo, and a lost panel of St. Sebastian in S. Maria di Gesù, insc.: "Thomas de Vigilia pinxit MCCCCLXXXIII." Lost likewise are, his Christ expelling the changers from the temple, Christ's entrance into Jerusalem, Christ's capture, and Christ before Pilate, once in the tribune of the Palermo Cathedral, further, a St. Sebastian of 1482 in the ch. of that name at Palermo, a St. Sebastian of 1493 in the brotherhood of the SS. Annunziata at Palermo, a Virgin and child in San Rosalia of Bivona inscribed and dated 1494, and a picture of 1497 in Sant' Orsola of Polizzi. Palermo, S. Gio. Evangelista. The saint is represented writing: in-

scribed: "Thomas de Vigilia pinxit 1488" canvass tempera, much repainted. Palermo, convent of le Virgini (not seen by the authors), Virgin and child, St. Jerom and St. Theodore, signed and dated 1488. (See the admirable guide of Mr. Dennis. "Handbook for travellers in Sicily", Murray, London.) Palermo. San Niccolò Reale. — Saint Nicholas enthroned in a glory of angels, inscribed: "Thomas de Vigilia pinxit 1489." — Palermo, Santissima Annunziata or de' Dispersi. 16 canvases, forming the ornament of the roof, either by De Vigilia or one of his disciples. Palermo, Count Tasca, wood, tempera; Virgin, ch. S^{ta}. Francis, Bernardino, Louis, and other saints and angels: Castro Reale, Santa Maria del Gesù, arched panel 2 f. 8, wide 3 f. 3 h. The Virgin is in prayer in front of the cross; the Saviour is held by St. John and the Magdalen and two others are in grieving in front and back ground. — Same place, an arched panel of the Virgin and child enthroned with two angels on the arms of the throne and two others in flight supporting the crown above the Virgin's head, the child stands, holding an apple and receives a flower from his mother. This is better than the Pietà and though in style like De Vigilia might be a juvenile effort of Saliba.

Redeemer triumphant in his resurrection with the symbols of the Evangelists on the other. The latter subject alone is repeated at Cefalù.¹

We are without records of Antonio Crescenzo; and what remains of the works assigned to him is without date. He is cleverer than Vigilia or Ruzulone. His fresco of the triumph of death in the Court of the hospital at Palermo is a fanciful production which might have been suggested by that of the Campo Santo at Pisa. It represents death on the pale horse heedless of the poor who sigh for their end, destroying the highborn and threatening the rich. The figures are thrown together without much regard for appropriate distribution but drawn with great minuteness of outline. A gentle affectation characterizes the females; lean and cornered forms distinguish the males; and there is much exaggeration and awkwardness in the action generally. We are reminded of Gentile da Fabriano or Pisano, but more still of the Sanseverini, to whom however Crescenzo is superior. To this fresco a legend is attached which again shows that there was constant communication between Sicily and the Netherlands. The legend is that a Flemish painter fell sick in the Hospital of Palermo and on recovery showed his gratitude by painting this and other pictures. In the case of Zingaro, the story of Quintin Massys is plagiarized. Here it is the fable of Memling in the hospital at Bruges.

Fragments of wall painting in monochrome containing some powerful and expressive heads are assigned to the same person in the chapel of the Vanni family adjoining the church of Santa Maria di Gesù near Palermo, they seem originally to have been above his level, and might indeed have been by Antonello da Messina, but that they are

¹ Pietro Ruzulone is mentioned in Baronius, *De Majestate Panormitana*, lib. 3, cap. II. p. 102, fol. Panormo 1630, and in Ignazio de Michele's "sopra un antica croce nel Duomo di Termini Imerese" Palermo, 1859, p. 12.:

De Michele gives the contract for the crucifix in full with the date of April 26, 1484. In it the painter is called Petrus de Ruzulone. The latter author also quotes from the Ms. of Mongitore in the library of Palermo, describing a St. Peter Martyr in the church of that name inscribed: "AD. M. CCCCCXVII" Petrus Ruccoloni Pan. pinxit, and paintings in the ceiling of the cappella del Santissimo in the parish ch. of San Nicolò l'Albergharia inscribed: "Petrus Ruccoloni p. MCCCCC." (ib. p. 12). The figures in the crucifix of Termini are life size. The drawing is resolute but incorrect, the outline strong, the colour dull, cold in shadow, and but slightly relieved; but much of the dullness may be caused by restoring. The crucifix at Cefalù is a little better than that of Termini.

We possess a copy of a contract dated Oct. 6 1504, at Termini by which a painter named Jacobus Graffeo agrees to restore a gonfalone for the ch. of Santa Maria di Misericordia and a crucifix for the (now demolished) church of San Gerardo at Termini. A Pietà is shown in the Duomo of Termini which purports to be by Graffeo. It is a repainted canvas which exaggerates the worst faults of De Vigilia or Ruzulone, but there are other pictures like it in Sicily — a crucifix with the symbols of the four Evangelists and an Epiphany in the monastery of the Franciscans at Castro Giovanni, a Christ in the tomb between the Virgin and Evangelist, and a St. John the Baptist and St. John Evangelist in the anti-sacristy of the Chiesa Maggiore at Castro Giovanni. We might swell this list materially if necessary. — A fresco of Christ crucified with St. John, the Marys and a kneeling prelate (life size) in the brotherhood del Santo Crocifisso at Palermo though much injured may be considered as the produce of a disciple of the school of Ruzulone.

too ill-treated to justify a positive opinion. A Virgin and child enthroned amidst numerous saints in the University Gallery at Palermo is also attributed to Crescenzo, though better than he could do it, and technically like a creation of Antonio Panormitano. More probably his are the figures of St. Paul and St. Peter in the same collection.¹

It was held by many persons that Antonello de Saliba and Antonello da Messina were identical. The name, country and style, and the judicious suppression of the word Saliba, all tended to increase the plausibility of this opinion; but after a time, it was found advisable to review this portion of Sicilian history which could not be reconciled with chronology; and Saliba is now accepted as an independent artist.²

Antonello de Saliba was a Sicilian and probably studied under the same masters as Vigilia and Ruzulone. We discern in all three an equal coldness and carefulness of drawing, timidity of chiaroscuro and

¹ Antonio Crescenzo. De Marzo (Della Pittura in Sicilia u. s. III. 110) mentions a Virgin and child with St. Jos. bearing Crescenzo's signature and the date of 1417. Palermo, Ospitale. Rosini (u. s. III. 31.) quotes the legend of the hospital of Palermo, and he gives authority for believing that before the fresco of the triumph of death was restored in this century, one of the figures to the left amongst those represented as spared — a man holding a brush and stick — had on his sleeve fragments of a name which could still be read "Cresc....". In the same court and by the same hand there was a last Judgment destroyed in 1723 with the date "MCCCCXL". — The figure in question is much repainted and no trace of the words is to be found. It is useless to speak of the original colour — so little of it has been left by the restorers. — Palermo — (near) Cappella Vanni. In spaces imitating niches there are fragments of figures assigned to Crescenzo (Dennis' Guide, Murray u. s. 101.) a monk — the beato Matteo — life size; subjects of small figures; St. Mathew writing with an eagle at his ear; a dead saint mourned by monks about his bier. Miracles at his shrine. — These are all monochromes of Fle-

mish character — Palermo, University Gallery, from the Minorites. Virg. giving the breast to the infant Christ, two angels above her head; at the sides, St. Lucy, Agatha, Peter, Paul, Cosmas, and Damian, and lower still, four small figures. Wood life size — the colour warm, reddish and full of vehicle, the dresses broadly cast, the head not without character. — Same coll. St. Peter and St. Paul, life size on separate panels. — These are poor figures, with large and heavy heads and coarse extremities. The colouring is dull but the landscape distances are studied — Mongitore Ms. description of the cathedral of Palermo (de Marzo. u. s. III. 113) mentions seven figures of saints by Crescenzo, of which one is said still to exist — a St. Cecilia in the Cappella Sant' Ignazio of the Duomo.

² Antonello de Saliba. For a proof that his picture at Catania was taken for one by Antonello da Messina, see Grosso Cacopardo, *Memorie de' Pittori Messinesi* (8^{vo} Messina 1821), in which the signature of the picture is given as „Antonellus Messenius 1497,” whereas it really runs thus: "ANTONELLVS . MISSENIVS D'SALIBA HOC P . FECIT OPVS 1497 die 2^o. July."

monotony of fleshtint. But Saliba improved his style after he became acquainted with the pictures of Antonello da Messina and adopted the mixed method of tempera and oil which he introduced into Italy. The earliest composition which bears his signature is dated 1497 and is preserved in bad condition in the church of Santa Maria del Gesù outside Catania. It represents the Madonna on a marble throne giving a flower to the naked child standing on her knee — a counterpart as regards design of Vigilia's Virgin at Castro Reale, but treated technically in the method of Antonello da Messina, with yellow flesh lights showing the ground and semi-opaque shadows of higher surface. The throne and landscape remind us of Antonello and the Venetians; in the slender form and its dainty action, there is something attractive and pleasant; the face of the Virgin is regular and plump; the hands are delicate and small; the dress — a tunic without a girdle and a mantle falling from the head — cast in copious straight lines broken here and there with some abruptness. A gold stamped nimbus surrounds each of the heads.¹

The same handling is to be found in numerous panels without Saliba's signature, the most important of which is St. Thomas Aquinas enthroned amidst saints with the prostrate Averrhoes at his feet, in San Domenico di Palermo. In this example Saliba struggles with the difficulties common to all painters of that age when they first attempt to use oil medium. His vehicle is viscous and unmanageable; he is still loath to use strong shadow; but he is accurate and careful in drawing and detail, and fond of superabundant gilding. The flesh is of a light rosy tinge and shaded with red. With similar character we notice further an adoration of the magi between St. Biagio and another saint in Santa Maria del Cancelliere at Palermo, — Christ and the Marys at the sepulchre in a room adjoining the sacristy of San Domenico at Palermo, and a full length Madonna in the Museo Peloritano at Messina. The two last are of a lower class, than those previously described, preparing us for the final and disheartening feebleness of Saliba's panels of 1531 in the church of Milazzo representing St. Peter and St. Paul in a dull and sombre key of tone and with disagreeable peculiarities of form.²

¹ Catania (fuor di) Santa Maria del Gesù. Wood, oil, 3 f. 11. h. by 3 f. 2. Renewed is the sky, the landscape, the red sleeve, a part of the blue mantle about the feet. At the upper corners an ugly red curtain has been added by a modern. — The signature, as above is on a cartello wafered to the left side of the throne — the panel is split vertically in two places.

² Palermo, S. Domenico. This picture of St. Thomas Aquinas has been variously assigned to "Antonello da Messina" (Puccini, *Mem. d'Antonello da Messina* and Giocchino di Marzo. *Delle Belle arti in Sicilia* Vol. III. p. 69), to Salvatore d'Antonio (Gallo, *Annali Mess.*) and Jacobello d'Antonio (*Memorie de' pitt. Mess. Mess.* 1821. p. 2). It represents the saint

We may conclude this section with a notice of pictures which suggest more than any others in Sicily what may have been Antonello's manner before he surrendered tempera for oil — pictures which have hitherto received no sort of notice but different in treatment from those of Vigilia, Ruzulone, or Saliba. One of these is a mutilated altarpiece in the hospital church of Castel Buono. The Madonna in the centre of this monumental piece is modern, but the rest of the work is by one hand, comprising the Ecce Homo in an upper course, S^t. Anthony, S^t. Agatha, the announcing angel (the annuntiate Virgin is missing) and a predella with the nativity, the martyrdom of S^t. Agatha and a scene from the life of Anthony the abbot. Small figures of saints are placed in niches in pilasters. We are reminded here of the Umbro Siennese school as represented by Domenico Bartoli, Vecchietta and Matteo. The figures on gold ground and the delicate stamping and gilding of the nimbus are very characteristic, but we are recalled to Antonello by the thin line of the contours, the fair proportions of the slender shapes and the broken drapery. The mask and frame of the Ecce Homo are not unpleasant or ill drawn; there is character in the make and face of S^t. Anthony and S^t. Agatha and the predella scenes are tastefully composed. Careful blending and soft

enthroned in a chapel with two boys holding books at the sides of his chair and two kneeling on the high arms of the throne. At the sides are a pope and a king and other figures and eight personages — some of them in cardinal's robes — in seats. On the foreground is the prostrate Averhoes, and in a lunette the Eternal in benediction a curiously antiquated mask, between four angels. — Wood, life size, mixed tempera and oil, the perspective faulty. Palermo, Santa Maria del Cancelliere. Adoration of the magi &c — in a lunette, the nativity — wood, oil. The figures are slender, the drapery in numerous broken folds — same style as the above. (This also is assigned by de Marzo III. p. 73 to Antonello.) Palermo, S. Domenico, Anti-sacristy. Christ is seated on the tomb betw. two angels. Two of the Maries kneel in front; a third stands; in the distance, rocks and small figures, wood, half the size of life. Messina, Museo Peloritano, Virgin and child enthroned, two angels hold a crown over her head,

a bullfinch on the throne step, from whence the name of a fictitious painter "Francesco Cardillo." Wood, gold ground, figures under life size. The virgin, a long ill proportioned figure is superabundantly draped in dress of broken angular fold. The outlines are marked, the flesh tints dull and shaded with dark red. This is a poorer example than others assignable to Saliba. Equally poor, is a Virgin enthroned with a bust portrait of the donor on the left (on gold ground) in Santa Lucia of Messina. On the arms of the throne: "S^tA DⁱLⁱ AMMALATI" and on the steps: "1516 MASI DI ABZVGNANO". The style is that of Saliba, and the design almost a repetition of that of Castro Reale, and Catania — the figures are life size, much damaged by time and repaints. Milazzo, Chiesa Madre, cappella del Crocifisso — S^t. Peter and S^t. Paul, the latter signed: "1531. Lu Mastru Antonellus de Saliba pinxit". The figures are of short stature strongly outlined, and opaque in colour.

modelling marks the flesh tints; and this is a peculiarity very distinct from that of the local Sicilians hitherto studied in these pages. A specimen of the same kind in Santa Maria della Misericordia at Termini, dated 1453, is a Virgin and child between two saints of more modern execution, but inclosed by pilasters and a predella of similar age and execution as the central figure. At Petralia Sottana in the church of the *Matrice* not far from Castel Buono we discover this class of art in a Virgin and child enthroned between S^t. Peter and S^t. Paul and in an upper course containing the Redeemer between the Virgin and angel annuntiate. But here we already mark a feebler handling in continuation of which and with more modern features we may note a Virgin attended by eight saints in San Guglielmo near Castel Buono and a large monumental picture of numerous panels in the Chiesa *Matrice* of Castel Buono.¹

Amongst the pupils of Antonello, we may reckon Pino da Messina, of whom it is on record that he painted for one of the churches of Venice. According to a fashion common to many parts of Italy, a statue of S^t. Roch in San Giuliano was made additionally attractive by a S^t. Christopher which Antonello executed on panel at one side and a S^t. Sebastian furnished in the same manner by Pino

¹ Castel Buono, chiesa dell' ospitale (17 miles from Cefalù), tempera on gold ground, injured, spotted, and restored. — Termini, Santa M. della Misericordia. On the central panel are the words: "1453 prima indizione"; the two more modern panels at the sides contain S^t. Michael and S^t. John the Baptist, on the right, and other saints by a more recent painter on the left; the framing has a very high profile. In the side piers in two divisions, are twelve male and female saints in niches and in the predella, six half lengths of apostles. — Petralia Sottana, Chiesa *Matrice* (14 miles from Castel Buono). The altarpiece here is also monumental. On the principal courses are the Virgin and child betw. S^ts. Giustina, Peter, Paul and Agatha, with coloured statues of kings at each extreme. In the upper course at the sides of a niche deprived of its statue,

the angel and Virgin annuntiate, and two saints each under a dais. In the predella is a tabernacle with Christ between two angels and the twelve apostles. Wood, goldground. — San Guglielmo, 5 miles from Castel Buono. This altarpiece is executed in a cold style and shows great defects of drawing. Castel Buono, Chiesa *Matrice*, Virgin and child enthroned giving the breast to the infant Christ; at her feet a kneeling patron, at the sides four saints, two of them S^t. Cosmo and S^t. Benedict; in an upper course, the Holy Trinity between S^t. Clara, Agatha (l.), Oliva and Catherine. Same church, a large crucifix above the high portal. Two angels are at the extremes of the horizontal limb, the pelican and the Magdalen at the extremes of the vertical limb, a painting of the close of the 15th century.

at the other. Both panels are missing; and we are unaware of any other allusion to this Sicilian than that which we find in Sansovino, but he may have been Antonello's journeyman; and we may burden him with the poorer productions of Antonello's shop.¹

Salvadore d' Antonio commonly supposed to be Antonello's father, is named as the author of a picture in San Francesco d' Assisi at Messina which distinctly exhibits a style acquired at the close of the 15th century. The subject is St. Francis receiving the Stigmata; and the saint is depicted on one knee looking up in a landscape filled with houses, trees, and animals. At the side of a stream dividing the foreground, St. Ilarius kneels in surprise. This important work is by an artist who studied Antonello and the Venetians. The figures are well proportioned, muscular, and in appropriate action, the draperies careful though angular, and the outline firm. Solid breadth marks the handling, and the landscape recalls Bellini and Palma Vecchio. It is absurd to suppose that the author was father to Antonello; yet it would be hazardous to affirm that he is identical with Salvo d' Antonio, a man of different feeling and education whose name is found on pictures in Sicily.² In the funeral of the Virgin in the sacristy of the canons at the Messina cathedral we have undisputed evidence of Salvo's art, his signature being placed on a cartello in the foreground. Round the open couch in which the Virgin lies the apostles perform the service, one of them lying on the ground and seeing her infant shape rising to heaven amidst angels in the arms of Christ. An affected air in most figures suggests lessons given to Salvo by some one like Raffaellino del Garbo in his first period; whilst the glassy, and we may say, the sombre red texture of colour laid on at one painting and warmed with general glazes is treated technically in the fashion of Albertinelli and Fra Bartolommeo. Yet side by side with these characteristics we may observe others equally prominent. A realism like that of Carpaccio is apparent in the personages behind the bier. One on the extreme left might have been done by Diana; and some masks remind us of Basaiti.³ By such distinctions of style we recognize as Salvo's a full length St. Peter, both hard and poorly

¹ Sansovino Ven. descritta, ed. Mart. 126.

² Vasari, annot. IV. 77. — Messina, San Niccolò, St. Francis receiving the stigmata. Wood, oil 7 ft. 5½ high by 5 ft. 8. There are three vertical splits in the panel. Behind St. Francis is an

ox, near St. Ilarius a lion. There are also ducks and other birds in the foreground. The colour is brown, and has become blind in parts from varnish and retouching.

³ Messina Duomo, Sacristy of the canons. Death and assumption of the Virgin, wood, oil, 6 ft. 3 in.

drawn in San Dionisio at Messina and a St. Lucy full length in a landscape belonging to General Pucci at Castellamare near Naples, where two angels holding the crown of martyrdom over the saint's head are reminiscent of those in Salvo's funeral of the Virgin.¹

Of Salvo's disciple or comrade, Girolamo Alibrandi it will be needless to say much. He was born it is supposed about 1470 and spent some years of study in Lombardy. He returned to Sicily in 1514 with Cesare da Sesto, and left several pictures behind him at Messina; the most important of which is a presentation in the temple dated 1519 in San Niccolò. His manner is a mixture of the Sicilian, Leonardesque, and Ferrarese.²

To Girolamo we may give as a companion Alfonso Franco who painted the feebly composed Pietà bearing his name and the date of 1520 in San Francesco di Paola at Messina. But Franco differs from Alibrandi in this that his colours have the dusky golden tones of the followers of Pordenone or Paris Bordone.

A more humble illustrator of Sicilian art is Antonello of Palermo, the son (as we are told by de Marzo) of Antonio Crescenzo. He is one of the few Sicilians for whose life we have written records. He was assistant to the sculptor Gagini in 1527, and valued pictures by brother craftsmen in 1530 and 1532. Twice in his life — in 1537 and 1538 — he copied Raphael's Spasimo, and the copies are still preserved in the monastery of Fazello near Sciacca and in the church of the Carmelites of Palermo. The only composition by which we can

by 4 ft. 5½". Inscribed on a cartello in front "SALVVS DE ANT. PISIT" The shadows of some heads are partly lost.

¹ Messina, San Dionisio, St. Peter, erect with the keys, reading, life size. This is a somewhat hard production in Salvo's manner, warm in flesh tone but horny in texture. A companion figure of St. Paul, with the sword seems the work of Stefano di Sant' Anna, a follower of Girolamo Alibrandi. Castellamare, Generale Pucci. St. Lucy erect with two angels holding the cross above her head; in one hand she holds the dagger, in the other the eyes on a plate, distance landscape. — Wood, three quarters of life size. The sky above the landscape is gold — the head is injured by restoring. This piece is assigned to Antonello da Messina.

² The style of Alibrandi is a

mixture of the Leonardesque with the Ferrarese of Mazzolino, but poor. Messina, S. Niccolò, Presentation in the temple with life size figures, inscr.: "Jesus. — Hieronymus de Alibrando Messanus faciebat 1519." The same subject by the same hand is in the Sacristy of the Duomo at Messina, (figures a little more than half life size) very much blackened by time and dirt. — In the same style is a St. Lucy in the chapel of San Giovanni. De Marzo (Belle arti in Sicilia, III. 207.) mentions a replica of the Presentation as still existing in the church of the Addolorata of Lipari. Alibrandi is said (Grosso Cacopardo in *mem. de Pitt. Mess.*) to have died in 1524, but De Marzo u. s. 220 thinks he is the author of an Epiphany in the church of Venetico in Sicily, bearing the date of 1532.

judge of his power is a *Madonna* dated 1528 in La Gancia of Palermo patiently finished, of an attractive design, and faulty execution.

At a lower level again than Antonello of Palermo, we have Jacopo Vigneri of Catania, Stefano Sant' Anna of Messina and Fra Gabriel de Vulpe of Palermo.¹

The most important artist in Sicily during the 16th century is Vincenzo Ainemolo, a born Palermitan, who held the same position in his native island as Andrea da Salerno on the mainland. He seems early in life to have visited Naples, for we observe in a picture of the Virgin crowned by angels ascribed to Perugino in the gallery of Palermo, all the distinct peculiarities of his style combined with an imitation of the Peruginese; and this naturally leads us to suppose that he first went to Naples where he might study the assumption sent by the great Umbrian to Cardinal Caraffa. At a later period

¹ Alfonso Franco, according to Grosso Cacopardo (*Memorie de' Pittori Messinesi*) was born in 1466, and died in 1524. His picture at San Francesco di Paola of Messina represents the Virgin with the dead body of Christ on her knees, surrounded by persons of all classes, amongst them St. John Baptist and St. Francis, on the foreground to the l. a naked figure, holding the crown of thorns and nails. In a cartello to the r.: "Hoc opus fecit Alfonso Franco Argentu 1520", wood, 6 f. 8 h. by 6 f. The figures are heavy, square, bony, vulgarly realistic and coarse in the extremities and articulations. The drapery is ill cast and overlaid. We know of no other picture assigned to Franco, and none like this except perhaps, the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Christ, attended by six saints and four patrons, an altarpiece assigned to Crescenzo in the Gallery of Palermo, or the Virgin with the child on her knee, giving the keys to St. Peter, a panel, in the Gallery of Naples, classed in the Tuscan school, No. 38.

Of Antonello of Palermo, there are records in De Marzo (n. s. III, 157. and following). His style is only known by a *Madonna* between St. Catharine and St. Agatha in Santa M. degli Angeli or La Gancia at Palermo. At the base of the picture there are busts of a

male and female patron with two angels between them holding a cartello inscribed: "ANTONELLO P.A. PISIT ID28", wood, with a landscape on gold ground of a damask pattern. The picture is injured, heavy and dull in colour and almost altogether without shadow. The figures are stout, short and square and less than half life size. The drawing is very patient, the drapery poor and ill shaped. Jacopo Vigneri — Catania, San Francesco, Christ carrying his cross, ill drawn and coloured, on a cartello the words: "Vigneri 1511." By the same hand in the Monte di Pietà at Messina is a half length of Christ carrying his cross. —

Stefano Sant' Anna. We have seen, his style is suggested by a figure of St. Paul, companion to a St. Peter in San Dionisio of Messina. St. Dionisius enthroned on the high altar of the same church is a mannered and poor picture with a landscape background inscribed: "Stephanus Sta. Anna 1519."

Gabriel de Vulpe. We find this name on a picture of the Virgin and ch. with two angels and St. Peter, John Evangelist, Roch and Sebastian, and the bust of a patron in the hall leading to the sacristy at San Domenico of Palermo. It is inscribed: "Fr. Gabriel de Vulpe pinxit 1535."

he visited Rome and became acquainted with Raphael's masterpieces, joining company with the underlings of the workshops — Polidoro and Maturino. Yet he might have been initiated to the Raphaellesque manner in a more indirect way; and in a descent from the cross preserved at San Domenico of Palermo, he almost repeats some of the figures of Raphael's Spasimo di Sicilia. Whatever may have been the vicissitudes of his life he became locally famous because he skilfully imitated the arrangement, the feeling and expression of Raphael's compositions. A careful outline, and soft warm colour, and a certain ease of hand made his patrons forget the superficial character, of his drawing, and his want of power in producing effect by shadow. One of his most valuable pictures, the Virgin of the Rosary dated 1540 in San Domenico of Palermo, is interesting for the number and slender grace of its impersonations, rather than for clever arrangement. In his Sposalizio at Santa Maria degli Angeli he reminds us by an elegant gentleness of the Bolognese school, and particularly of the elder Francia or Viti. His very best work and certainly that which displays most richness of colouring is the Virgin and child between four saints in San Pietro Martire of Palermo. It is not necessary to review his works in detail; it is sufficient to note that they are chiefly confined to Palermo. — Ainemolo died in 1540.¹

¹ For Vincenzo Ainemolo, consult De Marzo u. s. III. 241 and foll., Gallo's *Annali di Messina*, Baroni, *Majest. Panorm.* and Murray's *Handbook for Sicily* by George Dennis. The following are notes of some of his works.

Palermo, University picture gallery. Wood, oil. The Virgin in a mandorla on gold ground is crowned by angels; the mandorla in a blue heaven with four angels about it. This early work, ascribed to Perugino, is on a level with those of the Umbrians of the class of Bertucci da Faenza. The figures are large as life, affectedly graceful, slender, and dry, — the contours crude and wiry. — Palermo, San Domenico. Descent from the cross, life size figures. Four men on ladders or leaning over the horizontal limb of the cross assist in lowering the body. Below, the fainting Virgin is attended by four women. In the predella the Virgin is seen fainting, as she looks over the dead body of Christ on her lap. The Magdalen with outstretched arms shrieks; an old woman wipes her tears and another supports one of the Virgin's arms; to the right Calvary, to the l. two figures raising the cover of the tomb — wood, oil, not free from restoring. — Same church, Virgin in a Mandorla, with two angels holding a crown suspended overhead. The child on her lap gives the rosary to St. Dominick, near whom are St. Vincent, St. Cristina and St. Ninfa. Lower down numerous figures in adoration. On the

pilasters are scenes from the passion, in a lunette saints in glory, and in the predella three scenes from the lives of St. Vincent and St. Dominick. A cartello contains the date 1540. The principal figures are large as life. Palermo, Santa Maria degli Angeli or la Gangia. Marriage of the Virgin, defective in perspective — with about twelve life size figures. — Wood — Same church — Nativity. The child lies with his head to the spectator like that in Girolamo dai Libri's picture at the Museum of Verona. Wood, figures life size. Palermo, San Simone or la Martorana. The ascension, wood, figures of life size. Palermo, San Pietro Martire. Pietà, similar in incident to that in the predella at San Domenico. Wood, figures life size, much injured and restored. Same ch. Virgin and child in front of a green hanging held up by angels, in a landscape on the foreground of which are St. Peter Martyr and St. Stephen, St. Agatha and St. Catherine of Alexandria; in the upper corner to the left — the Eternal, wood, figures of life size. Palermo, University from San Giacomo. Christ scourged at the column with the Eternal and angels in a lunette inscribed: "Expensis nationis Lombardorum 15.2 (? 1542). In several panels forming part of the altarpiece, are the visitation, the annunciation, the flight into Egypt, the presentation, the nativity, the adoration of the magi, all feeble and washy. — Same gall. St. Antonio. — Palermo, Santa Maria di Valverde. St. Anthony and his pig, and eight small incidents from St. Anthony's life in framings. — Palermo — La Pietà. Pietà.

CHAPTER III.

G I O R G I O N E.

The grandest form of Venetian art in the 16th century — that which left indelible marks on the schools — we owe to Giorgione and Titian. It would be difficult to overrate the influence which each of these distinguished individuals exercised upon the painters of his time, nor is it possible to find two men who have remained more justly or more constantly in honour. Giorgione and Titian were born so nearly at the same time that they may be called contemporaries, but the growth and expansion of their talent were singularly different. Titian seems to have risen steadily but slowly to eminence, Giorgione, at a very early period, showed signs of precocious skill.¹ In the genius which he displayed, in the rapid development of his means, in his early death and subsequent fame Giorgione may be compared to Raphael. The measured steps by which Titian rose to the highest place amongst the craftsmen of his time remind us of Ghirlandaio.

Giorgione was born before 1477, Titian after 1480.² Both studied at Venice; both were pupils of Giovanni

¹ We are obliged to assume this, even if we reject the date usually accepted as that of Giorgione's birth.

² Vasari says Giorgione died in 1511 aged thirty four; but Vasari often errs in statements of this

kind and it is probable that Giorgione was born earlier than 1477. Titian's birth is given by Vasari as 1480, by Ridolfi and others as 1477. But there are reasons for believing that Titian's life was shorter than modern annalists have thought.

Bellini; but it is characteristic that when Titian left the Bellini he entered the atelier and became the disciple of Giorgione.¹

Giorgione played the same part in Titian's life as Antonello played in the life of the Bellini. He gave an impulse so powerful and so lasting to the style of Titian that Titian with his richly endowed pictorial constitution was enabled first to equal, and then to surpass, Giorgione. Whether Titian's renown was ever as great as that of his short-lived rival is doubtful. It was the habit of Titian's friends to sneer at the man "who only dealt in portraits and half lengths", but the taste which so gradually and so surely fell off from the older models of the religious class, had learnt to prize the conversational pieces of which Giorgione was the inventor, and stood entranced alike before cabinet pictures in which landscapes of the sunniest tints gave freshness to figures of a miniature size, or the innocent recreation of music and song indulged by persons of the highest rank which gave the painter occasion to charm by varied expression of face, rich diversity of dress and the delicious gloom of palaces. Certain it is that, in the course of time, the combined enticements of high born person, pompous dress and luscious colour became irrevocably connected with the man who first brought them into fashion, a host of imitators thronged to occupy a field which seemed so easy of access; and, towards the middle of the century, numerous productions inspired in part from Giorgione, in part from Titian and Palma

Dolce, who wrote in Titian's lifetime, says Titian was scarcely twenty years old, when he painted the *Fondaco de' Tedeschi* (1508); and Vasari, very nearly repeats the same story. (Compare Vasari VII. 87. XIII. 20. Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 274. and Dolce *Dialogo*, n. s. pp. 22 and 64.) Ticozzi gives no proof of Titian's birth. Cadorin only quotes Ticozzi. (See *Cadorin dello Amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio*. 4^o. Ven. 1833. pp. 24 and 76. and

Ticozzi, *Vite dei Pittori Vecelli*. 8^o. Milan 1817. note to p. 321.)

¹ The tendency of modern criticism has been to doubt this, but only because the dates assigned to the birth of the two painters appeared to justify doubt. But the best and oldest authorities agree that Titian was the pupil of Giorgione. (Compare Vasari VII. 87. XIII. 19. and Dolce, *Dialogo* pp. 63—64).

were thrown upon the market. It became habitual to collect these productions in galleries and cabinets the treasures of which were shown to the initiated by private favour or exhibited to public gaze at periods of festivity.¹ How frequently under these circumstances the great masters were confounded with the lesser ones, only those can tell who study the catalogues of the 17th century and trace their contents to modern museums. It was not so much a mania, as the knowledge that value was attached to the greatness of a name which caused the collectors to christen afresh the colossal impersonations of Pordenone, the semi-sensual figures of Pellegrino, the coloured ones of del Piombo and Torbido, the rural scenes of Cariani and the bright fables of Paris Bordone, the gay liveries of Lotto, the smart but homely compositions of Bonifazio, the sprightly and sometimes lascivious incidents of Schiavone or the coarse but not unclever deceptions of Rocco Marccone, Pietro della Vecchia, and the later Friulans. By this device, the public was first deceived and, in course of time, connoisseurs learnt to confound the real with the unreal, the good with the bad, and one painter with the other.

It should never be forgotten in forming an opinion as to the works of Giorgione that he was born in a mainland city not far from the lagoons; that he received his education in Venice and that he had no taint of any provincial style. He was born and spent his childhood in Castelfranco, one of the most beautiful spots that it is possible to conceive, a fortress on the plain at the foot of the Alps, a square fortress with high rectangular towers the residence of Tuzio Costanzo a condottiere of whom the Duke of Orleans had said that he was the best lance in Italy. The country for miles around was but half cultivated, half covered with primitive vegetation. The stream which filled its ditches before running to the

¹ Consult Sansovino, Ven. De- | Cose Notabili della Città di Vene-
scritta u. s. and Doglioni Delle | tia. 12^o. Ven. 1592.

lagoons was fringed with stately wood. At no great distance lay Asolo the seat of Catherine Cornaro, ex-queen of Cyprus, whose house was the scene of many a courtly revel, where Pietro Bembo, before he grew old enough to become a cardinal, composed his *Asolani* — further north the grand and solemn Alps bathed in mist at noon but sparkling with gorgeous tints at morn or eventide.

Even now that time has had its way of the old worn dungeon and thrown its mantle over many of its ruins, — even now that the forest has been cleared, and the ploughshare furrows the ground, a picturesque tower still remains to cheer the view; there are trees and shrubs and hedges to attract the eye; and we can fancy that, before the villagers left the vast quadrangle of brick within which their habitations nestled to take up airier quarters outside the walls, the place was picturesque enough to stir the heart of Giorgione.

There seems reason for supposing that Giorgione was the first of the modern Venetians to follow the footsteps of Bellini, and give importance to landscapes. If we believe traditions which live to our day, there was no one like him at the close of the 15th century for producing park scenery, no one who came near him in the chastened elegance of the figures with which this scenery was enlivened. The country which he knew had not the rocky character nor had it the giddy heights of that which Titian found at Cadore. It had no dolomites to spread their jagged edges on the pure horizon: but it had its elms and cypresses, its vines and mulberries, its hazels and poplars, its charming undulations, wooded vales, farm buildings and battlements; and in these there was a variety which all but defied repetition.

Giorgione was of the stock of the Barbarella, a family of standing and property in the country of Castelfranco; but, being it was said, the son of a country girl at Veduggio, and not subsequently legitimized, it was his fortune to know neither the paternal mansion nor a father's care. Nor is it likely that he would ever have been

acknowledged but that in subsequent years, the shame of his birth was covered by the celebrity of his genius, and the younger members of the family coveted his remains and enshrined his name in an epitaph.¹ It is stated that he was of distinguished presence and spirited character, kindly, and of good manners, adored by the sex, an admirable musician and a welcome guest in the houses of the great.² It is perhaps to his early intercourse with aristocratic company that he owed the peculiar breath of distinction which we find in all his impersonations, and that fine acquaintance with all that is subtle and delicate as contra-distinguished from that which is mere glitter in the circles of the wealthy. When still very young he had the privilege of sittings from Gonzalvo of Córdoba, the doges Agostino Barbarigo and Leonardo Loredano, and Queen Cornara; and it is to be presumed that these were but the chosen few out of a much larger and hardly less important body of patrons.³

When Giorgione first entered the Venetian schools is not stated; but the works attributed to his hand afford

¹ Born at Castelfranco (Vas. VII. 80.) or Vedelago near Castelfranco (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 121.). But Dr. Luigi Tescari (Per le Nozze Puppatti-Fabeni. 8^o. Castelfranco 1860. pp. 6 and foll.) reconciles the two statements by saying that Giorgione was of illegitimate birth, the son of one of the Barbarella by a peasant girl of Vedelago. He urges in favour of this assertion, the silence of the baptismal registers. He proves the relationship of Giorgione with the Barbarella as follows: "His (Giorgione's) family wishing in some manner to correct the defect of his birth and the carelessness of his parents, obtained that his remains should be brought home and placed in the old church of San Liberale between the altar of St. Mark and St. John the Baptist." This is confirmed by Nadal Melchiorre, who, at p. 80 of "Repertorio di cose appartenenti a

Castelfranco principiato a dì 1^o Settembre dell' anno MDCCXV e terminato a dì 15 Marzo MDXVIII," MS. at Castelfranco gives a copy of the epitaph placed over the tomb of the Barbarella, thus:

Ob Perpetuum Laboris Ardui Monumentum In Hanc Fratrís Obtinendo Plebem Susepti, Virtutisque Jacobi et Nicolai Seniorum, ac Georgioni Summi Pictoris Memoriam Vetustate Collapsam Pietate Restaurandam: Mathæus et Hercules Barbarella Fratres sibi, posterisque, Construi Fecerunt donec Veniat Dies. Anno Domini

MDCXXXVIII Mense Augusti.

This epitaph perished when the old church was taken down to make place for the present one.

² Vas. VII. 81.

³ Vas. VII. 83. and Ridolfi. Le Marav. I. 126.

evidence of his presence at Venice at the time when Gentile and Giovanni Bellini won the race of fame against the Vivarini, when the mechanism of painting was altered by the use of oil medium, and the halo which surrounded Antonello began to pale. He had the luck and the skill to combine afresh the elements of the two styles cultivated by Antonello and the Bellini and to form a new one uniting the charms of both. At first he laboured in the old field; and painted the familiar subjects of the scriptures;¹ but he soon selected for study that form of art in which Bellini divested himself of religious elements, and he learnt the charms of genre.

Bellini, the father of that species of design which commingles fable and legend with natural scenery, produced on rare occasions gems of peculiar brilliancy in allegorical compositions, tragic legendary episodes, and bacchanals. It was perhaps with these that he first really captivated the soul of Giorgione. At some period of which it has not been possible to fix the date, one of the chiefs of the Medici bought for the summer residence of Poggio Imperiale three small pictures, so similar in spirit and so equal in beauty that, when finally deposited at the Uffizi they all bore the name of Giorgione. One of them, by Giovanni Bellini, was the model on which another, and a later, painter conceived his own. It is hard to divine the meaning of the allegory which Bellini has depicted. The Virgin, sitting on a terrace overlooking a lake, receives the homage of a kneeling female, attended to the right and left by standing figures whose identity is not ascertained. Behind an open balustrade, a couple of men apparently represent St. Joseph and St. Paul. An apple-tree in a vase is shaken by a naked boy, and children gather the fruit. In the hills behind the lake an ass ruminates whilst a shepherd tends his flock; a centaur sports and a hermit rests in his cave. The perfect arrangement of the scene is as grateful as the purity and selection of the forms, the

¹ Vas. VII. 82.

grace of the movements and the mildness of the faces. The colours are sweet and blended and swim in the sunny haze of noon.¹

Compared with this, the companion piece — a legendary “ordeal of Moses” — bears a stronger impress of youthful freshness and shows less of the mellowness of maturity. Pharaoh sits on a throne inlaid with marbles and carved with reliefs. His court surrounds him. Two pages in front present the dishes in which fire and gold are placed. The infant Moses supported by his mother plays with the fire and surprises the bystanders. The background is a glade with tall trees through the trunks and boughs of which the forest and distant hills appear. There is a high and courtly air in the graceful setting and proportion as well as in the rich dress of the dramatis personæ. Distinct outline, solid surface, occasional embarrassment in movement, and somewhat angular drapery are features which betray the hand of an artist younger and less skilled than Bellini; whilst the more attractive points appear to indicate an art as yet imperfectly expanded. But the broken ground crested with wood, the varied and tender leafing, the light spangles amidst the twigs, the diverse shades of intensely bright foliage relieved upon each other, or thrown upon the radiant sky, the blue mountains from which the nearer slopes and towers are so cleverly parted — all this — if not so perfectly harmonious or in keeping so subtle as Bellini would have made it, is laid in with exquisite touch and minuteness of finish; and a clear exhilarating sparkle suggests those delightful hours of the warmer climes when rain has cooled the air and filtered it.² It is to such pleasant allurements as these that Lomazzo refers with delight when writing of Giorgione.

¹ Florence, Uffizi, No. 631, small panel in oil with figures one sixth of life size, from Poggio Imperiale much injured by abrasion and repaint, the sky new.

² Florence, Uffizi, Nr. 621, can-

vas, with small figures one eighth of life size, from Poggio Imperiale. The subject as derived from rabbinical Bible sources is explained in M. Unger's *kritische Forschungen*. 8°. Leipzig 1865. p. 5.

Though he merely generalizes when speaking of the skill with which the master produced pastose light, reflections, and broken tints of flesh, he is careful in noting the cleverness with which he paints crystal water, trees and animals and all that appertains to nature in the open; and in this reference to the source of Giorgione's charm he merely echos what Vasari says in more general terms.¹ Neither the spot nor the towers which are here so deliciously depicted are accurately to be traced, but they are such as to suggest the vicinity of Castelfranco, and such as a man of Giorgione's power might vary at his pleasure without doing serious violence to the reality. But if in respect of landscape, or in respect of pictorial feeling the painter here shows himself unmistakably Bellinesque, his style is not without admixture of other elements. The glossy uniformity of flesh or rich depth of dress tints, the polish of surfaces impregnated with medium, incisive contours and tenuous lining of detail, all point to influences foreign to Bellini; and though an effort is made to cover the comparative rawness of the handling by copious use of filmy glazes and light scumbles, there are still traces of a treatment which, in its mechanism, appears derived from Antonello da Messina.

As companion to the ordeal, the Judgment of Solomon at the Uffizi exhibits the same predominance of landscape features and the same distribution of the principal actors. Solomon sits on a throne to the right, the dignitaries, mothers, children and executioner before him. The screen of trees opening out at the sides shows the wooded undulations of country lined with saplings, bushes, towers, and habitations. There is more vividness of tone, more variety of ground and episode, and more richness of contrasts, yet not more gorgeous vegetation; and the country is the same, seen from a more interesting side. The

¹ Lomazzo, *Trattato*, u. s. 228, 304, 434, 463 and especially 474.
Vasari XIII. 19. and VII. 81.

figures alone are less ably wrought and numerous repaints or modern alterations of costume deface the composition.¹

A later but not less beautiful example of the treatment which stamps the cabinet pictures at the Uffizi with an impress of originality, is the nativity which long adorned the Fesch Gallery and since formed part of the London collection of Mr. Beaumont. Under a grotto to the right overgrown with ivy and overhung with grasses the Virgin kneels adoring the babe attended by St. Joseph, gray bearded, self-communing, at rest behind a portion of rock and a remnant of hurdle. To the left, two shepherds, who, in another part of the ground, are seen receiving the message of the angel, behind them, a distance in which the turrets, the trees and hills peculiar to the neighbourhood of Castelfranco are seen. With the general character which distinguishes the ordeal of Moses or the Judgment of Solomon, this landscape has more atmosphere, more luxuriance and richness of objects. A tall tree to the left of the bank, another to the left in the picture vary the scene. At the foot of the latter, a cabin shelters a peasant, there are rocks too, of a soft, worn, vague, texture, with greenery sharply made out and delicately finished cropping from the fissures. Reeds, pebbles of transparent colour are minutely made out. In the distance, the bare hill-side is yellow-lighted in the setting sun by the glow of coming evening. The square tower commands the houses around all steeped in vague atmosphere. A charming contrast is produced by setting the deep-tinted shepherds in front of the warm, straw coloured fields, whilst the Virgin and St. Joseph are thrown forward upon the gloomy

¹ Florence. Uffizi, No. 630. Wood, small, like No. 621, from Poggio Imperiale. This panel has had repair and alteration, the third figure from the left side, a man in a hat, the head and arm of the executioner, and the child in his grasp, the child on the ground, the drapery of the standing mother and the man in a hat to the right of

her, the drapery of the man immediately to the right of both the foregoing and parts of two personages in the foreground to the right being all more or less repainted and spoiled; and it seems not doubtful that the hats are comparatively modern additions. The hands and feet of all the *dramatis personæ* are all more or less repainted,

shadow of the grotto. Humble life is depicted with astonishing realism, and yet without vulgarity. Exquisite harmony pervades the luscious and variegated toning which dazzles with the brilliance of Antonello's enamels, whilst the garments of the shepherds are in tatters, and their toes creep out of the ends of their broken shoes. Characteristic as the picture is in many parts of the teaching of Bellini, it also betrays some leaning to Palma in the rounded ease of the action generally, and in the plump soft shapes of the Virgin and Joseph. The handling displays increase of power, better arrangement, greater breadth, more delicacy of glazing and blending and larger effects of chiaroscuro.¹

A similar medley of the Bellinesque and Palmesque with elegant grace and sparkling colours is the Epiphany of Sir William Miles of Leigh Court, where the Virgin sitting to the left under cover of a penthouse receives at a respectful distance the adoration of the kings whose suite of horsemen halts to the right. It is a work of most picturesque beauty in distribution, colour, and costume, assigned traditionally to Giovanni Bellini, but equally entitled to rank amongst the creations of Giorgione as the gems of the Uffizi and Mr. Beaumont.² Whether we are justified in classing all these pictures amongst those which Vasari describes generically as Giorgione's com-

¹ London, Piccadilly, M. Beaumont. Wood, 3 f. 6. coinciding in subject and size with a piece assigned to Giorgione in the collection of James the II^d (see Bathoe's catalogue). The figures are double the size of those at the Uffizi. — In the grotto behind the Virgin we see the ox and the ass, and in the air above her, five winged heads of cherubs. In the sky is the angel who flies down to the shepherds in the middle ground. The panel is split horizontally, just above the Virgin and across the face of the bowing shepherd; the head of the Virgin is a little

but very little, rubbed down. — For a part of this picture, there is a drawing representing the Virgin, St. Joseph, the infant and one shepherd kneeling, in the Queen's collection at Windsor ($7\frac{3}{4}$ inches l. by 8) under the name of Carpaccio.

² Leigh Court, near Bristol. Sir William Miles Bart., panel 1 f. h. by 2 f. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. The kings with their suite are in the middle, behind them two servants standing with horses. The head of the youth kneeling behind the two kings and the heads of two children further back are retouched.

positions of "our Lady" is a question worthy of consideration. We may ask on what ground any one of them should be accepted as genuine since there is nothing to support the nomenclature but tradition. Upon this point it would be vain to assert that debate is from henceforward to cease; but we may bear in mind that the style coincides with that which historians attribute to Giorgione; that most of the characteristics which predominate recur in canvasses registered by the oldest authorities as those of Barbarella; and that the landscapes in every case resemble each other and recall the country of Castelfranco.

Foremost amongst the productions acknowledged by successive generations as true Giorgiones we should place the altarpiece of the Virgin and child between S^t. Francis and S^t. Liberale in the church of Castelfranco. We saw that in the 16th century, Castelfranco was the residence of Tuzio Costanzo a captain of free companions who had made his fortune in the wars and carried his fortune home. He lived there because it was the abode of his ancestors but also because it was near Asolo the palace of his liege lady the Queen Cornara whom he had followed from Cyprus. The trade successfully driven by Tuzio was actively pursued by his son; and Matteo Costanzo became the promising leader of fifty lances in the service of the Venetian republic. But fate which had been kind to Tuzio was unkind to Matteo who died at Ravenna in 1504; and Tuzio caused the body of his son to be embalmed and buried in the family chapel.¹ It is said that, in memory of the melancholy event Giorgione

¹ Tuzio Costanzo led 160 lances under Francesco Gonzaga generalissimo of the league in which the Venetians took a part (1495) against Charles the VIIIth of France. (See Malipiero, *Annali Veneti* anno 1495. in *Archivio Stor. Ital.* Tom. VII. P. I. p. 359; also Francesco San-sovino, *Casæ Illustri d' Italia*, Melchiori, Ms. ubi supra, and Tescari, *Per nozze Puppati-Fabeni*. See also Ridolfi. *Le Maraviglie*. I.

123). An inscription on the slab of Matteo Costanzo's tomb, still preserved in the outer wall of the church and within the precincts of the cemetery, of Castelfranco, runs in capitals as follows. "Matheo Costantio Cyprio Egregia corporis forma insigni animi Virtute Immatura Morte sublato ob bene Gestam Militiam Tutius Pater Mutij Filius Charissimo Filio Pientissime Posuit MDIII Mensis Augusti."

was employed to paint an altarpiece and frescos on the chapel walls; but we may hesitate to believe that the decoration of the Costanzo chapel should have been postponed to the time determined by the premature end of Tuzio's son whose burial in the sacred precinct presupposes its earlier completion. That, in the course of centuries, the church in which Giorgione laboured should have been razed only makes the question of dates the more obscure; for the altarpiece, which hangs in the choir of the new church bears no inscription of any kind, and is only ascribed to Giorgione by the concurrent testimony of history and local annals, but the style in which it is executed seems that of Giorgione's youth, and it is not without apparent connexion, especially in the handling and landscape, with that of the smaller and more picturesquely treated compositions to which our attention was previously drawn. Had Giorgione been asked merely to produce an altarpiece, he might have composed and finished it in his atelier at Venice. The decoration of the Costanzo chapel with frescos necessarily took him to Castelfranco. Some say that the saints of the altarpiece were likenesses of his brother and himself; others, that the warrior saint was a portrait of Matteo Costanzo. On the back of the panel were once these lines:

Vieni o Cecilia,
Vieni t' affretta,
Il tuo t' aspetta
Giorgio . . .

and modern critics naturally found in the words a proof of the painter's fondness for the sex.¹ It is not beyond the limits of probability that he should have made love to a female model, and there is no reason for doubting that he first sketched his figures from life, because in Giorgione, as in all the Venetians of this age, there is nothing æthereal or ideal in impersonation; but there

¹ Tescari, *Per Nozze*, n. s. p. 9. and Ridolfi. *Marav.* I. 123. Selvatico, *Storia estetico-critica*, I. 526.

are other grounds for believing that Giorgione consulted nature, the most important of which is the existence of the original painting in oil for St. Liberale in our National Gallery.

This manly and spirited study, so skilful and so simple in its beauty that it passed for a Raphael, is probably taken from Tuzio's son; and the faithful reproduction of the same armour in a stone effigy of Matteo Costanzo still preserved in the cemetery of Castelfranco, is one of the proofs adduced by many to show that St. Liberale is Matteo's portrait. It is a bareheaded full length in silvered armour, with crisp luxuriant locks, resting a hand on the staff of a banner, the sword arm pendant, and the sword belted on, a masterly imitation of the reality, of grand freedom in pose and winning softness in colour, marvellously faithful in the rendering of glitter and reflections, but not without damaging repaints. It differs from the St. Liberale of Castelfranco principally in this, that the head is bare and the right hand idle.¹

The altarpiece itself is arranged with intentional symmetry and an uncommon attention to the balanced distribution of light and shade, the centre of vision being purposely high and the perspective scientifically correct. The room in which the Virgin holds her state is confined by a stone screen in front of which a double plinth — equal in height to the stature of the foreground saints, projects. On the lower step of the plinth is a round with the scutcheon of the Costanzi. From the foot of the throne a striped carpet falls, overlaid by a green flowered damask

¹ London National Gallery. Wood, 1 f. 3 1/4, h. by 10 3/4 inches, once belonging to Mr. Mariette and to Benjamin West. Samuel Rogers bequeathed it to the nation. The background is dark; there is a dark brown curtain in the upper corner to the right. The face and hair are spotted and renewed; and a piece of the armour near the right hand is retouched.

A funeral stone removed from the old church to the wall of the cemetery at Castelfranco represents Matteo Costanzo clad in armour like that of St. Liberale and like that of the figure above described. A helmet resembling that on the saint's head at Castelfranco, lies at the feet of the image.

rug. The high and narrow back of the seat sparkles with red and gold embroidery. The deep shadows projected by the figures are relieved by an equal surface of light subdued as with a warm tempering veil. A cloudless sky, merging at the horizon into pallid straw, sheds a mild light on a landscape of lake and slopes with trees and towers and huts composed on similar lines to those we have so frequently noticed, but so quiet and serene as to recall the pure vistas of Raphael's earlier period. The whole piece displays an exquisite feeling for colour, for graceful attitude, tender form, and kindly expression. Looking down from her elevated seat with a glance abstracted from sublunary concerns, the Virgin sits with her left hand on the arm of her throne, her right supporting the infant all but naked on her lap. The white cloth resting on her head, the green tunic which falls from her bosom without the fastening of a girdle, the red mantle hanging on the right shoulder and brought round to cover the knees and feet, all these draperies of soft and simple fall, and with very tender breaks and massive shadows, form a fine chord of tone, of line and chiaroscuro. The child, half sitting, half recumbent, turning his face and glance toward St. Liberale rests on a white cloth, unheeded by his mother, unheeded by the saints below. St. Liberale with the helmet on his head, the dagger at his hip and the gloves in his hand, stands passive and almost feminine in features, his right foot raised at the heel by a slight projection of the chequered floor. St. Francis to the right pointing to the scar in his side and showing the wounds on his hands, the rope round his waist, the cowl thrown off, the feet bare, and one of them also resting on the projecting edge of the floor; The attitudes are studiously graceful, the extremities well drawn, the draperies appropriately cast; the flesh is clear, and, where free from repaints, finished with broad rounded modelling strengthened by glazes and finishing touches, the lights, of sunny warmth, the half-tones, of cool sweetness, the darks transparent, the rich

vestment tints here and there of dazzling polish, the armour brilliant.¹

An opinion very generally held and not unfrequently expressed assigns to Giorgione a marked influence on the later period of Giovanni Bellini's pictorial career. The Madonna of Castelfranco executed before 1504, precedes Bellini's masterpiece, the Madonna and saints of San Zaccaria at Venice, and combines in a high degree the qualities which we are wont to call Giorgionesque. In the later form of Giorgione's art such as we find it in the concert at the Pitti, Giorgione attains to much greater freedom of treatment than at Castelfranco, but then he had seen Bellini in the later phase of his style and followed the master then as he had followed him before. That his manner at the period of the Castelfranco altarpiece should bear the stamp of the 16th century, and embody some of the freedom of the moderns is natural, yet there is much in that altarpiece to remind us of the early relations in which the two masters stood, and it is inevitable that we should compare the St. Francis of Castelfranco with its earlier counterpart in Bellini's Madonna of San Giobbe. Here as elsewhere we trace some lingering reminiscence of Antonello in the polish of the surfaces, the clean finish of the outlines and the force of certain shades of dress.²

¹ Castelfranco, church. Wood, m. 2. 0 h. by 1. 45, the figures above half the life size. This picture was restored, on several occasions by Pietro Vecchia, Melchiori, Antonio Medi, Ridolfo Manzoni of Castelfranco, and Amiano Balzafori of Naples. G. G. Lorenzi went so far as to paint a beard to St. Liberale, which was taken off again by Paolo Fabris of Venice, who seems indeed to have removed many of the oldest repaints. The surface is however more or less rubbed down; and in some spots -- as in the darker parts of the face and outlines of St. Liberale, in the forehead and hair of the Virgin, in the hands of St. Francis and in bits of landscape -- there are

clear traces of retouching. — The arms of Costanzo which we can not describe in the terms of heraldry are: a lion rampant on green, above a red band; and beneath the latter, six bones on a yellow field. In the landscape, to the left, there are trees, a square tower and houses intercepting the view of a lake and to the left, the lake, distant hills, a castle and a Roman temple peering out of a grove. Nearer the spectator are some saplings, and two small figures put in with surface touches. —

There is a copy of the St. Liberale at Castelfranco in Staffordhouse — the distance is a landscape.

² Bellini's altarpiece of San Giobbe

Modern Castelfranco lives upon the traditions of Giorgione,¹ and the local cicerone proudly shows the dwelling in which he was born which antiquarians may look at with distrust, and the house in which during his visits he habitually resided. The house stands on the square to the left of the parish church, and though it was internally redistributed to suit the wants of modern occupants, still contains remnants of interesting frescos. In contact with the ceiling of what once was a large hall are friezes with medallions, heads of emperors and philosophers, Gorgons, skulls, sand glasses, masks, and tablets with Latin mottos, helmets, scutcheons, and shields, brackets with books, easels, brushes, compasses and rulers, astronomical instruments and emblems of the seasons, cymbals, viols, and harps. Though merely washed in with distemper on a smoothly tinted ground and relieved by solid lights and cross-hatched shadows, they are treated freely, boldly, and certainly in a Giorgionesque spirit. Of similar relics which we might expect to find in the residence of the Costanzi — so long a leading family at Castelfranco — there is little sign. The decay of the race is reflected in the squalor of the mansion; and, as we look at Tuzio's arms painted — perhaps by Giorgione — on the outer wall, we see the children of artisans playing in all the rooms of the old condottiere.²

now Nr. 38 (formerly 36) at the Venice Academy comprises a figure of St. Francis which is the same as that of Castelfranco reversed.

¹ Castelfranco. In the house of Dr. Luigi Tescari, a canvas (oil) with the Virgin and child, is held to be the original study for the same group in Giorgione's altarpiece. It is much below Giorgione's powers, and is a modern copy from the altarpiece in the spirit of Pietro della Vecchia.

In the same place a canvas is preserved (n. o. 38 h. by o. 35) representing a half length of a female, three quarters to the left, in gala

dress, bare neck, black hoddice and greenish slashed silk sleeves with white puffs. Her right hand rests on a book; distance dark brown. This canvas used to belong to the Castelfranco family of Alberigo de Castellis and justifies to some slight extent the name which it bears. The colour is somewhat abraded and changed by new varnishes. There is a breath of the Bellinesque in the execution and a faithful reproduction of nature.

² Castelfranco. The "house of Giorgione" at no great distance from the Costanzo mansion is quite modern. — The house containing

Reverting to Venice and Giorgione's practise there, we find him now exclusively occupied with profane subjects; and in the "Chaldean sages" of the Belvedere at Vienna or the so-called "family of Giorgione" at the Manfrini palace we resume acquaintance with that form of art in which landscape is treated as of equal if not superior importance to figures.

Both these pictures were celebrated at Venice in the early part of the 16th century, the first in the collection of Taddeo Contarini (1535) the second (1530) in the house of Gabriel Vendramin at Santa Fosca. The first really represents a company of astronomers watching the heavens in the shadow of a glade. The sun is setting and still shows a portion of his disk behind a neighbouring hill, throwing into shade the village church and mill, but casting long clear sweeps of rays upon slope and path. Right and left, the gloom of evening; — here, on a precipitous bank with hanging withes and weeds thrown clear upon the sky; — there, on a knoll with underwood, gnarled roots, and trunks of trees. The mass of light concentrated round a couple of small grey clouds, filters through the glade. A slender sapling waves its scattered leaves with ruddy force against the firmament. The vegetation varies between fresh and verdant greens or yellows and withered duns or faded autumn brown and orange — a masterly combination of contrasts recalling the Beaumont

the friezes described in the text, is now called Casa Pellizzari, and the paintings with the exception of a medallion with the profile of an Emperor, removed into the Casa Tescari, and others carried away by the restorer Lorenzi, are on the wall of the first floor. The Giorgionesque spirit is apparent not only in the execution but in the subjects, and we shall see, that Giorgione was fond of representing in his pictures such turbaned astrologers and sybils as we find here (see postea Vienna and Marostica).

Other decorative frescos are assigned to Giorgione at Castel-

franco, which bear the test of examination less than those of the Casa Pelizzari (see Melchiori and Dr. Tescari's pamphlet u. s.) e. g.: — Casa Bovolini to the l. of the Treviso gate as you enter it (Via Bastia n^o. 570) is covered in front with hunts and feats of Hercules, — the death of Antæus and the victory over the lion, but these are poor designs in the style of the worst that have been noticed at Treviso and Spilimberg. The Costanzo mansion is in the Vicolo del Paradiso, the family arms high up in the gable within the court yard.

nativity. Here too we have plump form, soft blending, pure drawing, and spare impast in flesh bathed in vapour and made transparent by delicate glazes; here are rich and dazzling tints of dress relieved in bright and sombre or sombre and bright with melodious harmony. On the knoll to the right the sitting figure with his back to us is a young astronomer with a species of quadrant in his hand, looking up at the luminary, his white shirt and yellow vest balanced in scale by a green mantle. The standing personage next him wears a turban, the white cloth of which is rolled round a red fez, a watered purple cape, a white waistband in which his thumb is stuck, and a caftan of cinnabar. He has just called the attention of his neighbour who turns as he steps down the knoll — a portly, bearded man with a ruby coloured hood and amber mantle holding an astrolabe and a pair of compasses. We may give undivided admiration to Giorgione for his spirited and easy reproduction of instant motion, the lightness of his touch and the subtle feeling which he evinces for colour. His art is that of Bellini regenerated and instinct with new life.¹

The second picture, at the Manfrini palace, admirable in the same respects is of equal value as a proof of Giorgione's constant appeal to nature. The landscape which recalls earlier ones and very clearly reminds us of the neighbourhood of Castelfranco, seems at one moment a pretext for the figures, whilst these at other moments look like a filling for the landscape. There may be some deeper meaning in the scene than strikes us at a superficial glance. The man in tights and slashes leaning to the left on his staff, the scantily clad mother giving the breast to the child on the right, the beautiful quiet of a

¹ Vienna, Belvedere, First Floor; Room II, No. 57, canvass 3 f. 10. h. by 4 f. 5½. said to have been finished by Sebastian del Piombo, of which there is no trace. Some duskininess of intonation is due to time and varnishes. The picture is described in the Anonimo, ed. Morelli, n. s. p. 64. Compare also: Albrecht Krafft's critical catalogue, Vienna 1854. und Waagen, *Vornehmste Kunst-Denkmäler in Wien*, p. p. 46 and 47.

delicious vale in which the air, the trees, the hills and banks, and the buildings, towers, and bridge, lie basking in sunshine, may be emblems of the sweets of repose, whilst the cloud which lowers in the sky, and the lightning which darts from under its darkened edge foreshadows strife. Be the secret of the picture what it may, it certainly exemplifies in the most striking manner the faithfulness with which real objects can be reproduced, and the art which gives interest to a simple agglomeration of common objects. None of Giorgione's pieces is more clever in diversity of handling, none more skilful in varying tone according to distance. There is a very clear definition of things and exquisite lightness of touch near the foreground. The air swims with modulations of density over every part of the background. The trick of getting rich and luscious surface from bright glazes over neutral preparations is very fully and happily attested in parts which have lost their patina by abrasion. These parts show that Giorgione was quite an adept in the intricate details, not only of pictorial practise in general, but of pictorial practise at Venice; but they also show that he was an accomplished dissembler of his means, for, artful as his method really is, it looks almost elementary in its simplicity. It has been said that the man is intended for Giorgione, and the woman for his wife. Without disputing this fanciful theory we may observe that there are marks of faded charm in the latter and martial strength in the former. Both are beautifully placed in the surrounding scenery.¹

¹ Venice, Manfrini Palace, canvas. in. 0. 83 h. by 0. 74. The mechanism of the cold preparation with its warm glazes is to be detected in the half abrasion of the man's ruby coloured vest. The whole surface of the picture has been rubbed down more or less, and has lost the finishing film. The flesh especially was injured in the process; but, besides, there are retouches and daubs in the hair

and forehead of the man and in the forehead of the female, and the spot of dark water in the foreground is blackened by restoring. The canvas is described by the Anon. (u. s. p. 80.) in the house of Gabriel Vendramin (1530). It is reproduced in woodcut in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* N^o. 11. Anno 1866 with text by H. Reinhardt.

-Related to these pictures in the mechanism of their painting, but improved in treatment, and, above all, differing from them in scantling and lines, we have the Judgment of Solomon at Kingston Lacy, an unfinished composition which descended to the Grimani-Calergi family at Venice, but, having been seen and admired by Lord Byron in the Marescalchi Gallery at Bologna, was purchased at his suggestion by one of the ancestors of the Bankes. Solomon here does not sit under the tree of justice but holds his state in a palace. His mien, gesture, and dress, are those of a Roman judge, his seat is a throne. To the left a kneeling youth bends forward and smiles, and a guard in orange tunic rests on his shield as the real mother runs forward with prayerful eagerness, and a stooping soldier stares at the bashful girl who follows, whilst a woman stricken in years looks wistfully at the incident. To the right an aged spectator leans on his staff near the king; the false mother makes a movement of assent and a busy bystander points energetically at the executioner whose action is indicated by the movement of his arms to which the sword and child are not as yet given. The earliest notices in Venetian authors tell of this unfinished executioner, but the picture has since undergone scaling and repainting by which several bits and some heads have been seriously injured and the background was savagely flayed. We still admire the action and regular arrangement of the personages, who are most ingeniously marshalled in a semi-circle, the full and fleshy, but spacious, heads of the men, outlined with great simplicity, the delicate shape or tasteful dress of the females and the breadth and fitness of the drapery. There is striking evidence throughout that Giorgione studied classic statuary and nature, and corrected the infirmities of the one by judicious selection from the other. The large distribution of the coloured surfaces, the grateful parsimony of impast, the clever gradation of tints and balance of chiaroscuro produce character and charm. It would seem as if Giorgione had prepared the grounds on a pale

clear scale, returning upon them with coloured transparents, then strengthening lights and darks at the close, covering the transitions with delicate cool greys of a greenish tinge and rubbing the shadows with purply glazes. The tints are all more or less reflected in each other and harmonized without violent contrasts.¹ In thus bringing Bellinesque art to perfection, Giorgione produces, even now, an impression of novelty which well deserves the name of modern; and it is no doubt this novelty which induced Vasari to remark that Giorgione imitated the veiled blending and deep soft shadow of Leonardo. There is not the slightest doubt that Giorgione might have seen da Vinci in the early part of the 16th century when, driven from Milan by the hostility of the French, he visited Venice and brought with him the portrait of Isabella Genzaga. Leonardo was at Venice for a short time in 1500 and Giorgione might have learnt from the great and imperishable master the supreme gift of elegant selection, the technical methods of breaking and blending tones, and pure finished contours.² It is equally certain that Giorgione now, no longer betrays any leaning to the metallic finish of Antonello da Messina. But it is quite possible that his style was gradually altered by the simple process of natural expansion and that he owed the progress which he displayed to the study of his Venetian contemporaries and of the antique.

¹ England, Kingston Lacy. Canvas, 6 f. 10 h. by 10 f. 5, exhibited in 1869 at Burlington House. This picture is described by Ridolfi (*Marav. I.* 130.). The present condition is this: The background is decayed, and the semidome of the niche daubed with yellow. Repainted more or less are the head of Solomon, the flesh parts of the armed soldier to the left, the leg of the man kneeling to the left of the throne and the executioner. Some spots are scaling away. Compare: Waagen treasures, Supplement pp.

377. 378; but his statement, that the canvas was left unfinished by the painter before his death is scarcely borne out by the style. It was never finished, but it may have been left so at an earlier date than 1511.

² See the letter of Lorenzo da Pavia to the Marchioness of Mantua, dated March 13 1500 with our notes, in the Academy for February 1870, — a letter which proves Leonardo's presence at Venice during the year in question.

It is hardly rash to suppose that the rarity of Giorgione's pictures is due to his constant employment as a decorative painter. He was much more frequently engaged on mural designs than Titian; and, in the short span of his life he produced almost as much as Perdone. But there is no city in the whole of the Italian Peninsula more entirely denuded of frescos than Venice, and it is a telling proof of the perishable nature of this class of works, that Vasari, who saw many of them in 1544 lamented, even then, their premature decay. Hardly foreseeing the fate which awaited his labours, Giorgione covered the Soranzo Palace on the Piazza di San Polo with finished compositions and fanciful figures in oil and fresco without securing for them the durable texture that resists the action of time and air. As a sign of his calling, he drew some spirited designs on the front of his own house on the Campo di San Silvestro. In various parts of the palace of Andrea Loredano (Grimani-Calergi-Berry) at Sant' Ermagora he painted scutcheons with supporters, heads of lions simulating stone and allegories of the virtues, and amongst these a Fortitude in female dress, grasping the handle of an axe and resting her foot on the fragment of a pillar — a noble impersonation — known to us by Zanetti's print — commingling statuesque classicism and the flesh and blood of real life. On the Casa Flangini at Santa Maria Giobenico, he left a series of monochrome friezes and half lengths of Bacchus, Venus, Mars and Mercury, and on three or four houses besides a variety of ornaments of the same kind.¹

But the most celebrated of all his creations of this sort was the decoration of the mart of the Germans or Fondaco de' Tedeschi rebuilt in 1506 on designs attributed to Fra Giocondo. We are unhappily without information

¹ Compare Vas. VII. 83. 84. Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 124. 127. 200., Boschini, *Le Ricche Miniere*, S. S. (Antonio) *Varie pitture a fresco Polo* p. 5., S. Canareggio pp. 8. 60. S. San Marco pp. 83. 84. 86. 87. and Boschini, *Carta del Navegar pittoresco* pp. 307. 308. and Zanetti (Antonio) *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri Veneziani* fol. Ven. 1760. p. VI.

as to the manner in which Giorgione obtained the patronage required for so important a commission. It is only surprising that he should have been able to set aside such old and experienced masters as Giovanni Bellini and Carpaccio; and we must needs suppose that the cleverness he displayed in the Palace of Andrea Loredano, or the friendship of the Doge Lorenzo whose likeness he took established his claim to public employment.¹ — Between 1506 and the summer of 1507 he finished the front of the Fondaco facing the grand canal, dividing the upper spaces into niches with representations of isolated individualities, the lower ones into compartments imitating colonnades enlivened by men on horseback, and the bands between the stories by friezes containing trophies, nudes, and monochrome heads. The truncated corners of the building were particularly noted for their filling of "geometers measuring the globe".

Vasari was delighted with Giorgione's clever execution and particularly admired the vivid brightness of the colouring, but he considered that there should have been more unity of thought and more narrative power in the complex of the design; and there is apparent ground for believing that his opinion was shared at the time in influential quarters. Yet in making appeal to the judgment of his guild, Giorgione successfully vindicated "his right to a large and generous payment, and Carpaccio who was chosen by Bellini, with Lazzaro Bastiani, and Vittore di Matteo to value his frescos, gave an award for one hundred and fifty ducats.²

¹ Vasari tells us (VII. 83.) and in this he is confirmed by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 127.) that Giorgione painted the likeness of the Doge Leonardo Loredano. The palace of Andrea Loredano is that which afterwards passed to the Grimani Calergi, and was last possessed by the Duchess of Berry (Guida di Venezia by Zanotto note to page 358.)

² Venice. Fondaco de' Tedeschi. The Fondaco, now Customhouse was burnt in 1504, and ordered by the Venetian senate, in a decree of June 19 1505, to be rebuilt on the model of Girolamo Tedesco, a model said to have been made from the plans of Fra Giocondo. The building was erected in 1506. After the completion of Giorgione's frescos on the front facing the canal, dif-

It is said that whilst Giorgione was still at work on the Canal grande, Titian was chosen to carry out a rival decoration on the second front of the Fondaco looking towards the Merceria. At the close of his efforts there was some divergence of opinion as to which of the two artists had displayed the highest power and it is added that some persons congratulated Giorgione on the completion of frescos which they supposed to be his, thereby mortally offending him in his pride as an artist.¹

But the truth appears to be that Giorgione's aristocratic patrons were highly satisfied with his success, for whilst the question of his remuneration for the Fondaco remained in suspense he received an order for a large canvas in the audience chamber of the council, and the advances made to him for that purpose in the summer of 1507 and in January of 1508 show that the work he had undertaken was of the highest consequence.²

Vasari, on his part gave a practical contradiction to the story of Giorgione's enemies by confounding the works of both painters in a common reproof; and though it is not to be denied that Titian, with a larger fund of talent and greater weight of metal rose to a higher eminence than Giorgione, it is not to be forgotten that Giorgione

ferences broke out as to the price to be paid for them, and in respect of these differences the following documents have been found and made public. Venice Nov. 8. 1508, order of the "Signoria" that justice be done to "Mistro Zorzi da Chastelfrancho" for having painted the "Fondego de todeschi." Venice 11th Dec. 1508. Valuation of Lazzaro Bastian, Vettor Scarpaza, and Ser Vettor de Matio, appointed by Ser Zuan Bellin, by which M^o. Zorzi's frescos are declared to be worth 150 ducats. Same day. Consent of "Messer Zorzi" to accept 130 ducats. These documents were published by the Ab. G. Cadorin in Gualandi's *Memorie*, Ser. III. p. p. 90. 91. 92. Consult also Vas. VII. 84. XIII.

20. 21. Sansovino, Ven. Desc. ed. Mart. p. 366. Boschini, Le R. Min. S. di S. Marco. p. 109, and Ridolfi, Mar. I. 127.

¹ Dolce, Dialogo p. p. 63. 64, Vas. XIII. 21. Ridolfi Mar. I. 200.

² As to this the documents of Aug. 14. 1507 and January 24. 1508 were published by Ab. G. Cadorin in Gualandi's *Memorie*. Ser. III. p. p. 88. 89. The subject of the picture is not given: but it may be the Judgment of Solomon of which see antea. Ridolfi supposes (Mar. I. 137) that Giorgione began the canvas of Frederick kissing the foot of the Pope, in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, but this supposition requires confirmation.

might have done more had he lived longer and enjoyed Vecelli's chances.¹

One of Giorgione's frescos on the Fondaco exists — a head, torso and part of the arms, of a female with something of the semblance of a coloured statue in a niche. Zanetti's engraving proves that it was in a mutilated state as early as the close of last century. Two other bits — a male and a female in scanty drapery and fine free attitudes — are all that Zanetti adds to his collection. He praises the warmth, originality and breadth of treatment conspicuous in these pieces, but he assigns to Titian a calmer, grander, and higher power. He admires in Giorgione the quickness and resolution with which action is rendered, the artifice with which light and shade are broken, blended and distributed; in Titian, the firmness and strength of the half tones, the simplicity of contrasts, the tenderness of the flesh tints, and the moderation which avoids Giorgione's fire whilst it abstains from darkness of shadow and excessive redness of skin. In this dispassionate judgment of the comparative merits of the two great Venetians there is every reason to concur.²

That Vecelli at some period of his life frankly followed Giorgione in the mechanism of his painting is apparent from Vasari who says he had seen a portrait of a gentleman of the Barbarigo family which, but for the name on the ground he would have given to Giorgione. On a previous occasion, the same acute critic was deceived by the conformity of style which both craftsmen displayed, and ascribed to Giorgione the Christ carrying his cross at San Rocco of Venice which he afterwards thought fit to restore to Titian.³ Now that we look at the picture with the full consciousness of these contradictions, we are still left in doubt whether we have before us the work of the master or that of his pupil. Christ, majestically

¹ Vas. VII. 84.

² Zanetti (Antonio). *Varie Pitture* u. s. p. VI. VII.

³ Vasari, VII. 85. and XIII. 26.
— But see also other authorities

who ascribe the picture to Titian ex gr.: Ridolfi *Marav.* I. 203, Boschini, *Le Ric. Min.* S. d. S. Polo. p. 49, Sansovino, *Ven. desc.* p. p. 195. 288.

prominent in concentrated light and proportion, carries his cross, and turns towards the spectator with a matchless serenity of glance and expression in his countenance. In the gloom behind, a guard appears following the procession. In front, a half naked executioner encouraged by an old man at his side, threatens the Saviour and holds the rope. Two peculiarities characterize the piece, the charm of high art and the gift of miracles. The veneration due to these causes did not save the canvas from the profanation of cleaners who bared many parts of it to the preparation; but injured as it is, we still discern on the surface a technical treatment akin to that of Giorgione. We discern Giorgione's type and subtle naturalism, his grand balance of chiaroscuro and illuminating power, his spare impast, his nice selection of tints, his broken tones and blended transitions. We may be loth to rob Giorgione of this creation, yet it may be possible to admit that Titian acquired the manner of Giorgione so perfectly as to deceive us.¹

One picture which has not its equal in any period of Giorgione's practise gives a just measure of his skill, and explains his celebrity. This is the "concert" of the Pitti which Leopold of Tuscany bought in the 17th century from Paolo del Sera. In one of the simplest arrangements of half lengths which it is possible to conceive, movement, gesture, and expression, tell an entire tale. A monk of the order of the Augustinians sits at a harpsichord, with his fingers on the keys. The chord he strikes is true; for the two bystanders hear its vibration with silent complacency. It is probably that which they hoped to hear; for the monk turns half triumphantly to ask: Is it not so? His face and glance, the play of his features, are all inquiry, the bald bare-headed clerk behind,

¹ Venice San Rocco, Canvas, busts large as life. The surface is flayed and in some parts even the preparation is washed away. The head of the executioner is in profile, a grey cloth falls from his

shoulder. The long hair of the Saviour falls on his white shirt. A copy of this, No. 128 in the gallery of Parma, seems done by a late Bolognese.

touches the shoulder of the monk, grasps the handle of his viol and assents. To the left, a younger man in long hair and plumed hat gives token of pleasure and acquiescence. The motive thought and purpose of the story are concentrated in the player at the harpsichord; on him the light is thrown — a clear, sparkling, but subdued, light such as we seek within the walls of Italian palaces. His hood and cowl are black, his frock a shade of black; and the delicate opal of his aristocratic but muscular hand is relieved on a furred sleeve interposed to prevent a violent contrast. Outside the focus of the highest light stands (or stood, the surface being flayed) the youth and the clerk with his viol. There is life in the lips and nostrils, variety in the complexion, age, and make, of each individually. No simpler yet no more effective picture than this is to be found amongst the masterpieces of the 16th century. The subtlety with which the tones are broken is extreme, but the soberness of the general intonation is magical. Warm and spacious lights, strong shadows, delicate reflections, gay varieties of tints, yield a perfect harmony. Parsimonious impast and slight glazes are not incompatible with velvet surface and tender atmosphere. How fresh and clean are the extremities, and with what masterly ease they are done at the finish? What sleight of hand in the furs, what pearly delicacy in the lawn of the white sleeves?¹

It is no wonder that Giorgione should have been placed by his contemporaries in the ranks of the very best painters after exhibiting pictures of such power as the concert;

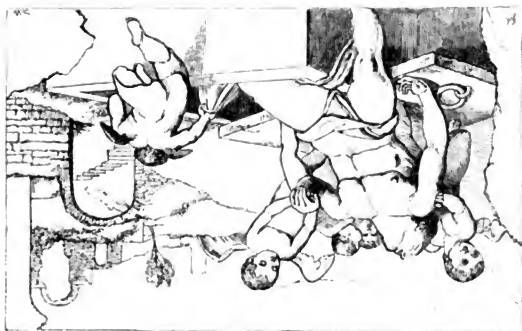
¹ Florence. Pitti. No. 185. Canvas, Braccia 1. 17. l. by 2. 2. described by Ridolfi as belonging to Paolo del Sera (Mar. I. 126. 127), was afterwards seen by Boschini (Carta del Navegar. p. 364) in the gallery of Leopold of Tuscany. It has been enlarged at top, by the addition of a bit of feather to the hat of the youth on the left, and a piece of dark ground. Here and

there the painting is thrown out of focus by the rubbing off of glazes as in the face and yellow vest of the youth to the left. The black capes of the two other figures are retouched and injured, and the whole picture is a little dimmed by varnishes. An old copy in the Palazzo Doria at Rome tells how the original at the Pitti once was.

and we should hesitate to deny that during the short period which elapsed between the completion of the Fondaco and his death he did not produce much that deserved equal commendation; but it is unfortunately true that none of the canvases or panels which bear his name are at all comparable to the concert; and we shall be forced reluctantly to conclude either that time and restoring have deprived his works of their genuine character, or that we only possess copies and adaptations from lost originals or — at the worst — that he did not execute what we are fond of attributing to him.

Let us compare the concert at the Louvre with the concert at the Pitti. There is no doubt a very great charm in the warmth and tinted colouring of the figures and landscape at the Louvre; but what can be more striking than the diversity of treatment and feeling which the two compositions betray. In the one, perfect drawing, aristocratic form, spare impast, and subtle modulations, in the other, slovenly design, fluid substance, and uniform thickness of texture, plump, seductive, but unaristocratic, shape. Are these divergences in any way to be reconciled with the theory of a common origin? We think not. The subject is simple enough in description. A scantily clad woman stands under a tree and pours water out of a vase. Under the shade, another woman, naked, with a male listener at her side, sits with her back to the spectator hearing the melody played by a man crosslegged on the sward. A shepherd with his lambs paces the neighbouring glade. The principal attraction here, in addition to richness of colour is the paradise in which the party sits, a paradise in which the air is balmy and the landscape ever green; where life is a pastime, and music the only labour; where groves are interspersed with meadows and fountains, where nymphs sit playfully on the grass or drink at cool springs. The dress of the nymphs if they have any is meant to enhance, not to conceal their charms. The shepherds are clad in the particoloured tights and plumes and slashes of the 16th century. There is no con-

THE ENT-LEBENT arrived at the Adm. di Pisa at Treviso





scious indelicacy, yet we stand on the verge of the lascivious. We cannot say that Giorgione would not have painted such a scene; but, as far as we know, he would have treated it with more nobleness of sentiment, without defects of form or neglect of nature's finesses, without the pasty surface and sombre glow of tone which here is all pervading; he would have given more brightness and variety to his landscape. We shall see that in the Madonna with the donor and attendant saints at the Louvre we have to deal not with Giorgione but with Pellegrino da San Daniele. The concert suggests more than any other name that of an imitator of del Piombo.¹

Let us compare again, with the genuine Giorgiones the picture which so many writers — old and new — have extolled as one of his most undoubted works — the Christ entombed in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso. If in all the canvases which we have examined, the commendable features were quiet movement, just proportion and gentle shape, here we are bound to admire, the colossal torso and herculean limbs of a giant, the muscular strength and fleshy growth of angels aping juvenile athletes, and a tendency to depict strong action or equally strong foreshortening. The print annexed to these pages gives an outline of the composition, but no clue to the numerous re-touches which it has undergone. In the dashing fresco which Pordenone finished at San Niccolò of Treviso — the ceiling of the Broccardi chapel, in which the Eternal floats with seraphs in the clouds — we observe the same neglect of drawing, the same display of flesh and muscle, similar contractions of extremities. It was the habit of that master, especially after he had been at Mantua, to solve difficult problems of perspective. It was his way to choose models from amongst the humble classes; and here we have a Christ excessively foreshortened and faithfully

¹ Paris, Louvre. No. 44, canvas. M. 1. 10. h by 1. 38. Figures half life size. The picture is said to have been in the collection of Charles the 1st of England. It was sold to Louis the XIVth by Jabach. For No. 43, the Holy Family with a donor, see postea in Pellegrino da S. Daniele.

copied from a dissecting table. We cannot even assume that all parts of the entombment are worthy of Pordenone. The angel supporting the left arm of the Saviour is feebler than the rest, the two cherubs feebler still, and there is as clear a lack of unity in the setting as of homogeneity in the parts. Something indeed in the principal figure and landscape recalls Sebastian del Piombo. The general tone is clear and bright, the modelling large, the touch bold, and the pencil stroke free and fluid. But these qualities are counterbalanced by vulgarity of type, puffy swell of limb, and defective drawing; and these are defects unusual in the common run of works assigned to the master of Castelfranco.¹

That Giorgione was often confounded with Pordenone is evident in the handsome composition of Herodias with the head of the Baptist in the Doria Palace at Rome. In England, fanciful subject, sumptuous dress, and bright colour led to similar mistakes; and as early as the reign of Charles the 1st, the rich but unfortunately restored canvas at Buckingham palace representing a gentleman supporting the form of a fainting lady was called after Barbarella. There is no denying the charm of the noble features of the young and fairhaired man who supports the drooping lady on his breast, and listens to the beating of her heart. The beauty of the scene is enhanced by the costly dress and delicate nurture of the actors, the whiteness and fineness of the linen, the gloss of the emerald and ruby silks, and, where the surface is preserved, the golden glow of complexions cleverly thrown into light

¹ Treviso Monte di Pietà, canvas, figures large as life. The picture has been frequently restored; and in the last operation of the kind was cleared of not a few excrescences in the shape of paint and varnish. Still there are some repaints remaining, and much, that is rubbed down. The earliest writer who connected this work with the name of Giorgione is Boschini (*Carta del Navegar Pittresco* p. 36).

He was followed by numerous writers up to the present day. A landscape reminiscent of that here depicted is in the back ground of Sebastian del Piombo's descent from the cross (No. 18.) in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, at Treviso is also shown a small repetition called an original sketch of the principal group of the Entombment. It is a modern copy on copper.

and shade, the brilliance of sparkling tints, and the crispness of the touch. — But this is the sort of charm which Pordenone, and after him, Paris Bordone, was fond of producing; and this London picture, if it be not by Giorgione, is a bright specimen of grand Venetian art. — We may suppose that in its conception, the painter adhered closely to nature and gave to the figures the significance of portraits; and the incident might have been derived from the novels of Bandello without prejudice to this mode of treatment. At all events the subject pleased and was more than once repeated.¹

Let us now contrast the landscapes of which we admired so many varieties with that which enjoys so great a reputation in the museum of Dresden, under the name of the meeting of Jacob and Rachel. We shall not complain that the actors in this rural scene should appear in the wooded sweeps of the Bergamasque country or dressed in the coarse and tattered garb of mountain peasants; we shall not deny the beauties of scenic picturesqueness and swimming atmosphere which here abound; but we may feel some surprise that the peachy tints and furry dab of a disciple of Palma should not only be taken for original Giorgionesque, but be thrown into the same class as the fat and deep-toned touch of the Paris concert or the slashing stroke of the Treviso Entombment.²

We turn to another and a simpler theme, the representation of a sybil, of which so many varieties are given to Giorgione. Early in the 17th century Andrea Vendramin, whose studio was known to many connoisseurs engraved

¹ Buckingham Palace, canvas, 2 f. 5 h. by 2 f. 1, with the crown and initials of Charles the 1st at the back, and catalogued in Bathoe's cat. (1757) of James the IInd's collection. The flesh parts and the back ground, including the face of the man in rear, is largely retouched, the hand in the lady's shoulder new. The replica lately in the collection of king William the IInd at the Hague, and previously in private hands at

Pesaro (Vas. annot. VII. 89) is inferior to the Windsor piece, and that of the Buonarroti collection at Florence, is much repainted and mutilated and probably an old copy.

² Dresden Museum, No. 218. canv. from the Casa Malipiero at Venice (vide Dresden catalogue) 5 f. 1 h. by 8 f. 8, inscribed on a stone "G. B. F." which probably means Giovanni Busi (Cariani of Bergamo fecit). — See postea in Cariani.

one of these sybils under Giorgione's name, and Ridolfi described another in private hands at Venice. Both descriptions point to a canvas belonging to Signor Sorio of Marostica in the province of Vicenza — a canvas in which a pensive female with bare neck and bosom is placed in meditation with her right arm and hand on an open folio — her drooping hair partly woven into the folds of a yellowish veil, her red tunic falling from her shoulder and a green shawl thrown across her breast. There is something in the poetry of attitude and thought in this sentimental apparition that chimes in with our ideal of Giorgione; but the film of superposed colour which hides the mechanism of the treatment gives us no clue to any thing more. In a replica at Pavia, a mirror takes the place of the Sibylline book and reflects, amongst other things, the shape of an old woman spinning; but here we see the cold calculation of an artist arranging a worn subject into a new form rather than the fire and spirit of an original creator; and if the painter be really Giorgione, it is Giorgione sinking to a lower level. Another replica with the mirror in the Pinakothek at Munich is still brilliant with deep and luscious vestment tints, but cold and smooth as ice in the flesh from pouncing and washing; and though much in the technical treatment recalls the Giorgionesque, the broad and masculine head and shoulders are in the spirit of Pordenone.¹

¹ Marostica Signor Sorio, canvas bust, life size with very little of its old patina left except on a fragment of the wrist of the r. hand, and the brow above the l. eye, ground dark. See the engraving in Rosini Vol. IV. p. 169.

Pavia, S. Francesco di Paolo (Communal school having belonged to Signor Redemagni and the Spilimbergs of Spilimberg). Canvas, same size as the foregoing, but with a piece added to the top. In the looking-glass, besides the old woman, a money bag and some pieces of gold and silver are seen

reflected. The dress is peach red, a bit of the bosom and forehead and nose, and the shadow of the neck are injured and partly restored, and the l. hand is abraded.

Munich Pinakothek, S. No. 470, canv. 2 f. 11½ h. by 2 f. 6. Here the dress is of a glazed green. But this, the flesh, and other parts are much repainted and the restorer has added a collar of pearls, to the objects in the looking glass. The names of Titian and Palma have been suggested for this piece, but they are not fitter than that of Giorgione. (Consult Ridolfi,

A favorite episode of which the first thought and execution may have originated in Giorgione is the knight attended by a page who laces his armour, of which four or five replicas exist. One at the Belvedere in Vienna displays barely so much of the master's style as Andrea Schiavone or della Vecchia could assimilate; a second by the same hand is in the Casa Alfieri at Turin; a third at Castle Howard is attributable to a careful Fleming, and a fourth, but larger and more modern, at Stuttgart, seems but a copy¹.

The tempest in the Venice academy — that spacious, animated, but inky, canvas, in which the large and impulsive handling of an advanced 16th century craftsman is apparent under layers of more recent deposit — was never touched by Giorgione, or if it was, underwent such complete transformation, as to appear, in part at least — by Paris Bordone; nor can we reconcile the calm and refined individuality of the painter of the Pitti concert with the wildness of this stormy sea, the fantastic agility of the imps in the rigging of the labouring galley, or the muscular mould of the brawny fisher nudes straining at the row-locks before the saints in the distant bark have quelled the fury of the waves.²

Marav. I. 130. who describes a sibyl like that of Marostica in the hands of one Signor G. B. Sanuto at Venice.)

¹ Vienna Belvedere. First Floor. Room II. No. 50, small busts on panel, 7 inches h. by 1 f. 6. The man in armour is turned to the left and bends his face downwards to look at the hands of the page, who ties the laces. The cap on the page's head is red, his sleeve bright green.

Turin, Casa Alfieri di Sustegno, replica of the above.

Castle Howard, replica of the foregoing very careful, from the Orleans collection.

Stuttgart Gallery. No. 51. Wood, 2 f. 5½ h. by 2 f. 1. This enlarged copy is all repainted.

All these may be derived from one and the same piece by Giorgione, the resting place of which we cannot discover. We are the more disposed to think that this is so because the late Dr. Waagen describes a fifth replica (*Die vornehmsten Kunst-Denkmäler in Wien*, p. 45) in possession of Count Redern in Berlin signed by George Pens, and the large size of this replica presupposes the existence of an original equally large.

² Venice Academy. No. 37. Canvas, m. 3. 50. h. by 4. 05. from the school of S. Marco, ascribed by Vas. (IX. 142) to Palma Vecchio, by Zanetti (Pitt. Ven.) to Giorgione. But see the precis of opinions in Vasari IX. note to page 143. There are pieces of new cloth in the left

We come nearer to the feeling of the time and to the suggestiveness of the manner, of Giorgione in the canvas at the Belvedere of Vienna "a youth threatened by the dagger of a soldier." We might ask, is this an illustration of the Venetian custom of executing justice without warning by the hand of an official bravo? The culprit seems to have been caught in the midst of a revel; his brow is bound with vine-leaves, the light is on his face and form. The soldier is still in shadow and issues as it were from the gloom to grasp the collar of the victim whom he waits to despatch with the stiletto at his back. The meaning is conveyed directly and indirectly, by action, by expression, and a very dramatic contrast of light and shade; but pictorial power here, lags behind pictorial intention. The movements are too artful to be natural. The weapon in the left hand may be correct, but is artistically awkward. The gasp and tremor of the youth, the resolution of the soldier are stagy. The glitter of the latter's breastplate, the white shirt and blue vest of his antagonist, the greens of the vine leaves, the dusky warmth and blended vapour on the skin have a scenic glow; but where is the exquisite soberness of Giorgione, his spare colour, his firm and correct touch? In the fat and fusion of the impast, in the naturalism of the features and imperfection of the extremities, we detect a modern art derived from the school of Palma Vecchio, the hand of a painter whose style leads up to that of Cariani.¹

hand lower corner and in the bark containing the body of St. Mark. There is much to recall Paris Bordone in the man at the helm of this bark (Zanotto, *Pinac. Ven. Fasc. XI.*). The rest is more modern. But the best preserved bit is the distance to the l.

¹ Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor. Room II. No. 10. half lengths. Canvas. 2 f. 4. h. by 1 f. 2. Boschini (*Navegar pitt.* p. p. 38. 39) describes the original in the gallery of Leopold of Tuscany and a copy by

Varottari at "San Boldo in Cà Grimani" (Venice). Is this one of the two, or a third? Waagen leans to the belief that the Vienna canvas is genuine! (*Vornehmste Denkmäler u. s. p. 33.*) There is much retouching in the head and right hand of the man in armour. The hand of the man to the left is injured. The head, hair, vine leaves and dress not without abrasion and casual repaints. The background is renewed.

A more charming combination of Palmesque and Titianesque features than this of the Belvedere is the Madonna with saints in the museum of Madrid, where the child on the Virgin's lap plays with the flowers held up by a lovely maiden and a saint in armour unfurls the banner of his order. We shall not easily find a Venetian work of the good school more attractive for freshness and blending or tender richness of tints, or one in which a more winning Titianesque grace adorns the Madonna. That the female with the flowers should be a counterpart of Palma's "Violante" at the Belvedere of Vienna is perhaps a mere coincidence. The same subject at Blenheim with a variety in the individuality of the saints (the female receives a palm branch from the child) more surely suggests the authorship of Palma Vecchio.¹

We may glance in conclusion at the "Horoscope" in the Manfrini Palace at Venice, a picture not only admitted into the complex of Giorgione's genuine productions, but acknowledged as the earliest of its class in North Italy. A man in Oriental dress, sits at a table with a brass disk and compass in his hand. He is not surrounded with the usual paraphernalia of a necromancer, no crocodiles hanging from the ceiling, no bats nor babies preserved in spirits. — He sits in a ruin with an armless Venus in a niche. Behind him the mother seated on the ground playing with the child, close by, the father in a standing attitude in front of the landscape. Here again is a fanciful subject treated in the so called Giorgionesque fashion, but without the power or subtlety of Giorgione,

¹ Madrid Mus. No. 792. Wood, 3 f. 1. h. by 4 f. 8. (Spanish). This panel though it has a look of Palma might be a juvenile effort of Titian. Green curtains at the corners give richness and harmony to the whole; there is a horizontal split through the hand of the saint in armour and the white and yellow sleeve of the female. The Violante of Palma, is No. 11. in the II^d Room of the first floor at the Bel-

vedere in Vienna. A replica or old copy from the Madrid Madonna, is No. 632 at Hampton Court, with a slight variety in the movement of the infant Christ (Wood) — a careful but feeble work with some Titianesque character and light rosy tones.

Blenheim. Wood, injured by a horizontal split, but see postea. Palma Vecchio.

especially without his melody of tone, purity of drawing or development of form. Something paltry in the shape of the figures, something monotonous in the tints, a brown and empty uniformity in the flesh all this, indicates a second rate Venetian. The freshness rubbed off the panel diminishes its effectiveness, yet it still looks as if it might have been produced by Girolamo Pennacchi.¹

Finally a knight of Malta at the Uffizi in splendid dress, with spotless chemisette and jewelled collar, the varied blacks of his silk garments damasked in minute patterns, a chaplet of large beads in his hand, presents himself at the first view with all the prestige of a grand Venetian. His thick brown hair and beard are finely adumbrated against the gloom of the background. A warm Southern complexion is relieved by deep shadows. But on close inspection the charm is evanescent. There are veils of stippled colour in the face and hands, there is no transparence in the darker parts. We conclude that Giorgione's work was altered by late retouching, or the painter is a skilful imitator of Giorgione's manner.²

It would be most desirable to trace some of the more celebrated of Giorgione's solitary figures and portraits to which there are references in the oldest historians; and in isolated instances, it may be possible to find canvases which very nearly approach to the required standard; but at the best, such canvases are only to be taken as specimens of the Giorgionesque without proof of their absolute genuineness.

We might desire, for instance to attribute to Giorgione with authority the portraits in one frame at the Berlin Museum, where two men of middle age in black sit gravely at a table, one fronting the spectator and listening,

¹ Venice Manfrini Palace. Wood. M. 1. 35. br. by O. 92. (compare the opinion of Kugler, Handbook, p. 434. and Quandt's *Lanzi*). In the distance are warriors under a tree. In the Onigo collection at Treviso there are two portraits assigned

to Giorgione, but see postea in *Girolamo di Piermaria Pennacchi*.

² Florence, Uffizi. No. 622. Canvas, bust life size. Otto Mündler (in Burekhardt's *Cicerone*, III. 976) assigned it to Della Vecchia.

the other in profile reading a letter — a canvas which has suffered irreparable injury, but worthy of Giorgione and even of Titian in the grandeur and dignity of its impersonations¹. Still higher in the scale we might be inclined to place the bust of a bare-headed man in long black hair, in the gallery of Rovigo, a grave and powerfully wrought creation which, perhaps more than any other approximates to the true style of Giorgione.² — We might add the Christ carrying his cross in the Loschi collection at Vicenza, in which the early cento of Antonello and the Bellinesque is to be found in connection with high finish and realistic detail, and an interesting bust portrait in the Ajata mansion at Crespino.³

It would probably be fatal to the interest which attaches to the life of a man so remarkable as Giorgione, if we

¹ Berlin Mus. No. 152. Canvas. 2 f. 10 h. by 3 f. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ fr. the Solly collection. The surface is unfortunately repainted after flaying, and hence the difficulty of holding a strong opinion. Both men wear black projecting caps. Through a window a landscape is seen. Can this be "Giovanni Borgherini and his master" of whom Vasari speaks? (VII. 83.)

² Rovigo. Gall. Com. No. 11. small panel, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches high by 6 $\frac{1}{8}$, bust of a man in a white shirt and vest, bare headed, with long hair showing one hand at the lower edge of the picture. There is some retouching and consequent opacity in the hair and flesh shadows. (Originally in Casa Muttoni at Rovigo, see Bartoli [Fr.]. *Pittura &c. della Città di Rovigo*. Ven. 1793, p. 217.)

³ Vicenza, Casa Loschi. Wood. M. O. 52. h. by O. 40, Christ $\frac{3}{4}$ to the left, bearded, with long locks falling to his shoulders carries his cross. We should note the precision and finish of the hairs of the beard, the thorns in the crown, the veining on the wood of the cross. The handling is minute

finished and resolute. The mask is noble and elevated, and grief grandly expressed. The colours are strong and rich, with warmth and transference in shadow, and delicate transitions nicely blended, the drapery white, with ornaments on the hems, clever and Bellinesque. The preservation is good, and but a small spot on the forehead shows a stain. This fine panel which deserves the name of Giorgione is the original of that preserved in the Gallery of Rovigo (see ante p. 265), as a Leonardo as well as of a copy lately in possession of a dealer at Padua.

Crespino. Ajata coll. No. 16. Wood. M. O. 37 h. by O. 26. Bust of a bareheaded man in a rich brown and yellow dress, and a medallion with a griffin hanging from his neck. This picture which is not free from retouching requires fresh study. On a superficial examination it seemed not unlike an original of Giorgione's early time — a pleasing face, sweetly coloured, and with detail touched minutely and delicately. — Most spotted by retouching is the hair and beard.

should attempt to follow the ghost of his name through the numerous galleries which boast of possessing pictures from his hand. The utmost that we require is a list of such pictures at the close of the master's history classified according to the predominant character of each piece. It was not without lamentable consequences that numerous painters of different schools should have been made to contribute to the nimbus of Giorgione. In the absence of any challenge as to the genuineness of productions fathered upon him, the most erroneous impressions of his style and character gained currency, until it became habitual to assert with openness akin to truth that he was a marvellous colourist, but no draughtsman, that he was the father of the biblical novel or the creator of sacred pieces in which profane and poetic feeling overweighed sentiment, that he was a man of sensual habits transfusing sensuality into his pictorial types.¹

It is probably true that he was fond of gallantry, for Ridolfi, who rejects the covert hint thrown out by Vasari that he perished from sickness engendered by excesses, admits that he died of a broken heart because he was robbed of his mistress by his disciple Luzzi; but it is folly to set up a high standard of morality as regards the sex for men of the artistic profession in the 16th century; and there is not a whit more to be said against Giorgione than was said with truth of Raphael.²

The death of Giorgione "of plague" in 1511 is registered with absolute uniformity by all — even the oldest — authorities. His remains were taken to Castelfranco in 1638 and buried in the church of San Libérale.³

¹ Selvatico. *Storia Estetico-Critica* I. 526. Jacob Burckhardt's *Cicerone*. 2^d Ed. by Dr. A. von Zahn. 8^o. Leipzig 1869. III. p. p. 974—5.

² Vasari, VII. 87. Ridolfi, *Le Marav.* I. 137. But Dolce, *Dialogo*

p. 60, only says that Giorgione died of plague "con non poco danno della pittura".

³ See the foregoing note and consult Melchiori *Ms. u. s.* and Dr. Tescari's *Per Nozze*.

Vasari relates an anecdote of Giorgione which he dates at the time of Verrocchio's residence in Venice (1488). He says that a question arose between him and certain sculptors as to the preference to be given to sculpture or drawing; the sculptors urging the facility with which the same statue could be seen from all sides by simply going round it, Giorgione maintaining that it was quite possible to show all sides of a figure on one picture without moving. As an illustration of his meaning, Giorgione is said to have painted the back view of a nude on the bank of a limpid stream which reflected the other side of his person whilst the flanks were seen in a mirror and breast-plate. This practical solution of a problem which occupied the minds of casuists in the 16th century is only interesting to us because it tells us of a masterpiece, of which no trace has been preserved. The list of works at the head of which this may be placed would probably be found to comprise many that had no claim to originality; but also many that it would be most desirable to possess. We note the following.

Venice. Collection of the patriarch Grimani. A large head of a man with a red cap with fur lappets in his hand, and a boy with fleecy hair — Faenza, Casa Castel Bolognese, a portrait. Florence, Casa Borgherini, portrait of Giovanni Borgherini and his tutor. Casa Anton de Nobili, a "captain in armour said to be the likeness of an officer who visited Venice when Gonzalvo Ferrante (da Cordova) came to pay his respects to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo"; a portrait of Gonzalvo himself. (Vas. VII. 82. 83.) Venice, Casa M. A. Pasqualino. Bust of a boy holding an arrow and St. James with the pilgrim's staff. Casa G. Vendramin, the dead Christ supported on his tomb by an angel. Casa Zen, a nude in a landscape of which the drawing with pen was in the collection of Michiel Contarini. Casa Jeronimo Marcello, St. Jerom reading. Portrait of M. Jeronimo armed showing his back and turning his head, the original of a later picture in the Belvedere at Vienna (ground Floor, Room I. Nr. 16.) and a nude Venus in a landscape with Cupid — landscape and Cupid finished by Titian. Casa M. Z. A. Venier, a soldier armed to the waist. Casa Zuane Ram. Bust of a boy holding a dart, a shepherd boy with a piece of fruit — Casa Odoni: St. Jerom in the desert by moonlight. Casa Taddeo Contarini, Æneas and Anchises in Hades, and the Birth of Paris. (Anonimo ed. Morelli p. p. 56. 63. 65. 66. 73. 78. 79. 80. 85.) — Collection of Niccolò Renier, a Virgin and child, and Samson watched by two men as he wails over the loss of his locks. (Sansovino Ven. desc. 377.) Casa Malipiero. Half length St. Jerom reading in a book. Senator Gussoni Virg. ch. St. Jerom and other saints. Casa Vidman. Birth of Adonis, Venns and Adonis, and death of Adonis parts of a "Cassone", twelve pieces with the story of Psyche; picture called "Il vecchio castratore" — Signor Niccola Crasso, portrait of Lnigi Crasso seated with his spectacles in his hand. — A naked woman and near her a shepherd playing the flageolet. Palazzo Domenico Ruzzini, an armed captain. Signor Camillo Lucarno, a portrait. Signor Gozi, D^o. Senola de' Sartori, Virgin and child, St. Barbara, St. Joseph and a patron. Pictures in the palaces Girolamo Cavazza, de Tassis, Ottavio Fabri, and Girolamo Contarini. Verona, Muselli collection, portrait of a man in a fanciful cap half velvet half brocade, and a

pelisse with wolf fur lining, holding a book in both hands — in the architectural background a headless statue, a portrait of Laura. Dr. Crntoni, Christ, the apostles, and a woman possessed of a devil with her mother — a portrait — Achilles receiving arrows from Paris, Amor in a landscape. Casa del Pozzo, portrait of Giorgione. Conte Rizzardi, portrait of a man half length. Antwerp. Van Voert collection, head of Polyphemus in a large hat casting a broad shadow on his face. Portrait of a commander in antique dress and red cap. A youth in armour with copious hair. One of Casa Fugger with a wolfskin pelisse. Half length nude in thought with his form reflected in a breast plate. (Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 126—137. Del Pozzo, Pitt. Veron. 303. 308. Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi* 189. 190. 198; Boschini, *Carta del Navegar.* 308. and *Ricche Miniere*, Sest. di Canareggio 15. 16. Sansov. Ven. descr. 374. 376. 377. 394. and 415). Rome. Prince Aldobrandini, St. Sebastian. Collection of Queen Christine, full length of Pico della Mirandola as a boy with sword and dagger and cap with white feather. Modena. Prince Cesare Ignazio d'Este, portrait of a man in a hat which throws his head half into shadow (1685). Portrait of a man, one hand in his hip, the other holding his gloves. Studio Coccapani (1640), portrait of Giorgione, a landscape (Campori, *Raccolta* n. s. 147. 149. 310. 312. 347). London Collection of Charles the 1st, Ashmolean Ms. Catalogue. Man's head in a black cap and clouk (bust). A woman with her left breast naked, her right breast covered with part of her smock. Actæon. — Mary, Christ; St. Catherine, and St. Joseph. — Collection of James the II^d. A man with the head of John the Baptist — Giorgione's picture with several statues about him (Lotto). A woman half length holding her apron with one hand, the other upon a bird. A man with a shock dog and a music book before him. — A man to the waist in black with a two handed sword. — A man to the waist in a black pink doublet. A man with a letter in his hand. A woman in red sleeves with a chain about her neck. A man with a red girdle, his hand upon his breast. — A man with a hawk on his fist. A man in black cap with a book in both hands. A man in a cardinal's cap, a white book in one hand. A family of ten figures (B. Licinio). — Four figures to the waist singing (? Titian of the National Gallery). A man's head with a black habit with his hair behind his ears.

Amongst the disciples of Giorgione, there is none more Bellinesque in his early period than Sebastian del Piombo, who for this reason might be mentioned in connection with pictures assigned to Giorgione but suggestive of another and more modern Bellinesque. In this class:

Ex Northwick collection. Wood 2 f. 6 h. by 3 f., the woman taken in adultery, perhaps the same as that described in the palace of the Pesari at Venice (Sansovino, Ven. desc. 376). To the left, the Saviour in profile with the officer and a turbaned female. To the right, the adulteress with her hands joined in prayer escorted by an armed and helmeted guard. These are half lengths consisting chiefly of portraits, outlined with conscious power though not without occasional Bellinesque dryness. We miss the elevated spirit of Giorgione in the studied rendering and large working size of the hands of all the personages, but especially in the unideal shapes of the Saviour and adulteress both of which are lacking in appropriate movement or select form. The dresses are picturesquely variegated and cunningly wrought but

tinted in deep and solid shades — the helmet and armour very clever. The flesh is swept in with a large brush abundantly furnished and copiously impregnated with vehicle, and bears a warm fused and enamelled surface. There is more *chiaroscuro* than vivid brightness of prism, and the general tone of the whole piece is a sombre leaden, red. The painter, whoever he is, differs in type from Giorgione, and has many features in common with del Piombo.

Palma is the true painter of some so called Giorgiones — whilst others are merely of the Palmesque school.

Berlin Museum. No. 174, a portrait. Munich Pinak. S. No. 582, a portrait. Blenheim, Virgin and child, a female and St. Liberale half lengths. Brunswick Gallery, No. 25. Adam and Eve. These are Palmas (see postea). London, Mr. Barker. Half length of a female in a yellow turban holding the handle of a guitar. In the landscape, a page accompanies a man in horseback. The varnishy thickness of the impast and washy clearness of the flesh and a certain rawness are characteristic in followers of Palma. Vienna, Belvedere, First Floor, Room, II. No. 3. canvass 2 f. 9½ h. by 2 f. 1½, St. John Evangelist half length with the eagle behind him, is placed very high, but seems more like a Palmesque school picture than any thing else.

Cariani and Lotto amongst the Bergamasques are those who most frequently produced pictures subsequently honoured with the name of Giorgione. We had occasion to notice some celebrated compositions in which the treatment of Cariani appears. There are others suggestive of a similar origin, others again redolent of the style of Lotto or his school.

Ex gallery of Count Schönborn-Pommersfelden. No. 570. Two ladies attended by a gentleman in the background. — Glasgow, Museum, No. 434. Canvass with full lengths, under life size, of Christ, the woman taken in adultery, and spectators and soldiers. The first of these is, certainly, the second probably, by Cariani. The latter answers the description of one in the collection of Queen Christine (Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi* 8º, Modena 1870, p. 348) there assigned to Giorgione. It is a replica or copy of Cariani's similar picture in the Lochis-Carrara collection at Bergamo. Hampton-court. No. 496. Wood, small. The Virgin sits on the ground with the infant on her knee attended by three angels and St. Joseph in a hilly landscape. In front to the right, two shepherds kneel, whilst a third, standing, plays an instrument. The surface is a little rubbed and stippled over, but the treatment reminds us still of Cariani. Of the same school probably but not excluding the name of Lotto, is No. 116 at Hampton-Court, bust of a man, bareheaded with long hair and beard in a black dress cut out square at the breast and showing the white shirt. This portrait shorn of some colour, and reduced to a brown rawness is called "Giorgione by himself." In the collection of Mr. Holford in London, is a portrait (knee piece, wood, life size) of a woman in particoloured green and yellow dress, seated in an arm chair, holding a drawing in which Lucretia is represented with the dagger — on the red table cloth before the figure is a motto: "*Nec vita impudica Lucretia exemplum vivet.*" This picture once belonged to Sir Thomas Carnegie and

was exhibited in 1854 at the British Institution. It displays the well known smorphia and affectation of Lotto. The counterpart, of feebleness of execution, in the Lichtenstein collection at Vienna, differs in the motto which runs: "Nec ulla impudica &c." It is an old copy. Another phase of Lotto's practise, the Titianesque, seems illustrated in a half length of Francesco Contarini (No. 73. canv. 2 f. 6½ h. by 2 f. 2) in the gallery of Stuttgart. Of the school and perhaps an injured copy from an original Lotto, is a knight with his left hand on a crown pointing to the Virgin appearing in the distant sky (canvas stretched on panel, life size half length) in the collection of Count Tadini at Loreve. In the feeling of the school of Lotto is likewise, an injured half length of a sickly man in front of a grove of trees and distance of hills, playing a guitar (No. 18. canvas, life size) in the Manzoni gallery at Pat, between Belluno and Feltre. Repaints in the black cap, or black silk of the right sleeve, and in the fingers of the left hand and in the trees deprive this picture of some value.

We saw Pellegrino's Madonna with saints at the Louvre presented to us as a Giorgione. We shall see the same confusion arise as to his Judith in the collection of Saltocchio near Lucca, and his Christ at the limbus in the Palazzo Reale at Venice. Many pictures of the Friulan school, had a similar fortune and amongst them many that recall the discipline of Pellegrino, and Pordenone, and such artists as Morto, Calderara, Grassi, Secante, and Bernardino Licinio.

London Royal Academy. A young and comely female stands, all but life size at the edge of a stone well, a white chemise hardly covers her shoulder and arm, a green skirt looped up to the knee leaves the leg and sandaled foot bare. There is something coquette in the way in which water is poured listlessly from an ewer in her hand, into a basin. The extremities are ill drawn and lame; the drapery angular and broken; but the colours are artfully contrasted; and a pretty play of lines is made up out of the blue hills, the streaky horizontal clouds and a warm brown wall on the foreground. Light and shade are equally balanced, but the absence of broken toning and delicate transitions in the flesh as well as a liquid washiness of touch produce an impression of emptiness. The treatment recalls that of Pellegrino, Cariani and their schools.

Vienna Belvedere. First floor Room. 7. No. 31. Portrait of a man, bust, full face of red complexion in a large black hat with his hand on a book relieved on a light landscape, reminiscent of Pellegrino and Morto da Feltre. (Wood. 1 f. 7 h. by 1 f. 3.)

Hampton Court. No. 45. Bust of a man in a black cap enlarged and repainted, but still presenting features like those of the school of Pellegrino.

Milan Ambrosiana. St. Joseph holds the child to whom the Virgin offers some fruit. The young Baptist and the angel and Tobias complete the composition (canvas, figures under life size). This picture catalogued as Giorgione, but also assigned to Romanino (Mündler, in Bueckhardt's Cicerone p. 998) is by a modern who studied many of his predecessors. The St. Joseph is in the fashion of Pordenone, the Madonna has the round fullness or Palma Vecchio. But the painter, probably Calderara, is a coarse imitator.

London. Marquess of Lansdowne. Two women in a landscape listen to a youth crowned with laurel who plays a guitar under a tree. (Wood, figures under life size.) The author of this picture who is not Giorgione had a delicate feeling for tasteful selection of colours; but his style betrays the decline of the schools. His handling and drawing are both loose; his touch is large, his pencil stroke sweeping and substantial; but his forms are poor and his drapery feeble. He is a painter "di Macchia" as the Venetians express it, but the Macchia, is not always in its proper place; in this pleasant and careless art, we may perhaps recognize the hand of the Friulan Grassi.

Cobham Hall. Lord Darnley. Cæsar enthroned receives the head of Pompey. (Wood, 8 f. 9. long by 2 f. 4.) This picture with its suite of figures is of sombre tone, with large divisions of light and shade, and decided contrasts of vestment tints. It is a spirited decorative work with something of Pordenone, and a breath of Florentine feeling that might suggest the hand of Morto da Feltre. But the treatment is very like that of Lord Lansdowne's panel above described; and the painter may again be Grassi. By the same hand but catalogued as Mantegna, is the following:

Ex Northwick Collection. No. 98. (Wood, 4 feet 9. long by 2 f. 4.) A triumph. Cæsar (?) on a car, is preceded by a guard, accompanied by captives and followed by soldiers carrying trophies. It is to be observed that the height of the two fragments now described is the same and they probably formed part of some cassone.

Rome. Palazzo Colonna. Giacomo Sciarra with the baton of command (knee piece, wood life size). The dull tone and modern execution here point to some Friulan of feeble powers such as Sebastian Secante.

We shall class amongst the works of Bernardino Licinio the following:

St. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg Collection. Herodias' daughter receiving the head of the Baptist.

Brescia. Duomo Vecchio. The adoration of the shepherds.

Brescia furnished a large contingent to the army of Giorgionesque imitators, amongst whom we note, not only those craftsmen who, like Romanino, Moretto, and Savoldo, kept clear of the old Mantegnesque and clung to the pure Venetian feeling, but Calisto da Lodi, a later disciple of the Brescian school.

In the Scarpa Collection at La Motta in Friuli (No. 72. life size busts), a pleasing canvas perhaps the same that was in the gallery of the Savelli at Rome in 1650 (Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi* p. 162), contains a lady in rich variegated dress accompanying the song of a cavalier in hat and plume, with the chords of a guitar. The youth of the couple and its gay apparel almost compensate for the loss of bloom and colour which the picture has undergone. The unavoidable conclusion to which we come after a certain amount of observation is that the person who executed the piece was imbued with the principles which distinguish Romanino. But we might also fancy that Savoldo, a painter of growing importance in the history of

Brescian art, and one of the earliest Brescians settled at Venice could have produced such a work, especially if he lived so far back as to allow of his studying Giorgione and the first period of Titian at the fountain head. There are several compositions in English and continental galleries which challenge similar criticism; amongst others these:

Florence. Pitti. No. 147. Canvas, bnst. A nymph pursued by a grimacing satyr. The only traces of the original surface here are to be found in the forehead, breast and shoulder of the nymph or the brow of the Satyr, the rest being more or less daubed over. There is more of the Titianesque in the treatment than at La Motta, but the spirit and handling suggest a follower of Titian and Giorgione.

Alnwick Castle. A group of three, viz. a man bareheaded in a blue vest with peach red sleeves and a brown mantle over his right shoulders, his gloved left hand on his hunch, turns towards a female in a red turban, a low dress and chemisette, whose movement reminds us of the so-called "mistress of Titian" at the Louvre. To the r. is a man in a hat with a white plume. This picture was in the Manfrini collection and then belonged to Mr. Barker. It is dimmed by time and old varnish; but it also displays the character of the schools of Titian and Giorgione; hence the question, whether the painter should not be sought amongst such imitators as we have named, or be found in Rocco Marcone.

St. Petersburg. Leuchtemberg Gallery. No. 70. Virgin and child in front of a rose bush. We shall see cause to assign this Madonna to Moretto, yet see Waagen ("Ermitage" n. s. p. 395.) No. 22. adoration of the kings, will be found amongst the works of Savoldo or his school.

Rome. Gallery of the Capitol. No. 69. (Canvas, life size.) Half length of a lady seated in a dark room through an opening of which (right) a landscape with trees and towers is seen. The monster at her side indicates the intention of the painter to represent a lady as St. Margaret. The dress is cut square at the bosom, and the sleeves are puffed. This is a gloomy injured picture in a high position treated in the fashion of Savoldo, as we judge particularly from the left hand and landscape which are the only parts in some sort of preservation. No. 74. Half length of a monk, is a dusky and poor performance certainly not by Giorgione. No. 82. half length of a man in silk attire holding a crossbow, is a fine but late Venetian likeness. No. 145. Holy Family, not Giorgione.

Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 47. Canvas. Adoration of the shepherds, in the realism and boldness of the figures very like Savoldo; very dashing in treatment, the colour full of vehicle and copiously laid on, the surface not free from injury.

Hampton Court. No. 74. "Gaston de Foix" is a copy of Savoldo's original at the Louvre.

London. Lord Elcho. Small panel originally in Casa Litta at Milan. The Virgin looks over the child whom she has just wakened by raising the fold of her mantle on which he was reposing. In rear to the l. St. Joseph and two figures of saints, and the stable with the ox and ass. To the right a landscape, and on the wall at the Virgin's shoulder the words "GEORGIVS BARBARELLI". The

same composition with a slight variety but of larger size, in the Tosi collection at Brescia bears the name of Calisto da Lodi, and Lord Elcho's little picture is probably by Calisto, being coloured after the fashion of the disciples of Romanino. The signature is clearly modern.

Bergamo, Lochis Carrara Gallery. There are three or four portraits here assigned to Giorgione. No. 187. Bust of a man in a black cap and blue coat, in a stormy grey sky; his hand is on a dagger. The dull red tone of the flesh and the resolute treatment generally point to a pupil of Romanino and individually to Calisto da Lodi. No. 172. in the same collection: a bust of a bearded man in a black cap with a flower in his hand, is the counterpart of a similar portrait (No. 234.) in the Stuttgart Museum assigned to Giovanni Bellini, and is probably by the Cremonese Altobello Melone. The other "Giorgiones" here call for no further remark.

In the "Gattamelata and his squire" at the Uffizi we had evidence of the facility with which the stone-carved cleanness of the Veronese was mistaken for the finish of Giorgione (I. 511.). There is some excuse for substituting Giorgione for Torbido as is done here; that is, for substituting the pupil for the master. There is none for the more frequent confusion which gives a false impress to the works of Bonifazio.

Florence. Pitti. No. 161. The finding of Moses. This small oblong, with its indisputable charm of colour and execution is a recognized Bonifazio.

Milan. Brera. No. 257. Moses presented to the daughter of Pharaoh, once in the archbishop's palace at Milan (Lanzi, Hist. of Painting, II. 135.) is also admitted to be one of Bonifazio's jewels.

Rovigo. Communal Gallery. No. 22. (Canvas, under life size.) The Flagellation, Christ bound to a pillar in a court, is beaten with rods by two executioners before several guards and bystanders. The shields of the former bear the colours of the Contarini family. This picture noticed in Antonio Maria Zanetti's edition of Boschini's *Ricche Miniere*. 8°. Ven. 1733, as in the choir of San Stae at Venice, was bequeathed by one of the Contarini to Dr. Pellegrini and was bought at the sale of his effects by Count Casilini, who left it (1833) to the gallery of Rovigo. (See the catalogue of the Rovigo collection.) There are reminiscences in this picture of del Piombo and Palma Vecchio, and there is more firmness in the drawing and modelling than are usual in Bonifazio, yet it is not unlikely that Bonifazio is the painter. The colours are vivid but a little sombre and raw, and the shadows are very deep. This dusky look may be due in part to the effects of time.

Dresden. Mus. No. 219. Wood, 3 f. 8. h. by 5 f. 3½. Adoration of the shepherds, from the Casa Pisani at Venice where it was assigned to Palma Vecchio. Here again we are reminded of Bonifazio, the figures being full of life and the colour vivid and warm.

Amongst the moderns whose compositions take the name of Giorgione, Andrea Schiavone, Rocco Marcone, and della Vecchia are conspicuous. — Especially interesting in connection with these is the frequent repetition of one subject, a bust of a man in a hat with a flageolet in his hand, of which one example is registered in the catalogue of James the II^d's collection (Bathoe's catalogue of 1758). Though none of the extant replicas can be admitted as genuine Giorgiones, they may have been all derived from an original that has been lost.

Edinburgh. National Gallery. Canvas, life size, bust, three quarters to the left. A large hat with a feather casts a broad shadow over forehead and eyes, on a finger of the hand holding the flageolet is a ring, a fur pelisse covers the shoulder. This is a fine specimen of Della Vecchia, of whom Boschini his contemporary (Ricche Miniere preface) says that his Giorgionesque imitations were surprising.

Naples. Museum. Grand Saloon. No. 15. Canvas; so-called portrait of Antonello Prince of Salerno, replica of the foregoing in the manner of Della Vecchia.

Bowood. Seat of Lord Lansdowne. Copy of the immediately foregoing. On a card behind the canvas: "This picture was given by Charles the III^d (Naples 1734) to his son Don Gabriel before leaving Naples. Purchased in Madrid by M^r. Coesveldt."

Milan. Brera. No. 314. M. 0. 60. h. by 0. 42. Replica of the foregoing under the name of Lomazzo.

Padua. Casa Maldura. Fifth replica of the above.

Modena. In the 17th century, there was a sixth replica in an oval form in the collection of Cesar and Louis d' Este, Princes of Foresto. (Campori: Raccolta di Cataloghi, p. 421).

Hampton Court. No. 252. Young man bareheaded in a white shirt and blue mantle, with a flageolet in his hand. This canvas bust is entirely repainted.

Treviso. Casa Perazzolo. Christ carrying his cross. Canvas, with thirteen full lengths including soldiers, executioners, and St. Veronica with the cloth, one of della Vecchia's loose and unsatisfactory imitations of Giorgione. We may ask is this the original or a copy of an original described by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 136.) in the Muselli Gallery at Verona.

Ex Northwick collection. No. 482. Wood, bust portrait of a man turned to the right, his head to the left at three quarters in a red cap, and brownish dress. By della Vecchia.

Rome. Palazzo Borghese. Room X. No. 13. Wood, life size. Saul bearded and bareheaded, in armour with the sword and head of Goliath on a stone parapet before him; behind him David in the dress of a 16th century page and in hat and feather. The unattractive appearance of this panel may be due to its bad state of preservation (the colour seems burnt and retouched). The flesh is brown and opaque in shadow. In the best preserved parts (armour, head of Goliath, and hands of Saul) one sees the hand of a painter like Pietro della Vecchia. Repetitions equally poor if not poorer are the following:

Stuttgart. Museum. No. 29. Wood, 3 f. 1. h. by 2 f. 6.

Vienna. Belvedere. First Floor. Room XII. No. 56. Wood, 5 f. 4 h. by 3 f. 5. But here the picture is catalogued as Della Vecchia.

One of these three may be that described by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 130) in possession of "Signori Leoni di S. Lorenzo". But there is another version of the story at Madrid, ex gr.:

Madrid. Museum. No. 780. Canvas, 3 f. 5. h. by 3 f. 9. David leaning over, holds the head of Goliath and his sword on a stone parapet. He is watched with admiration from behind by Saul in armour. This is not a genuine Giorgione, but of the decline of the Venetian School. The composition and design are almost identical with a woodcut of a picture once in the collection of Andrea Vendramin. (De Picturis in Museis u. s.) but in the woodcut there is one figure more and this points to a canvas described by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 130) but now missing.

Vienna. Belvedere. First Floor. Room II. No. 20. Wood, 2 f. h. by 2 f. 3½. Bust of David with the head of Goliath. This is a late copy, perhaps after an original noted by Vasari (VII. 82).

Glasgow. Gallery. No. 401. Wood, three quarters of life size. Virgin and child enthroned with three angels, playing viols at her feet. At her sides, St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, St. Sebastian, and another saint, from the Solty Collection. The vulgar shape and defective drawing, the raw colour and cold grey shadows of this devotional "Giorgione" suggest the name of some Venetian painter of the 16th century whose bold and neglectful ease is akin to that of Rocco Marcone. The distant landscape is not without Titianesque character and almost reminds us of that by Domenico Mancini in the cathedral of Lendinara, of which a word later. (Compare Kugler's Handbook and Waagen, Treasures III. 289 and Supplement 460 who unaccountably accept the authorship of Giorgione).

Glasgow. J. Graham Gilbert Esq. York Hill. Small panel in which two men are represented in a landscape playing violoncellos on the sward. This spirited sketch displays the technical freedom and rapidity of Rocco Marcone or Andrea Schiavone.

Vienna. Belvedere. First Floor. Room VII. No. 41. Wood, 1 f. 10. h. by 1 f. 6. — The Resurrection — graceful and richly tinted in Andrea Schiavone's Titianesque and Giorgionesque style.

London. Holford Gallery. Canv. busts under life size. A woman at a table with a purse in her grasp and the fingers of her left hand on a lion's head, turns round to look at a soldier in armour. Through an opening to the r. the sky is seen. The movements are instantaneous and resolute, the colours substantial and well moistened with vehicle. We are reminded of Campagnola and Andrea Schiavone.

Sir Humphrey de Trafford. Bart. No. 207, at Manchester. — The woman of Samaria with the Saviour at the well, to the left St. Peter and another saint; distance landscape. The treatment is that of a man following Palma Vecchio and Bonifazio, recalling Rocco Marcone and A. Schiavone. The colours are warm but copious and rapidly touched on.

Venice. Seminario. Wood, small figures. Daphne flying from Apollo is turned into a laurel. — The leaves are seen growing from her fingers as Apollo, with an arrow in one hand, grasps at her with the other. The scene is a landscape in the distance of which Daphne

receives the arrows of Cupid, and near the foreground to the left Cupid plies his bow. It is a pity that this little piece should be so damaged by repainting that much of the form is lost. The painter is probably Andrea Schiavone.

Padua. Casa Giustiniani Cavalli. A series of panels representing the Muses, assigned to Giorgione here are not by Giorgione. They belonged to the Barbarigo Palace at Venice and are probably those mentioned by Waagen, as works of Giorgione in the *Kunstblatt* (anno 1846, No. 2). [Compare also Kugler's *Handbook*, p. 434.]

London. Mrs. Butler Johnstone, ex Munro collection. Holy Family. Virgin, child, St. Joseph and the young Baptist. Wood, apparently by Schiavone. The Virgin and child with St. Joseph in a landscape, canvas, 1 f. 6. by 2 f. 6. in this collection is neither by Titian, whose name it bears, nor by Giorgione to whom Waagen (*Treasures* II. 133) assigns it, but by a more modern hand, perhaps Francesco Becaruzzi or Lodovico Fiumicelli.

Other pictures attributed to Giorgione may be grouped as follows:

Milan. Brera. No. 244. Wood, M. 1. 82. h. by 0. 92. St. Sebastian, life size, originally in ch. of the Santissima Annunziata at Cremona (Ridolfi, *Mar.* I. 135.) by one of the Dossi.

Florence. Pitti. No. 380. Wood braccia, 1. 4. 8. h. by 0. 19. 0. Half length of St. John the Baptist, and in a distant landscape the Baptism of Christ. Much injured and in the spirit of the Dossi.

Rome. Galleria Corsini. Room IX. No. 30. Canvass round, of a man and woman (busts) with nimbuses. Much injured and daubed over, without any decided character, but not Giorgione.

Castle Howard. Two female heads one of which is in part mutilated, a fragment ascribed by Waagen, *Treasures* III. 325. to Giorgione. This is so injured as to preclude an opinion. It is not unlike a Giovanni Bellini of the last manner (1515).

Vienna. Belvedere. First Floor. Room 7. No. 11. A man tuning an instrument, Giorgionesque after the fashion of Domenico Mancini. — Ground Floor Room 1. No. 16. Canvas bust 2 f. 4 h. by 2. A soldier in armour, seen to the waist, a laurel crown on his head, a partisan at his shoulders. His back is to the spectator, and he turns his head so as to show its profile. This production of a feeble artist of the rise of the 17th century has been supposed to represent Gonzalvo of Cordova. It has no claim to be accepted as a Giorgione, though apparently so called of old in the Bonduri collection at Verona — (see Del Pozzo, *Pitt. Veron.* u. s. 289 and annot. *Vas.* VII. 85.) — First Floor, Room 1. No. 51. Canv. 2 f. 1. h. by 2 f. 11. The Magdalen at Christ's feet in the house of the Pharisee. This small composition is too poor even for Polidoro Lanzani.

Dresden. Museum. No. 220. Wood, 1 f. 10. h. by 2. 5. A man in a wide toque presses to his breast a young woman; through an opening a landscape is seen. This dry hard specimen of Brescian art has no right to the name of Giorgione. We shall find its counterpart in the Scarpa Collection at La Motta signed by Mancini, and one of these seems to have been in the Canonici Collection at Modena in 1632 (see Cimpori. *Raccolta di Cataloghi* p. 115.)

Hanover. Haussmann Gallery. No. 1. "the declaration." Half length of a man in profile, "putting the question" to a sentimental young lady in a green dress, who holds a guitar. On the shore of a distant sea, on which vessels are floating, Cupid shoots his arrows. This is a pleasant composition, very carefully wrought but without power in the rendering of form, and without vividness of colour. The surface is smooth, enamelled, and of thick oily impast. We shall see work of this kind on the front of a house at Feltre; and the painter is perhaps Domenico Capriolo of Treviso, whose style approximates in some measure to that which distinguishes the "Horoscope" in the Manfrini Palace.

Frankfort. Stadel Muscum. No. 21. Arched panel representing St. Maurice in armour. This is a German or Flemish panel of which the replica at the Belvedere in Vienna, Second Floor, Room II. No. 62. is called St. William by John Hemessen. Another replica used to be in the Hampton Court Gallery under the name of Giorgione and seems painted by a Ferrarese.

Brunswick Gallery. No. 226. Canvas, 3 f. 5 h. by 4 f. 4. A concert, the same composition minus two figures which hangs as a Titian (No. 3.) in the National Gallery, but less cleverly executed. Neither canvas is genuine. That of Brunswick is by a late Venetian.

London. National Gallery. No. 41. Canv. 3 f. 4½ h. by 4 f. 9½. Death of Peter Martyr, from the collection of Queen Christine. This is a Titianesque composition adapted by a Venetian or Ferrarese artist of a modern time. We note the sombre colours, harsh vestment tints and neglected touch as quite out of character for Giorgione.

London. Bath House. Canvas, life size busts. Herodias' daughter followed by an aged man, carries the head of the Baptist on a plate. This composition has been assigned to Titian and to Giorgione without being the work of either. It is a picture of Pordenone's school, and might be assigned to Bernardino Licinio or Beccaruzzi of Conegliano. The figures are of a pleasant middle stature, but the colours are dulled in parts by restoring. Two half lengths in one frame, a canvas in the same collection, suggests the name of Varotari. They are the counterparts of similar ones in the Ajata Collection at Crespano, catalogued as by Frangipani.

Dulwich. Gallery. No. 128. Wood, life size, a musical party. The surface is dimmed by repaints; but judging of the author from the movement and shape of the figures, we might class him in the schools of Lotto or Savoldo.

London. Holford Gallery. Herodias' daughter carrying the head of the Baptist; wood, busts, behind her a female, in front an armed guard. This reminds us of the same subject at Bath House, but is very feeble.

London. Lady Malmesbury. Small Canvas. Paris sits on the sword with his dog and flock. To the right the three goddesses, and Mercury in the air. This is a Bolognese picture in the style of Mola and not to be confounded with the Judgment of Paris described as Giorgione's by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 130) of which there is a cut in the catalogue of Andrea Vendramin. (De Picturis in Muscis &c. u. s.)

London. Mr. Barker. The three ages. This composition of which the original by Titian is in the Ellesmere collection, has been often copied. There is a version of it in the Doria Palace, another by

Sassoferrato in the Borghese Palace at Rome. Mr. Barker's copy is at the best by Polidoro Lanzaui or Lodovico Finnicelli. That Giorgione once painted the subject, is stated by Sansovino who describes it in the Renier collection at Venice (Ven. desc. p. 377) but his description tallies with that of the Titian of Lord Ellesmere. Ridolfi (Mar. I. 127. 8.) registers the same subject in another form by Giorgione in the hand of "Signor Cassinelli of Genoa".

*London. Miss Rogers.** A knight and a female, No. 294. at Manchester, is of the Bolognese school.

London. Mr. Bennett. Virgin and child with St. Anthony and St. Catherine in a landscape, see postea Domenico Mancini.

Hampton Court. No. 1086. A small panel with a naked female on the foreground to the left and a hunt in the distance. This is not by Giorgione but from such parts as remain unrestored, by a follower of Paris Bordone. — No. 773. Canvas, a gentleman in armour and a lady with an instrument. This is a modern imitation after the fashion of Honthorst.

Ex Northwick Collection. No. 898. Cupid takes the hand of a young girl to wound it with his arrow. Distance landscape. This small canvas, with figures under half life size is a graceful bit in the style of Varotari. — No. 82. Two men in armour one in front bareheaded, one in rear with a helmet is of the Bolognese school of the 17th century.

Oxford. Christchurch Hall. Small panel with a representation of Pan, a satyr playing the pipes, and two other figures too much injured to admit of an opinion.

Hamilton Palace near Glasgow. Small panel, with Atalanta on the lap of Hippomenes who holds one of the apples. Cupid runs by with his dart and in the distance is the race. Another episode to the r. further characterizes the subject. This is a sketchy, empty, rosy coloured composition which recalls Lattanzio Gambara, Beccaruzzi and others of their class.

Edinburgh. National Gallery. No. 165. A young man, with a girl leaning on his shoulder. Half lengths in the manner of Della Vecchia.

The following portraits are all ascribed to Giorgione without being genuine.

Venice. Manfrini Palace. No. 50. Canvas, 0.59. h. by 0.79. Bust of a man bareheaded in a black pelisse with a fur collar. A large piece added to the lower right hand corner of this portrait and the rest much repainted make it difficult to judge of this work which looks as if it might once have been an original Giorgione. — Venice. Academy. No. 472. Canvas portrait of a man (bust) unworthy of the name of Giorgione and unworthy of a place in the gallery. — Crespano. Ajata collection. Half length of a bearded man, three quarters to the right, much injured and doubtful. Forl Gallery. Portrait of "the Duke of Valentino". — See Rondinelli (l. 593.) Modena. Gallery. No. 123. A young woman, in white with one hand on her bosom, (not seen). This canvas, m. 0.84. h. by 0.61, was taken away with him in 1859 by the Duke. Florence. Uffizi. No. 356. Portrait of

Giorgione by himself. A poor bust in the style of Becaruzzi. Pitti No. 222. Portrait of a lady (bust) Bissolo (I. 288.) Rome. Palazzo Doria. Sala Grande. No. 27. Canvas bust in a black cap. This a careful, pleasing portrait, much damaged by rubbing down and retouching, the green ground best preserved, a picture of conscientious finish but without the high qualities of Giorgione. Palazzo Corsini. Room 9. No. 61. Canvas half length under life size of a man in a dark dress and cap with a glove in his right hand. A green curtain hangs to the left. The surface is abraded but the treatment still betrays a follower of del Piombo. Dresden. Museum. Bust of a man, in white shirt and black silk vest, with a glove in his gloved hand. — Canvas, green ground. This likeness which is not free from new stippling is Palmesque and maybe by Paris Bordone. Berlin. Mus. No. 156. Bust of a Venetian in black dress and cap. In the upper right hand corner of the canvas (2 f. $9\frac{3}{4}$ h. by 2 f. $10\frac{1}{4}$), is a bas-relief in the antique fashion — injured, and by a follower of the manner of Titian and Pordenone, perhaps Zelotti. London, Mr. Barker. Portrait of a female in a yellow turban, with red and yellow sleeves, holding the handle of a guitar. In the landscape background a man, on horseback is accompanied by a page. (Wood, half length.) The washy clear tone and fat impast betray the hand of a follower of Palma Vecchio or Cariani. Hampton Court No. 905. Canvas full length, standing near a column, with a nimbus round his head, and a palm-leaf in his hand. On the column: "GIORGIO BARBARELLI A. D MDIII F. S. XX". The signature is false, the canvas, restored yet dirty, and the hand is that of a follower of the school of Titian. No. 128. Canvas bust of "Giorgione by himself". A handsome front face, bearded, and with long hair. The dress of black stuff, is cut out square in front. There are many repaints, which conceal the original handling, and make an opinion hazardous. Longford Castle seat of Lord Folkestone No. 145. Canvas, life size, knee piece of a female in gala dress with puff sleeves and a looking glass in her right hand. She stands in an interior, a genuine Paris Pordone, with an illegible date (which Waagen (who correctly names the painter) read as "MDXXXX"). Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. Bust of "Alexander Oliverius." (See postea in Santa Croce.) No. 124. Bust of a man in a large hat, ill drawn and carelessly painted in the style of the schools of Pellegrino and Morto da Feltre.

CHAPTER IV.

PAINTERS OF FRIULI.¹

Friuli, long under the sway of the patriarchs of Aquileia, fell into the power of Venice in 1420, and was subsequently governed by lieutenants of that republic. Its beautiful vallies were repeatedly fought for by the Imperialists, frequently invaded by Hungarians and Turks. Its people — hardy, warlike and deeply religious — led a turbulent life amidst the struggles of bishops, feudal barons and foreign invaders. — For years Friuli oscillated between German and Italian feeling in the expansion of its art; and it was not till the close of the 15th century that the models of Venice were finally accepted.² At the time of the Vivarini and Bellini, the contest was still un-

¹ We shall have occasion to quote important records, extracted from the notarial archives of Udine — a repository rich in documents of all kinds. We are indebted for these records in every instance to Dr. Vincenzo Joppi of Udine well known as the author of several valuable contributions to Italian historical literature.

² The following is a list of semi-Giottesque and transalpine pictures chiefly in Cadore.

Vigo di Pieve, ch. of Sant' Orsola — frescos — scenes from the life of the patron saints, and from that of the Virgin, a crucifixion above the altar; outside, a St. Christopher, early Giottesque. San Vito by Chiapuzza in Cadore, ch. of San Florian, Triptych — Virgin, ch. Sts. Florian, John the Baptist; Sts. Cath. and Mary Magdalen; on the closed shutters; Sts.

John Evang. and another; figures one quarter of life size, rude, of the close of the 15th century. Pieve di Cadore. Duomo, sacristy and Fabriceria various panels. 1°. Sts. Andrew and Lawrence, covers of a carved shrine, tempera with fleshless figures of the same period as the above, but German in style. 2°. Sts. Michael and Catherine, with the circumcision on the obverse. 3°. Two bishops, with the nativity on the obverse, deformed figures after the fashion of Jerom Bosch; 4°. St. Bartholomew and another with the annunciation at the back. 5°. Sts. Francis and John Evangelist, and the adoration of the magi, all temperas with figures one quarter of life size, once forming the cover of the high altar. — There are records of a painter at Pieve di Cadore — Zaccaria — who produced an altarpiece for the high church in 1430. — Cenni sul pittore Cadorini by Dottore Zecchinelli. Ms. notes to *Elogio di Oswaldo Varettoni*, edited by the abbate Cadorin. 8°. Venice 1828, p. 42, and Ticozzi. *Storia dei letterati &c.*... del dipartimento della Piave, 4°. Belluno 1813, p. 33.

decided; and many of the hill masters clung to old customs and timeworn systems of handling. When the change took place, it was sudden and surprising. With almost supernatural rapidity, men who sauntered in the worn paths of the guilds were found starting into new ones; without any of the training of the parent-school, or any of the tentativeness which marks Venetian efforts, they adapted themselves to modern fashions; and where artists of genius like Pellegrino and Pordenone arose, they created originals scenting at once of the rude force inherent in the primitive mountaineer and of the ease of the more civilized lowlander.

In the period of semi-barbarism, tradition found its safest haunt in Belluno where, between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Simone da Cusighe, and the family of Cesa practised with little more talents than Margaritone or Neri di Bicci in a previous age.¹ At the opening of the

¹ The following are notices of Simone and the Cesas.

Simone da Cusighe is not unknown as Simone dal Perou, both Cusighe and Perou being names of villages near Belluno. He finished on the 20th of June 1397 the altarpiece of the high altar in the Duomo of Belluno, for which he received 440 lire. He was present *ex officio* at the opening of the great relic shrine in the Duomo on the 17th of June 1400. He died before 1416, being mentioned as "quondam" in a record of that year. (Records of Belluno favoured by Signor D. Francesco Pellegrini professor in the Liceo of that city. See also Miari. *Dizionario u. s. p.* 61, and Ticozzi *u. s.* 2, 3.) Belluno, Baptistery, previously in San Martino; altarpiece in 13 compartments. Lower course, four scenes from the life of the Baptist, entirely painted or repainted in the 17th century. Above; centre, S. Martin sharing his cloak and at the sides, a double course of eight panels with episodes from St. Martin's legend. Belluno, Casa Pagani, Virgin of Mercy betw. a double course of eight panels representing incidents of the life of St. Bartholomew, inscr.: „an. MCCCXXXIII Indic III die XX. augusti actu, fuit h. op. onesto viro Dno p. Xhor. capln S. Nathi. Simon fecit". This piece was originally in the church of Salce. Same coll. St. Anthony abbot enthroned, betw. Ss. Joasas, Gotardo, Bartholomew and Anthony, lisc.: „Simon Pinxit." Sala (ch. of) frescos inside, fragments of saints

and apostles; façade — St. Martin sharing his cloak. — Orzes originally in parish ch. of San Michelo now in Chiesa della Madonna. Virgin and ch. betw. Ss. Roch and Sebastian. Wood half life size much repainted. All these are rude temperas and examples of the most childish art.

Matteo Cesa. — The following is a list of his works: Belluno, Conte Agosti, Virgin and ch. betw. St. Peter and Paul, inscr.: „Matheus pinxit et intacavit" originally in San Pietro in Campo near Belluno. Belluno Casa Pagani, fragment of a panel with a kneeling patron, inscr.: „opus Matei." — Calcepo — ch. of San Nicolò. Sacristy, Virg. and ch. and four scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, i. e. the birth, with half the gesso gone; the saint throwing the gold pieces, the rest obliterated — inscr.: „Mateus pinxit". Round the Virgin are the symbols of the Evangelists. — Her figure and that of Christ are life size but the head of the latter and the blue mantle are gone. (Cet. near Castions. Ch. of Santa Lucia. Virgin and ch. betw. St. Sebastian and St. Lucy, the latter modern. Wood half life size, inscr.: „opus matei (sic)". Castions Ch. of S. Giacomo (near). Virgin and ch. betw. St. James and another saint (repainted), inscr.: „Opus Matei", figures like the foregoing. Sala, San Matteo. Virgin and child betw. St. Mathew and St. Jerom, the latter carrying a model church in which St. Christopher is depicted. With the exception of this last which shows a slight advance, the pictures of Matteo are unworthy of exami-

16th, Antonio da Tisoio almost rivalled Jacopo da Valentia in a cento of imitation from Vivarini, Bellini and Cima.¹ Cadore, which soon became famous as the birthplace of Titian produced (1472—1507) Antonio Rosso who bequeathed to his son Giovanni da Mel an art not less antiquated than his own.²

nation, they are mere deformities. We may suppose that the altarpiece of Sala and those which here follow are done in Matteo's shop with the help of Antonio Cesa — Serquano — near Sala. — Virgin and ch. with nine scenes from the life of the Madonna round the principal panel, the central Virgin, life size. The small panels are cut down and altered from their original shape; the figures are wooden as if painted by a wood carver. — Much below this in value are the following: Sagragna, fragments of frescos. Virgin ch. and St. Anthony the abbot. San Vigilio, frescos, crucifixion, Virg. and ch., last supper. — Berlin, Mus. not exhibited No. 129. Virgin and ch. betw. (Sts. Apollonia, Andrew, Catherine and Francis, figures quarter life, wood, inscribed: "Opus Mathei". Same gall. Nr. 125. Virgin and ch., two angels and the symbols of the four Evangelists, gold ground. — There is a large altarpiece of carved wood with statues of the Virgin and Saints and angels tinted to imitate nature, in San Stefano of Belluno. On the base is the scutcheon of the Cesa, and it is a tradition that this altarpiece was made by one of the Cesa on the occasion of an intermarriage between that family and that of the Pagani. Whether by Matteo or Antonio this a work comparatively of some merit, showing more power than the pictures of either Matteo or Antonio. Ticozzi (u. s. 36.) quotes a work of Matteo dated 1446 which the authors have not found.

Of Antonio we know but one production. Visome, near Belluno, ch. of Sant' Andrea. Virgin, ch. and Sts. Daniel, Anthony, Andrew and another, life size, inscribed: "Opus Antouli de Cesa MCCCCC". The style is little better than that of Matteo, the figures being rigid, ugly and ill shaped, the child a stuffed skin.

¹ Is Antonio da Tisoio identical with Antonio de Cesa? If so he changed his style. Of Tisoio we have the following:

"Orzes (ch. of) mutilated altarpiece of which five pieces and two imperfect fragments remain. Upp. course. Virgin and ch. betw. Sts. John Bapt. and Andrew; lower course Sts. Sebastian and Michael (all but gone), inscr.: "Antonij f. Tisoio pinxit 1512". The whole piece scaled and spotted. This is better work than that of Cesa, done in the mixed tempera manner, with a scent of the Venetian schools in the figures, defective however in the forms

and extremities and wanting light and shade; careful in treatment withal. Belluno, Casa Pagani, Virgin and ch. small panel, half length, inscr.: "Antonio da Tisoio" injured and reminiscent of Jacopo da Valentia: the forms being regular and slender but feeble. Belluno, Conte Agosti. Three fragments, each containing an angel, one of which is ruined, another restored, the third in fair condition. In the same style, at Belluno, a Virgin and child and figures and ornaments on the front of Casa Carlo Miari, Piazza del mercato.

² The following relates to Antonio Rosso, Giovanni da Mel and their predecessor Vetulini.

Antonio Rosso bought a house at Mel between Belluno and Feltre in 1494 (Ticozzi p. 39.) a d sold property at Cadore in 1507. (Cadurin, Elogio di Oswaldo &c. p. 39.) There are records of pictures by him in 1445 (? 1484.) at Trichiana, frescos of choir with figures of the apostles (ib. ib.) in 1483 at Pieve di Cadore, fresco in Santa Maria di Pieve (ib. ib. p. 40.) and at Belluno, Virgin, ch. and angels (Memorie parziali &c delle chiese nel Cadore. Anonymous Ms.). The fresco in Santa Maria di Pieve was inscribed: "1484. Bartholomeus Rubens . . . hanc imagg. . . jussit f. = opus Antonii Rubei", it represented St. Christopher. All these pieces are missing or obliterated. Rosso's extant works may be registered as follows: Selva in Cadore, ch. of San Lorenzo, Virgin, ch., Sts. Lawrence, Sebastian, Roch and a female saint, lunette, the annunciation; inscr.: "Antouius Rubens de Cadubrio pinxit". This altarpiece was done as we are informed, according to private records preserved in Cadore, for the Torre family in 1472. Wood, tempera, changed in shape, at a late period: figures life size, long, lean, and dry, of a raw reddish tone with little or no shadow, the draperies angular and rectilinear — part scaled — Venice. Late Signora Landonelli, St. Elizabeth, betw. Sts. Anthony the abbot and John Bapt. in a landscape inscribed: "Nicholo da Casta da Venas e dona Orsola dantiato a fato far sta opera 1494. fever. Antou: roso de Cadore depense". The panel, a small tempera was formerly in San Marco of Venas in Cadore and afterwards in possession of the abbate G. Cadurin. The leanness of the figures is awful, the art like that of Dario of Treviso. Venice. Signor G. B. Cadurin, originally in the church of Libau, near Belluno. Virgin,

Other towns of equal note with Cadore and Belluno had their scores of humble craftsmen. At Serravalle, amidst much that was childish and repulsive there are traces of influence wielded by followers of various schools. One artist who called himself Antonello exhibits the very rudest powers of delineation. Another whose name has not been handed down combined the dryness of the Vicentines and the hardness of Basaiti with Lombard feeling in the moulding of his faces. Yet another imitated the later Friulans.¹ At San Daniele and Cividale, nearer

ch., Sts. Francis, John Bapt., Anthony abb., and Mary Magdalen; inscr.: "Questa opera a fato far Ser Liban q mo gregno da Liba abitato al fol de Mel p sua devotione 1494. Auto roso de Cadore de-pese". Wood, 3 f. 11 long, by 2 f. 4. Same style as the foregoing. Fonzaso near Feltrè, Signora V. Pantì. Virgin, ch. and Sts. Sebastian and a bishop, ins. "Ante de Rubeis Cadub. p." Wood, half life size — feeble as above. San Silvestro sulla Costa (ch. of) near Serravalle. Semi-dome — Christ and the 12 apostles fresco, as above, inscribed with a long inscription closing with the words: "1502 de lujo Anto roso de Cadore." — much injured. (See Crico Lettere u. s. p. 281.) Vigo di Cadore (ch. of) Altarpieces; St. Martin sharing his cloak, betw. Sts. Candidus and Maurice. This is a series of panels in Rosso's style or in that of the disciples of Simon da Cusighe. The date of the execution of this altarpiece is 1492. (Mem. Parz. Ms.) Lauzi (Hist. of Painting II. 157.) countenances, we think erroneously, the belief that Rosso was the instructor of Titian. He and other authorities also assign to Rosso a Virgin and child betw. Sts. Bartholomew and Sylvester, inscribed "Antonius Zaudanus", (Antonio of Zoldo in Cadore) which was in the ch. of Nabis. The picture is no longer at Nabis, but belongs to Signor Bighetti in Venice.

Giovanni da Mel may be noticed as follows: The earliest of his pictures is dated 1521; he was still living at Belluno in 1548. (Cadarin ed. of Elogio di Oswald u. s. p. 41.) Mel. Duomo altar of S. M. Magd. Virgin and ch. betw. Sts. Roch and Sebastian, scaled, repainted panel with figures under life size, inscr.: "Joannes Rubeus Mello oriundus p. MDXXXI". The figures are lean and paltry, the colours dull and flat. Sance ch. Sacristy, Virgin and ch. betw. a bishop and St. Victor, panel, inscr.: "MDXXXV Joannes da Mel. o. p." Figures half life size. Trichiana by Belluno, (ch. of) Virgin, ch., Sts. Sebastian, Roch, Bernardino and a bishop. Canvass with the date: "MDXIII." as above, and much re-

painted. Selva di Cadore, ch. of San Lorenzo. We assign to Giovanni here the frescos of the choir i. e. the Saviour, the ceiling with the Evangelists and Doctors of the church in the groinings, and Virgin and child, and numerous saints in the lunettes. In one of the latter where St. Ippolitus and St. Giustiniano bury a corpse we read the date 1544. Lentiai, San Pellegrino. Here too are fragments of frescos in the foregoing manner of which Ticozzi (u. s. 38) tells us they were inscribed: "Opus Joannis de Mello". —

Bernardino Vitulini is known by a record quoted in Ticozzi (u. s. p. 5.) to have painted frescos in the church of Ampezzo of Cadore in 1356. He was a painter of Serravalle living at Belluno.

¹ The following are notes of painters and paintings, at Serravalle.

The district of Serravalle is full of low class paintings. One artist is called Antonello, whose fresco of the Virgin and child betw. St. Sebastian and another saint, with an Eternal and kneeling patron covers a wall in Sant' Andrea outside the walls. This fresco which has been ascribed to Antonello da Messina bears the following inscription: „hoc opus

fec fieri ano dni M. IIIHXXXV die qo. mensis novembr Antonellus, pinxit." It is needless to say that this infantine and repulsive work is not by Antonello da Messina, nor can it well be by Antonello da Napoli, who, according to a record in the archives of Udine was partner to the painter Marco di Venezia at Udine in 1430—31 — both of them, painters of whom no works have been preserved, though the latter once decorated the ceilings of the Duomo of Udine. — In the same church near Serravalle, in which Antonello laboured, are other frescos of a similar feeble kind; the Virgin, ch., Sts. Roch, John the Bapt., Bartholomew and another. Equally feeble. Sts. Catherine, Margaret, the Virgin,

the Adriatic, at Aquileia, Sesto and Concordia, the guilds were recruited from the lowest class of limners.¹ At

ch., and angels about an altar supporting a statue of St. Catherine inscribed: "constitut MXIV &c.", and in a little better style close by, Sts. Job, Anthony the abbot and Roch. — These last however are slender and dry figures, lightly and flatly tinted, as we shall find them in other churches. In a lateral chapel, are rude fragments of still older frescos of the rise of the 15th century. But to revert to Antonello, we may assign to him a Virgin and ch. a fresco in the portico of the Casa Tedesco at Serravalle. Resembling the St. Job, St. Anthony and Roch in Sant' Andrea is an altarpiece in the same ch. greatly injured representing the coronation of the Virgin, with the annunciation at the sides and below, a Virgin and ch. betw. Sts. Peter and Andrew; and similar to this, — In San Lorenzo a Virgin of Mercy half obliterated. St. Lawrence and another, small figures of very middling execution. — We may note in conclusion two pictures of interest as being by a more modern hand than those hitherto noticed. Serravalle, San Lorenzo, St. Jerom betw. Sts. Agatha and Lucy; in a lunette. The Virgin and child, half length between two angels playing instruments, wood. The angels are the best part of this work and recall similar creations in the Lombard school; the outlines are careful but monotonous; in the other figures the drawing is incorrect and the shape, especially of the extremities, coarse; the forms are lean and dry and somewhat rigid; there is some affectation too in the poses; the draperies are crushed into numerous and angular folds, the colours are feeble and unrelieved by shadow. San Silvestro alla Costa near Serravalle, St. Sylvester betw. two cardinals, on an altar, and in front of the latter, are two bishops and two cardinals, much injured picture with figures about half life size. The treatment of this altarpiece is superior to that we have just described; the figures are small and slender, reminiscent of the art of Timoteo Viti or Speranza of Vicenza, the colour clear and light, the heads fairly studied and Luinesque in mask; the execution is cold and careful. Both these pictures are apparently by the same hand, of the close of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century; they suggest the name of Basaiti. They may be by some one else; there is a Baptism of Christ by one Francesco da Milano in San Giovanni di Serravalle; in style like the work of a pupil of Pordenone. This Francesco might perhaps have produced pictures like those of San Lorenzo and San Silvestro before taking lessons of Pordenone. A much injured Virgin and child, Sts. Sebastian, Gregory, Roch and John Baptist in the church of Valle di Cadore is striking for some points of resemblance with the foregoing. There

is something Leonardesque in the Madonna, something that recalls Cesare da Sesto, whereas the heads of the saints are on the models of Pellegrino and Pordenone.

¹ Here are notices of early artists and their works at San Daniele, Cividale and elsewhere.

We shall see that there are pictures by artists of Cividale at San Daniele; records prove the existence of local artists at San Daniele itself, such as Giovanni di Simone Francione mentioned in a notarial act of 1449. Most of the earliest pictures of the 15th century here are however nameless. In the church of Sant Antonio Abate which was decorated in the 15th century by Pellegrino, we have remnants of old work on the wall to the left of the portal, the subjects being the nativity, the flight into Egypt, part of an Epiphany and a female saint with a cross, beneath which the all but illegible inscription: "Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinto? die nono" The style of these paintings is trivial and childishly antiquated; they are also much injured; not unlike those in an adoration of the magi in a half circle on a house opposite the last named church. Of a later date, in the front of the "Casa della Fabbriceria" are fragments of frescos representing Susanna and the elders, gambols of children and ornaments, and a Virgin and child with saints. Here the art is more modern indicating the transition from that of the 15th century, to that of Pellegrino.

At Cividale we have the same rudeness. In the records of the notarial archives at Udine we find the following names of painters: 1346, Pietro di Manfredi hires himself for a year as assistant, to the painter Jaciano of Cividale. 1416, Maestro Giacomo pittore of Cividale paints lances &c. for the coming of king Sigismund of Hungary to Udine. — 1489, Maestro Leonardo of Cividale, paints an altarpiece for the ch. della Vergine at San Daniele. Of this last artist only is an extant picture in the Monte di Pietà at San Daniele. — with half lengths in niches of St. Michael weighing souls betw. Sts. Elias, Daniel, Louis and Anthony inscr.: "1488, hoc opus Magist. Leonardus . . . fecit." — The upper course of this series is a row of tinted statues, the whole production of the rudest character. — Of an older date but equally bad are paintings in the Duomo of Cividale — the creation, expulsion and a colossal Virgin and child. These may be of the 11th century whilst in the choir and above the high altar, the Christ in benediction with attendant saints, the annunciation and crucifixion, are of the 15th century and seem in part the work

Udine alone Venetian principles were adopted with bold and manly resolution.¹

It was natural that a land of forests such as Friuli then was should produce carvers in wood. The Netherlands, for other reasons produced sculptors of stone. In both countries cause and effect were identical. The Belgians modelled reliefs and enlivened them with colours, sub-

of an artist who painted a panel of the adoration of the magi with saints in this church with the words: "MCCCCII. hoc

opus fecit fieri religiosa Joha monialis huius monasterii" (wood, small figures.) — In addition to these we register the following in other parts of this country. Aquileia, Duomo, fragments of fresco, a bishop baptizing; the Saviour enthroned amidst saints and angels — of the 14th century. — Sesto, ch. of Vestibule, frescos, of the 14th and 15th centuries. A Virgin, ch. and Sts. James, John Bapt. and Christopher and remains of an inferno, coronation of the Virgin, Umbrian in air, of the second half of the 15th; the Virgin, ch., Sts. John, Peter and a kneeling donor; St. Michael, and of older style St. Macarius showing the three coffins as in the Campo Santo of Pisa, and the incredulity of St. Thomas (fragments). Concordia Baptistery. Paintings of the 8th and 9th centuries, except four bishops between the windows and a bishop and Baptist in the apse which are of the close of the 15th. Verza near San Vito on the Tagliamento (ch. of). Here are fragments of wall paintings in the apse: i.e. semidome; coronation of the Virgin; and below, remains of the four evangelists, in pattern framings, bleached distemper of about 1450. In Vol. II. of the Hist. of Ital. Painting p. 260 some frescos were noticed at Gemona and Venzone, as works of a painter called Nicolas. Of this painter we have authentic records in the archives of Udine ex gr.: 1334. Aug. 17. Pro Gabriele apprentices his son Biasutto to M^o. Niccolò pittore figlio di Marcuccio di Gemona — 1337. Record of Niccolò's existence — 1349. notice of his son Francesco. 1365. Will of Dona Maria daughter of Niccolò pittore di Gemona deceased in 1361. 1406. The widow of Maestro Niccolò of Gemona is still living. We have also notices of other artists: 1391. Maestro Andrea carver and painter of Gemona agrees to make an altarpiece for the ch. of Santa M. della Pieve of Gemona (still exists) — 1482. M^o. Leonardo Tedesco, paints a Virgin and ch. at Gemona. — Of works we have the following: Venzone. San Giacomo (fuor di) apsis fresco. Christ and the apostles, Giottesque, of the rise of the 15th century and very rude. — Santa Lucia (fuor di) same style. The Redeemer, Doctors and evangelists. — Of the same class. Venzone Duomo, Cappella, called Pio Istituto, frescos, coronation of the

Virgin, Virgin and ch. and other subjects. Gemona, Hospital facade, life size Christ and St. John Bapt.

¹ In Udine we have accounts in the records of the Archivio notarile of the following artists otherwise unknown.

1372. Jan. 14. Giovanni da Udine pittore sentenced to perpetual banishment. — 1392. Leonardo pittore, q. Niccolò di Cagli, his marriage. 1404. March 15. donation of a house to Maestro Antonio pittore, son of the before named Leonardo. 1443. Aug. 21. will of Antonio di Leonardo. 1430. — 3. Marco di Venezia, pittore, is partner of Antonello da Napoli Pittore, in 1430; the partnership is dissolved in 1431. Marco takes as his pupil Giovanni di Michele in 1432. He paints the ceilings in the Duomo of Udine in 1433. 1410. — 20. Domenico pittore paints at Marano. — 1422. paints at Trieste the choir of San Giusto. — 1450. Action in re the marriage of Domenico Pittore. — 1410-22. Antonio Baletti q. Tommasius companion of the above Domenico at Marano and Trieste. — 1454. Niccolò pitt. q. Enrico — paints in the lodge of the public palace and an altar in the church of San Pietro di Bertaldia — 1454. Umpire of an art contract, Maestro Floriano Pittore q. Giacomo. — 1457. Daniel Erasma pittore. 1460. Sebastiano pittore e intagli. and Francesco de Michele, value an altar done by Gasparino pittore e intagliatore for Stefano pittore. — 1461. Maestro Stefano pittore q. Matteo, agrees to carve and paint an altarpiece for the Duomo of Udine. — 1468. Death of Giovanni pittore of Udine and sale of his drawings. — 1472. Alberto di Viera pitt. and Niccolò di Giovanni pittore are witnesses to a legal instrument. — 1490. Do do Ser Lorenzo Pittore. Looking round Udine for pictures assignable to these numerous artists, we find but the following: Udine, Duomo (in the lumber room): Coronation of the Virgin, between eight scenes, in a double course, of the life of St. Nicholas. — In the Sacristy, three small panels, with a) the beato Bertrand kneeling before the Virgin, b) his presents of alms, c) his martyrdom. These are all by one hand, rude and injured temperas, of the latter half of the 14th century, the latter assigned by Lanzi (II. 94) to Domenico da Tolmezzo.

sequently transferring rude copies of these reliefs to panel. The statuary of Udine, whose style at first bore something of the stamp of the Westphalian or Franco-German overlaid their short defective figures with coats of paint simulating flesh or stuffs and embroidery, executing frescos and pictures characterized by a partial but childish dependence in plastic art. Mindless of nature and chiaroscuro, they made flat copies of wooden images; ignorant of form, perspective or chords of harmony, they dyed their panels with gaudy washes.

It was habitual with some sculptors to do their own tinting. Others employed for this purpose journeymen of the sister craft. Amongst the tinters we should notice Andrea di Bertholotti, of Cividale, who was extensively known throughout Friuli as Bellunello. He was a master of guild at San Vito in 1462, and contracted for altarpieces and mural decorations at Udine, San Vito, and other places in the hills till 1490. In a picture at Pordenone which has not been preserved, he was called "Andreas Zeuxis the Apelles of his age"; in a crucifixion of 1476 at Udine he strings together a set of spectral saints of paltry outlines and deep discrepant colours. His madonnas of 1488 and 1490 at San Vito and Savorgnano, and frescos reminiscent of his manner at Glaris, Bagnarola and Prodolone, mark a gradual leaning to the schools of Crivelli and Andrea da Murano.¹

¹ The following as regards Bellunello:

Bellunello is called in a record drawn up at San Vito on Dec. 1. 1462. "Magister Andrea Pictore q. Bertholotti de civitate Belunensis." He is witness to the will of Daniela wife of the noble Federico Savorgnano. — In 1468 he agrees to tint and gild a carved altarpiece by some unknown men for the church of Flumignano. He paints an altarpiece (missing) for the cathedral of Pordenone, on which the following inscription is said (Reuallia, u. s. II. Lanzi II. 94.) to have existed: "Andreas Zeuxis, nostre ætatis Apelles Hoc Belunellus nobile pinxit opus". A person of his name at Udine in 1470 is instructed with commission to paint the doors of the organ in the Duomo (missing). — 1475. He paints the crucifixion with the Magdalen, the Virgin and Sts.

Ermagoras, Peter, John Evang., James and Jerom, inscribed: "Opera de Andrea Belunelo de S. Vido, MCCCCLXXXVI," a canvass tempera with life size figures in the Palazzo communale of Udine. — 1480. Forni di Sopra, ch. of San Florian. St. Florian between a double course of saints, ten in number, with the suffering Christ, and the Virgin and angel announcing in the pinnacles, inscr.: "Opera de Andrea Belunelo de San Vido MCCCCLXXX." San Vito, Santa Maria di Castello or Nunziata, Sacristy. Originally in the ch. of Maure. Virgin and ch. between Sts. Peter and Paul, inscribed as above but with the date of 1488. Savorgnano da San Vito. Virgin and ch. with a kneeling patroness, inscribed: "Questa nostra dona a lato fare Tomaso de Bertin per uno avodo (sic) per una sua fiola la quale e qui depenta MCCCCLXXX. oper. de

Conspicuous amongst carver-tinters are the brothers Domenico and Martino di Candido of Tolmezzo, who wandered to Udine in 1479 and lived there as partners till 1507. They were more industrious and productive as sculptors than as painters. One altarpiece in the cathedral of Udine — a Madonna with saints and episodes — dated 1479, bears Domenico's signature and reveals his relationship in art to Bellunello;¹ but there are frescos in country

Andrea Belunelo de . . . Vido." This is a fresco. A St. Christopher by the same hand once existed in the same ch. (Renaldi u. s. 14. and Maniago 167.) In the two first of these pieces the figures are lifeless, dry, and repulsive, wooden in movement as well as in the parts. The heads are large in forehead, the brows arched, the neck thin, the hair in crisp and copious curls, a caricature of the style of Crivelli and Andrea da Murano; the colours are dull, red, and shadowed with green, the outlines heavy and black. Light and shade are not thought of, the draperies are mere lines. Lanzi calls the "crucifixion" a piece of old tapestry, he might have added, a very ugly old tapestry, much injured and dimmed by time, and very rude in treatment. A slight improvement may be noted in the Madonna of 1488., which reminds us in part of Crivelli and Andrea da Murano, in part of the school of Bonfigli, and is much injured by scaling. In Bellunello's style we may class the following: Glaris, near San Vito (ch. of) a bishop enthroned, life size, fresco — a caricature of Crivelli, with something of the old and solemn early Christian time in the pose and glance, a Magdalen erect in a niche and other fragments. Bagnarola church, façade, large fresco of St. Christopher, partly abraded. — Prodolone, Santa Maria delle Grazie, fragment of a Virgin and child, with a date like 1474. San Vito Hospital, front, traces of a Virgin of mercy.

¹ Domenico and Martino are well remembered at Udine as the following calendar shows:

1479. Oct. 1. Udine. Domenico agrees to deliver an altarpiece for 26 l. to Nicolo, blacksmith at Morial. — Altarpiece in the Duomo of Udine (see postea). 1483. St. Roch of wood executed for the ch. of Zugliano. 1488. Carvings for a ch. in Carnia. 1489. Aug. 13. Udine, payments for a carved altarpiece in S. Maria of Cornona. 1492-3. Udine D^o in S. Pietro of Enja and S. Michele of Vidulis. 1494. Jan. 4. Do. in San Lorenzo di Sotto Selva. 1495. Do in the ch. of Tomba, in the ch. of Pozzecco, in S. Giovanni di Codroipo, and in S. Lorenzo di Sedigliano. 1497. May 20. Do in ch. of Villorba. 1498. April 11. Do in S. Lorenzo di Talmassona, valued by Pellegrino da S. Daniele and Francesco di

Ser Giosafatte. Nov. 28. Udine. Domenico and another value an altarpiece of wood by Bartolommeo di Biagio. 1499. Jan. 29. Udine. Domenico claims payment for two carved figures made for the ch. of Ontagnano. 1500. July 1. Udine. Domenico and others value an altarpiece by Bartolommeo for S. Maria of S. Vito. 1501. 1503. Domenico, is of the council of Udine. 1501. Domenico receives payments for a carved altarpiece for the ch. of Flambro, do (1402. April 1) ch. of Preteulis. 1502. Jan. 8. Domenico paints in the ch. of Venzone. 1503. March 6. carved altarpiece in the ch. of Canussio. Do in the ch. of S. Martino at Nogaredo di Prato. 1504. Do in the churches of Polcenigo and Ziracoe. Domenico is a member of the brotherhood of S. Cristoforo at Udine. 1505. Domenico is umpire in a quarrel between Francesco di Giosafatte and the men of Basagliapenta, and values an altarpiece by Bartolommeo for the ch. of Pagnano. Altarpiece of S. Cristoforo of Udine. 1506. D. values an altarpiece by Bartolommeo for the ch. of S. Andrea at Stragis. He carves an altarpiece for the ch. of Vergnano valued by Giovanni Martini; and an altarpiece for the church of Villorba. 1507. Nov. 13. payments to Domenico's heirs for the above.

The following refer to Martino di Candido, brother of Domenico and his partner at Udine: 1491. Aug. 24. contract for a carved altarpiece for the ch. of Villacaccia. 1492. altarpiece in partnership with Dom. for the ch. of Buja. 1497. do in the ch. of Pozzo. 1502. do in the ch. of Caforliacco. 1503. do in the ch. of Pozzuolo and in the ch. of S. Pietro Martire of Udine. 1504. do in ch. of Marizza. 1505-6. M. is umpire with his brother in re altarpieces at Pagnano and Stragis. 1506. altarpieces at Pozzuolo. S. Ermagora of Villanova and Treviso.

Domenico's altarpiece in the Duomo of Udine is composite, with the Madonna in the centre receiving the homage of a kneeling patron and at the sides Sts. Ermagoras, Mark, Bertrand and Omobono, above, Christ in his tomb between two angels, and two other angels in brackets; at the sides on the roses of the brackets the angel and Virgin annunciate, inscribed in cartelli at the base of pilasters inclosing the central panel:

churches at Mione, Luint, Liaris, Osais, Forni di Sotto and di Sopra in which we not only detect his flare and hardness, but also observe a general similitude of form and setting.¹ These mural adornments sometimes cover the groined vaultings, coves, and soffits, of hexagonal choirs, comprising the Redeemer and patron saints and the four Evangelists and doctors, the former singly, the latter in couples behind desks with open doors and shelves; at other times the choir is rectangular, with the four doctors in the triangular fields, the prophets in the corners, of the ceilings.

Amongst the journeymen paid to carry out these works

"1479. opus Dominici de Tumetio", tempera on goldground, figures a quarter of life size. The flesh tints are grey, with a red flush on the cheeks and cold shadows. Drapery cutting and sharp as if carved in wood.

¹ The frescos in the churches mentioned require comment and explanation; ex gr.:

Mione — Sant' Antonio, old choir now turned into a sacristy: with a hexagonal ceiling in twelve compartments, with Christ in a medallion as centre, the four Evangelists, the Virgin and angel annunciate and ten prophets in couples, figures a little over half life size, poorly and coarsely outlined, lean and thin with wooden extremities. The colours are sharp in contrasts yet dull in tone. This is an art inferior to that of the ceilings in the upper Basilica of Assisi. The head of the Saviour is broad and long and rests on a thin neck; the long snake-like hair giving him an air of wildness. The walls which support the ceiling of this old choir are white washed. Luint, Santa Caterina, old choir, now a sacristy. The ceiling is hexagonal with twelve fields, the Saviour in a central medallion, the four Doctors, four Evangelists and ten Saints in couples; in a lunette above the arch of the choir, half length of St. Ursula and eight attendant saints. The treatment is the same here as at Mione. Liaris, S. Vito, old choir, now a sacristy; hexagonal ceiling with the head of the Eternal in the central medallion, and Christ in a section between the Virgin and angel annunciate; the rest of the arrangement as at Mione and in the same manner. Osais, ch. of S. Leonardo, old hexagonal choir now sacristy. The Eternal in the centre surrounded by the four Evangelists and the four Doctors (the latter in couples) and ten saints and prophets; on the walls in a double course, St. Leonard liberates prisoners, the annunciate angel be-

tween four Saints; St. Leonard founds a monastery: three apostles; transit of S. Leonard, part covered by a cupboard, half lengths of Saints and the annunciation. The treatment is rude as before but more like that of Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo's frescos at Socchieve than the foregoing. Giovanni Francesco may therefore have been assistant to Domenico da Tolmezzo at Osais. Forni di Sotto. S. Leonardo, rectangular choir, with the four doctors and eight prophets in the triangular sections of the ceiling; on the walls: to the r. St. John and St. Luke and four saints, to the l. the martyrdom of St. Laurence and four apostles; St. Mark and two prophets. Behind the altar, which covers the wall and part of the painting are the eagle, and the ox and two apostles; in the soffit of the choir arch St. Sebastian, St. Roch and six females, in the outer face of the arch the annunciation, beneath which are St. Nicholas, St. Martin sharing his cloak, and St. Anthony the abbot. Each of the doctors in the vaulting is seated under a tabernacle on a throne with a desk before him containing shelves and books, in the same manner as in the ceilings of Barbeano (1489) and Socchieve (1493) by Gio. F. da Tolmezzo. Here it is probable again G. F. was assistant to Domenico da Tolmezzo. We are told that on the wall behind the altar the following inscription is to be found: "1422 adi 27 9bre fo depenta soto chameraro Ser Durigo Marest fiol de Ser Durigo Merzut," but the date is probably an error. — Forni di Sopra, San Floriano, rectangular choir with a groined ceiling, the Eternal in the centre surrounded by the four doctors and eight prophets in the vaultings above the lunettes — on the walls in the double courses, figures of saints, and in the soffit of the choir arch, female saints eight in number. These frescos are dated "1500 a di XVII aprilis", and yet are of the poor and childish style already noticed in the foregoing descriptions.

we may number Gian' Francesco da Tolmezzo whose industry is proved by records and frescos in the last twenty years of the 15th century. Gian' Francesco was not related to Domenico, nor was he a statuary by profession; he confined himself exclusively to panels and monumental design in which he exhibited the rudeness and defects of his countrymen, but he gained a considerable facility of hand and imbued with a certain life the stark and unreal conceptions of his predecessors. In the large and ambitious cycle of subjects with which he filled the churches of Sant' Antonio at Barbeano in 1489, of San Martino at Socchieve in 1493 and of Provesano in 1499 he displays very little art, but his style is one which, deprived of its exaggerations, and sifted of its principal defects, becomes attractive in Pellegrino da San Daniele, Pordenone and Morto da Feltre. At Barbeano, the vaulting of the choir is divided by diagonals and contains the Doctors of the church in domed seats adorned with pinnacles and fret-work; at the angles of the sections a prophet and evangelist; in a double course round the walls, the nativity and Epiphany, the ascension, and the last judgment, all much damaged and in part obliterated. In the spirit and technical treatment of these episodes there is but little to distinguish them from earlier ones; a quaint mixture of the old christian and contemporary German is observable in the compositions; curious disproportion of size and not unfrequently grotesque traits in neighbouring figures. The masks are vulgar, the forms common and paltry, the hands and feet of repulsive coarseness, the drawing incorrect and the action hard; colour, perspective, or relief by light and shade are wanting; but the masks and shapes are types after which the greater Friulan masters worked; the movements of which he gives the suggestion are those which they brought to a better perfection, the fault of disproportion is that which they inherited; and in their method of painting they followed his system of shading flesh and vestments with deeper tints of the same colours. What he did at Barbeano, Gian' Francesco repeated aa

Socchieve and Provesano; but in the last of these places on a wider range.

The doctors are enthroned in the ceiling as before; but without the Evangelists, the sections at the spring of the diagonals being filled with prophets; behind the altar is the crucifixion, at the sides in a triple course, scenes from the passion, paradise, and the abode of Satan, in the pilasters of the entrance arch, S^t. Roch, S^t. Sebastian and other saints. — Of unequal merit and diverse character, some incidents are obviously derived from German prints or drawings; others have an Italian origin; Christ in the resurrection is a different type from the Redeemer in the Entombment; the figures are lean and long in one place, and short or square in another; great want of refinement is betrayed in the flagellation where the scourger's hand wrings the Saviour's hair, or in the capture, where Christ returns the smitten ear to the prostrate howling Malchus. The lower regions are crammed with all the monstrosities of the 11th century, the masks and shapes are common and incorrectly outlined, muscular developments in defective action and position are ostentatiously exhibited; there is neither perspective, brightness, transference, nor shadow.

As a specimen of Gian' Francesco's manner the S^t. Sebastian on the pilaster is particularly remarkable. It is moulded after the fashion of Benozzo's school, and still has a transalpine air, — a naked frame, thin of chest, broad at the hip and thigh, coarse in foot, and slender in arm; the head, heavy and vulgar, with thick curled hair hanging over the eyes, uniform yellow flesh, hatched sparingly with red and black. Technically this is the system of Pier' Antonio of Foligno. — But in the midst of these unpleasantnesses there is always an element of realistic force. The crucifixion, composed after the fashion of the 14th century, shows little attention to correct balancing in the setting of the groups or in the fitting of the personages to their places, but is in better drawing and movement than elsewhere. The red flesh and chestnut hair, relieved with deeper tints of the same tone, foreshadows the treatment

of the great Friulans, whilst in certain heads with less than usual of the wild Germanic cast, we see the counterparts of those improved by the skill of Pellegrino and Pordenone. That a man of Gian' Francesco's fibre should have been out of his element in small temperas, need scarcely be remarked; a Virgin belonging to Signor Astori at Udine sufficiently proves it.¹

¹ A few notes may be made to illustrate this Gian' Francesco and a poor contemporary known as Pietro da San Vito:

Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo was, as we learn from Utinese records, the son of Oderico di Daniele of Socchieve. He was invested with a small feud by the Lords of Spilimberg in 1481. There are in addition the following items respecting his career. Maniago (Stor. delle belle arti Friulane u. s. 172) describes frescos by him on the façade of the ch. of Vivaro inscribed: "Za. Francesco da Tolmezzo 1482"; he adds that they were taken down at the enlargement of the ch. in 1820. 1489, Nov. 20, Spilimberg. Gian' Francesco in payment of his debt to the Lords of Spilimberg cedes his claim to the sum of 40 ducats due to him for frescos in the ch. of S. Antonio of Barbeano. 1491, Aug. 16, Spilimberg. The superintendents of the church of Barbeano pay the sum above named. It will be seen from the foregoing that the frescos of Barbeano were complete as far back as 1491. The damage which they have sustained is by scaling and discoloration. In the Epiphany particularly there are large pieces of the figures obliterated, and an oblique crack in the wall cuts the whole composition into two. The blue draperies in every case are scraped away. — In the soffit of the choir arch are remains of quarter lengths of saints. The best part of the whole work, the best figures, as regards motion and mien and colour are those of the ceilings, some of which we shall find with improvements in frescos by Pordenone, and Pellegrino. — Socchieve, in the rectangular choir of this place the vaulting is divided as it is at Barbeano; the figures at the angles of the triangular sections are all prophets; on the wall to the r. are figures of apostles, on that to the l. Christ in glory and four apostles; on the wall behind the altar is the nativity and four apostles; eight busts of saints are in the soffit of the choir arch. An altarpiece in two courses represents St. Martin sharing his cloak betw. Sts. Rufinus and Roch, above which are half lengths of the madonna betw. Sts. Michael and Lawrence; in spite of extensive repainting one can still see that the painter is the same as the author of the frescos,

which are in very bad condition. An inscription as follows is on the pilaster of the entrance: "Opera di Zuane Francesco da Tolmezo depentor fu de M. Duri, Daniel d. Soclevo de la Ghaxada de quell del Zoto 1493." Provesano: The frescos of this ch. are also disfigured by the obliteration of all the blues of sky and vestments, and there are also large portions in which the colour is absent. On the pilaster of the choir arch is the inscription: "ZVANE FRANCESCO D. TOLMEZO, DEPENDENZA SOTO E CHVRA D. M. P. 10. DE RIAME D. LA TERA DEL TITV. 1496 A. X." — Udine: Signor Avvocato C. Astori. Half length Virgin and ch. with numerous angels; wood, tempera, the principal figures one quarter of life size inscribed: "ZVANE FRANCESCO DE TOMEZO." This panel is flayed in many parts. The contours are finely minute, the forms regular in their proportions, but the drawing is incorrect, and the child is a mere bladder; the drapery as usual in Gian' Francesco is cast in multiplied and broken folds.

Pietro of San Vito is a very low class painter, whose manner might be illustrated by the poor works of San Floriano at Forni di Sopra, (see ante). He may be the painter of the Doctors and Evangelists, a resurrection, and scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, a deposition from the cross, and other subjects on the walls, and ceiling of the church of Tauriano, on one of the pilasters of which is carved the date 1487. The execution is ruder than that of Gian' Francesco at Barbeano. Another series of the same kind, but of a later date and not without an inspiration from Pellegrino is the fresco decoration, with Christ, and the Evangelists, the four Doctors and half lengths of saints in the choir and semidome of the church of Dignano near San Daniele. Provesano, ch. of. Fresco of the Virgin and child, with St. Roch, inscribed: "Queste do figure a fato far Daniel de Zuonato p suo avodo per la peste forono liberati da quel male 1513, adl 15 Seteber, Zu' piro de S. Viô f." Close by an erect St. Sebastian by the same hand, with the words: "Questo Sancto Sebastiano a facto far Domenigo de ambroso per suo Vodo 1513 adl 15 Setebel." These performances are almost unworthy of attention. Valvasone, ch. of San Filippo e Giacomo. Choir with the four

It was about this time that the Friulans began powerfully to feel the influence of the Venetian schools; and we have tangible evidence of the manner in which this influence was exercised in a Virgin and child at the Louvre bearing the signature of "Giovanni Battista da Udine disciple of Luigi Vivarini". Without value as a specimen of art in consequence of age, neglect, and surface daubing, this solitary example shows that a Friulan painter wandered from Udine at the close of the 15th century to enter the atelier of the Vivarini at Venice, leaving us unfortunately in doubt whether the painter in question is or is not Cima da Conegliano, the only person in the annals of north Italy who bore the name of Giovanni Battista. Cima there is no doubt furnished models from which many later craftsmen of the highlands copied, but Luigi Vivarini was also a favourite amongst the hillmen and his teaching is clearly traced in Giovanni Martini, one of the earliest masters of Friuli who is really worth studying.

Giovanni Martini was the son of Martino and nephew of Domenico da Tolmezzo whom we noticed as a carver at Udine and was called Martini to distinguish him from his cousin Giovanni Mione. In a Madonna with the date of 1498 at the Correr museum in Venice he strikes us as a timid craftsman unacquainted with the subtleties of oil medium whose colours shine with a sombre and glassy uniformity. The tones are marked by abrupt transitions of light and shade and his vestment tints by depth and harshness. His drapery is angular and of copious brittle fold.¹ Without amplitude of form or breadth of shadow, his sacred impersonations are alternately dry and puffy

Evangelists in the vaulting, the resurrection, two scenes from the life of St. James, the crucifixion and two incidents of the life of St. Philip, St. Francis and the 12 apostles. These are antiquated compositions in the rudest Friulan manner, inscribed in the resurrection: "1516 adi 5 Zugno aa. aa. Piero de S. Vido fecit."

¹ Paris Louvre Musée Napo-

lcon III. No. 187. Wood, m. 0.54 h. by 0.40. inscribed: "Joh's Bap. d'otino p. d...cipts Aloysii Vivarinj". This panel is much injured by restoring. It represents the Virgin and child, is very feeble but in the manner of later pieces by Giovanni Martini.

as they affect to represent ripeness or unripeness of age. He imitates that period of Luigi Vivarini's practise which immediately followed upon the abandonment of tempera, and recalls in many respects Jacopo da Valentia. How long Martini remained at Venice is uncertain; but as early as 1497 he held a place amongst the rising generation at Udine;¹ and at the opening of the 16th century a serious competition arose between him and Pellegrino of San Daniele. Two chapels in the cathedral of Udine had been prepared by the municipality for the reception of altarpieces; one was entrusted in 1501 to each of the competitors. Giovanni was to paint the glory of St. Mark, Pellegrino that of St. Joseph. A year was spent in the partial completion of the task; in 1500 an additional grant of money was made to both parties; the pictures were finished and exhibited; but long before public taste had given its award, Giovanni's modesty accepted defeat; and he inscribed the altarpiece with the words: "1501 Johanes Utinensis hoc parvo ingenio fecit."

It is curious to observe in these pieces how nearly parallel the two men travelled in this period of their career, how laboriously they strove for finish of outline and minuteness of detail, how dependent they both were on the models of Cima. If we sever from Cima's productions one of those marked effigies of saints to which he was partial, with its shaggy hair, projecting forehead and cheekbones, balled nose, twinkling eyes and lantern jaws; if we look at the underset and stringy form and its large working extremities we see the counterpart of figures familiar in Martini, Pellegrino, and even Pordenone.

¹ Venice. Correr Mus. No. 37. Wood, m. 0.95. h. by 0.70: inscr.: "Joannes de Utino p. 1498." The Virgin behind a ledge with St. Joseph and Simeon at her sides holds the infant on her lap who plays with a bird and grasps at a couple of cherries. The draperies are straight-lined, and of mul-

tiplied broken fold. There is no transition from light to shade; the forms of the child recall those of B. Vivarini; and the technical treatment is that of the Muranese atelier when oil began to supersede tempera. In many respects Giovanni da Udine here recalls Jacopo da Valentia.

This very cast of the human frame combined with some additional grimness is to be found in the saints attending round the throne of Martini's S^t. Mark, and particularly in the Baptist; we are more surely reminded of Luigi Vivarini's teaching by the rawness of empty flesh tone, the cutting contrast of light and shade, the absence of mass in chiaroscuro, and here and there, a not unpleasant softness in the mould of faces.¹

For some years Martini continued to labour at Udine without seriously changing his style. In a Presentation of Christ at the temple in the cathedral of Spilimberg he still recalls Cima, Vivarini, and the Bellinesques; and we notice a little more freedom of hand as well as correct distribution of chiaroscuro; but no greater power is attained than we might expect from Jacopo da Valentia or the beginnings of Catena, Basaiti, or Bissolo; and grotesque vulgarity of types betrays an absolute want of elevation.² At a period when art was taking rapid strides in Venice and its dependencies under the influence of the Bellini, there was little in these creations to attract patrons of refined taste. Whether Martini felt this, or whether circumstances led him to relax his efforts in order to concentrate his energies on the sister branch is uncertain. After 1503, having probably become a partner with his cousin Mione in the shop of Domenico da Tolmezzo, he began to carve altarpieces, and from that date till his death in 1535 he contracted frequently for works of this class, accepting but occasionally commissions for pictures

¹ Udine. Duomo, first altar to the l., arched panel with life size figures — in oil — S^t. Mark enthroned, betw. S^{ts}. John the Baptist and Lawrence and nearer the spectator, four saints, two of whom are bishops. The treatment is still the imperfect one described in the Madonna of 1498.

² Spilimberg cathedral, Cappella del Rosario, wood, oil; figures little short of life size; in a frame of the time, arched, supported

on decorated pilasters and finished with an entablature. More than a third of the surface is bared of colour and the rest is in very bad condition. Simeon at one side of an altar holds the child in his arms, whilst opposite to him a clerk waves a censor, to the l. the Virgin and S^t. Joseph; to the r. two spectators, the whole scene in a vaulted chapel. The style so far as can be judged of it is like that of pictures previously noticed, but more free.

and processional banners. What he surrendered, when he thus combined the business of the sculptor with that of the painter was the chance of mastery in either. As a carver, his best and most important performance is the altar finished in 1527 for the church of Mortigliano, a village situate between Codroipo and Palma Nuova, — a vast piece of monumental design in four courses with bas-reliefs representing scenes from the lives of the Saviour and Madonna and statuettes all tinted with colours and gold. Stunted proportions are characteristic of the ornamental framings as well as of the figures which are far from rivalling those of Antonio of Massa, the skilful decorator of the Cambio of Perugia or of the still more celebrated Giovanni da Verona. His saints have the expression, the force, and vulgar type, of those produced in the schools of Nuremberg and Augsburg; they are rigid, obtrusive in their show of muscle and vein, and draped with superabundant winding stuffs, but fairly set and well arranged. As a painter, he transferred to panel the hardness and crudity of his wooden personages, their thickset shape and salient outline, their lifeless angularity and artificial cast of dress, but above all, their solidity and sharpness of tone. Confined to his shop in a provincial town, with reminiscences of great Venetian art fading daily from his memory, it was no wonder that all delicacies of texture and handling should be lost to him, and that he should unconsciously fall into the raw flatness and depth peculiar to Palmezzano or the followers of Carpaccio. That this in truth was the end of his efforts is clear in the glory of S^t. Ursula at the Brera which he finished in 1507 and more so in later altarpieces at Udine and Portogruaro.¹

¹ Milan, Brera, No. 117. Canvas, m. 1.83 h. by 1.18. inscribed on the pedestal of S. Ursula "Essendo camerar magistro Anthonio Manzignol. MCCCCCVII." Of this picture falsely assigned to Pellegrino by Hartzen (*Deutsches Kunstblatt* 1853. No. 23.) there are records in the archives of Udine to the following purport. 1503. Aug. 21. Contract of Giovanni Martini for a S^t. Ursula and

But Martini and Pellegrino were not the only Friulans in whom the tendency to copy Cima was manifested. In no subordinate craftsman was this more marked than in

Saints for the brotherhood of St. Ursula in S. Pietro martire of Udine. 1507. April 27. Election of arbitrators to value the altarpiece of St. Ursula. From San Pietro martire of Udine the altarpiece has found its way in part to Milan, the lunette with St. Dominick and four angels being still in a chapel to the r. of the choir in the church and one out of three predella subjects, viz.; the martyrdom of S. Ursula in the house of Conte Florio at Udine. The central subject is St. Ursula on a pedestal erect in prayer, between ten female saints in a portico. The figures are curt and square, but of good proportions; the colours are dull and sharply contrasted as before. The predella (canvas) is injured by abrasion and restoring.

Udine. In San Pietro Martire where the lunette above mentioned is preserved, is a choice of ill preserved pictures by Giovanni Martini ex gr. 1) a lunette, canvas, with life size figures of a saint Benedict and a worshipper kneeling at his feet; 2) canvas of St. Anna, with the Virgin on her lap and the infant Christ, Sts. Joseph and Anthony at the sides; completely repainted including the signature which now runs on the old lines as follows: "Opus Joannis Mätini utiū"; 3) Virgin and ch. betw. Sts. Dominick, Sebastian, Peter Martyr, and Roch. — Udine, Communal Palace. Two figures of Saints — half life. — Portogruaro. Duomo-choir (originally in S. Francesco); Presentation in the temple; the prophetess Anna prays behind the Virgin, and a clerk holds up Simeon's cloak on the other. In front of the altar steps, St. Joseph and three other figures. — Dry and defective forms are con-

spicuous in this piece, which however is fairly composed. The colours are raw and sombre; and time or accident have dimmed and abraded the surface. On a cartello: "Joannes Ma....is ..ulanus. Al tēpo de . . . de Magnolo Sartor..... fenita a dī pmo febraro M....."

The following is a calendar of records respecting Giovanni Martini.

1497. Oct. 12. Udine. G. M. is witness to the will of Elena wife of Pellegrino da San Daniele. 1501. Feb. 12. Udine, part payment to G. M. and Pellegrino for their altarpieces (St. Mark and St. Joseph) in the Duomo of Udine. June 14. final payments. 1502. July 8. Udine. G. M. receives as apprentice Giovanni Ricamatore (afterwards known as Raphael's assistant, under the name of Giovanni da Udine). 1503. May 25. Udine, contract with the brotherhood of S. Maria in S. Pietro martire (the titlehead of the contract alone preserved). 1503. Aug. 21. Udine, contr. for the altarpiece of S. Ursula, now at the Brera (see in text and postea). 1503. Oct. 17. 1504. June 22. Udine, altarpieces (? painted or carved) for the churches of Ovieris and Belgrado). 1505. Udine. G. M. is "cameraro" of the ch. of S. Cristoforo at Udine. 1507. April 27. Udine. Umpires chosen to value altarpiece of S. Ursula (see antea 1503). 1508. Nov. 25. contr. for carved alt. p. for the ch. of Asio. 1510. June 26. carved figures of St. Helen with two painted figures on shutters for the ch. of Gruagno. 1510. Dec. 12. carv. alt. p. for the ch. of Variano. 1511. June 23. In time of plague, will of Valentina, wife of Gio. M. — Will of G. M. leaving a standard painted by himself to the ch. of S. Cristoforo of Udine; his brothers Vincenzo and Giacomo are his executors. 1512. May 11. G. M. and his brother Vincenzo (painters) settle a quarrel with the glider Me. Antonio. 1512. Dec. 11. contr. for carv. alt. p. for the ch. of Baracetto. 1513. Feb. 12. Ib. ib. ch. of S. Maria la Lunga. April 24. S. Daniele. G. M. values an altarpiece. August. Udine. G. M. values an altarpiece. 1517. Feb. 2. Udine, marriage settlement of G. M. (widower) and Donna Francesca di Ser Andrea (dowry, 150 Ducats gold). 1517. June 18. Udine. G. M. values a carved alt. p. July 13. Do do. Aug. 21. G. M. challenges the umpire appointed to value one of his works. Sept. 26. carv. alt. p. for the ch. of Sedigliano, valued by Pellegrino da

Girolamo whose coronation of the Virgin may still be seen in the townhall of Udine. He was one of a band of five who bore a common name — the only one indeed who deserves to be remembered, and probably the same who, as Girolamo di Bernardino, decorated the churches of Lestizza and Cormons in 1511 and 1518 with frescos. Friulan by birth and by education, he elaborated an ill cultivated style not unlike that of Martini in 1507. What we observe in his coronation at Udine is a timid conception of subject, an antiquated Friulan air and a paltry adaptation of the models of Cima, combined with that peculiar rawness and heavy flatness of tones which make the latest creations of Giovanni Martini unattractive. It is just such a work as we might assign to a man who had been employed as a journeyman towards the close of the 15th century in the ateliers of Cima and Carpaccio; nor is it improbable that when at Venice he should have received orders for pictures such as the coronation of the Virgin

S. Daniele. 1518, Jan. 14, Pordenone values G. M.'s altarpiece for the brotherhood of S. Gervasio in S. M. delle Grazie at Udine. July 30, carv. alt. p. for the ch. of Arcano. Nov. 4, Do. Do. ch. of S. Marco. 1520, March 9, Udine, payment for alt. p. of Baracetto (see 1512). Oct. 9, Paym. for alt. p. at Asio (see 1508). 1521, Nov. 19, G. M. values the organ doors by Pellegrino in the Duomo of Udine. 1522, G. M. is prior of the brotherhood of S. M. della Umiltà at Udine, values two altarpieces. 1524, March 24, Will of G. M. in favour of his four daughters with life interest in favour of his wife Francesca. 1526, May, G. M. is of the popular council at Udine. 1526, Sep. 18 to 1527 June 23, — carvd. altar p. of ch. of Mortigliano, price 1180 ducats; — payments in instalments till as late as 1551. 1527, carvd alt. p. for ch. of Madrisio di Fagagna, — April 25, Udine, Do. Do. ch. of Palmata. 1528, Feb. 4, Udine, G. M. purchases a feud in the distr. of the Luogotenente of Udine. 1528, March 7, acknowledgment of debt from the ch. of S. Martino of Cividale to G. M. for a standard with the Virgin, Sts. Martin and Michael. Oct. 1, G. M. takes over from the heirs of Antonio the glider (to finish them) three altarpieces for the churches of Ofcisi, Butrio and Claris d'Inchiarai. 1528, Aug. 31, G. M. leases his property at Cerquea. 1529, Feb. 19, G. M. purchases copyholds at Chiasellis. 1530, March 22, Udine contr. for carvd alt. p. for ch. of Caminetto,

1532, July 15, Valuation of the above, ducats 100. 1530, May 30, carv. alt. p. for S. Martino of Ruolt. Aug. 12, Valuation of the same. 1530, July 20, G. M. values his cousin Mione's altarpiece in S. Martino of Verzegnis. 1531, Ap. 23, contr. for a standard for the ch. of Brazzacco. Sep. 2, carvd. alt. p. for S. Martino of Galleriano. Sept. 7, figure of St. Joseph for S. Giuseppe of Flambro. Oct. 14, figure of S. Vito and two painted shutters for S. Vito of Inchiarai. 1532, Jan. 27, Arbitration as to a figure of St. James done by G. M. for the noble Francesco de Freschi. 1532, Feb. 6, Udine, contr. for carvd alt. p. for S. Odorico of Orsaria. 1534, Oct. 29, price of the foregoing 145 duc. 1532, May 4, Udine, Contr. for carv. alt. p. for the ch. of Corderno. 1533, Jan. 21, G. M. redeems a piece of land at Nimis. 1533, Feb. 19, Udine, contr. for carv. altar p. for the ch. of Campo Formio on the model of that of Tomba. May 17, standard for the ch. of Massa. 1534, March 26, he values an altarpiece — May 30, carv. alt. p. for S. M. di S. Pietro in Carnia, Dec. 12, 15th for the ch. of Butrio. 1535, Feb. 15, D. ch. of Zugliano. June 8, crucifix for S. Giorgio al Tagliamento. 1535, Aug. 30, Udine, codicil to G. M.'s will. 1535, Sep. 30, Death of G. M. Of Giovanni Mione, son of Domenico da Tolmezzo, we have a complete calendar of records, dating from 1505 to 1530; they only relate to wood carvings.

called Carpaccio in San Giovanni e Paolo, or the glory of St. Mark attributed to Cima in the academy of Vienna.¹

In the archives of the notaries of Udine, an agreement bearing date in 1468 recites how Battista a Sclavonian, at that time living in Udine, contracted to paint a curtain fall for the church of Comerzo. In this old but interesting document it is agreed that Battista shall first submit two subjects as specimens to the decision of umpires and in the event of a favorable award, shall be entitled to claim a supply of honey and eggs and a sum of eighty

¹ The following is a calendar of records relating to Girolamo di Bernardino of Udine.

1506 May 25. Girolamo di Bernardino hires a house at Udine. 1508 June 28. Girolamo di Bernardino lets the dying establishments of his father at Udine. 1509 March, 13. Udine. G. di q. B. values an altar carved by the sculptor Bartolommeo of Udine. 1510, March, 12. Udine, G. di q. B. values a curtain fall by Giacomo Martini. 1511, March, 19. Udine, Contr. of G. di q. B. to paint the chapel (? choir) of the ch. of San Biagio and San Giusto of Lestizza near Udine. (The ch. was completely renewed in the course of the present century 1818). The following inscription is said to exist in the "coretto" of the ch. of Cormons. "al 3 ottobre a fato far questa opera Matius Brait Jeronimo, p." Besides this Girolamo we have Girolamo di Giovanni painter of whom the following is known: 1490 June 3, Udine. G. di Gio. sells a piece of land at Bolzano. — There is also one Girolamo di Rodolfo of Cividale respecting whom there are records of 1551 and later, he cannot be the artist described in the text; and of Girolamo di Paolo of Cividale we have documents dated 1554, 7—63 but they relate to carved works. Girolamo di Paolo of Milan resident at Udine is also a sculptor, whose works were executed in 1529.

The first picture of Girolamo, to which records refer is one executed for S. Maria in Valle at Cividale called "Ancona di San Benedetto", paid for in 1539. Maniagio (Stor. delle belle arti Friul. u. s. 301) who publishes the record, assigns to Girolamo a figure of St. Benedict in S. M. in Valle di Cividale; but we shall see that there is reason to consider this figure merely as part of an altarpiece finished for this church by Pellegrino da San Daniele in 1501. (see postea note p. 195). The coronation in the town hall of Udine was formerly in the sacristy of the Duomo (Maniagio Guida di Udine, 8^a, 1825, p. 184). It is on panel, in oil, M. 1. 77 br. by 1. 71. The Saviour is represented sitting on a throne in a ruined portico, the Vir-

gin kneeling on the step before him. A green hanging forms the background behind the throne and intercepts a view of the outer country. The idea of the conception is conveyed at the same time by the infant Christ and dove in halos above the Virgin's head. At the sides of the foreground are the Baptist, and John Evangelist between whom a boy angel sits playing the mandolin. On a cartello fastened to the step is the signature "opus Jeronimi utinensis." This piece has been restored but is in a very bad condition and threatens to scale in many places; the colours at present are sombre, raw, and hard. We are reminded of Cima by certain types, and of Carpaccio by the method of treatment, the contrasts of tints and the ornamentation. Venice. S. Gio. e Paolo. Here is a coronation in the same style as the above, but with choirs of saints at the sides of the throne. The authorship has been assigned to Carpaccio but the execution is a cento of that of Cima, of Carpaccio, and the Friulans which is characteristic of Girolamo. (See the engraving in Zanotto. Pinac. Ven. fasc. 18, who says the picture was in San Gregorio at Venice). The surface is injured by age and retouching. — In the same style and possibly for this reason by Girolamo are No. 530, justice; No. 531 temperance; No. 562, annuntiate Virgin; No. 532 annuntiate angel, in the Venice Acad. (see antea in Cima Vol. I, Note 54a p. 243). — Similar again is an enthroned St. Mark attended by St. Andrew and a bishop, No. 396 in the Academy of Arts at Vienna (canvass, figures all but life size). To this piece the name of Cima is attached. To the same author possibly we may ascribe the St. Anthony between Sts. Roch and Mary Magdalen, a picture given to Caroto in the Leuchtemberg collection at St. Petersburg (No. 63, canvass, figures half the size of life). But for the fact that Girolamo di Bernardino is so constantly found mentioned in Uginese records from 1506 to 1518 we might suppose him to be identical with the famulus of that name to whom Gentile Bellini bequeathed his sketches.

lire for the completion of his work. Other records of 1470—76—80 refer to Battista's later labours in the same field and his residence alternately at San Daniele and at Udine. Of the person to whom these records allude not a single piece has been preserved; and he would probably have remained in obscurity but that he was the father of Martino da Udine, comrade to Giovanni Martini and a man of note in the history of Friulan art.¹

The archives of Udine to which we owe the preservation of Battista's name also contain a contract dated the 18th of May 1491 from which it appears that Martino had lost his father, had become the partner of Ser Giovanni Antonio a goldsmith at San Daniele, and accepted the duty of decorating with frescos the church of Villanuova near San Daniele.² Of Martino's birth or education we have no sort of information. His frescos at Villanuova perished; and we can only surmise that having studied the elements under his father and afterwards visited Venice he returned to Udine with a claim to instant employment amongst his countrymen. The flattering epithet of Pellegrino, which he obtained in 1494, supposed indeed to have been given to him by Giovanni Bellini, might justify us in believing that he was a skilled — if not quite a perfect craftsman. We shall see however that he was less entitled to be

¹ Of Battista da San Daniele we have the following notices to which we should premise that he was by birth a Dalmatian.

1468, Nov. 10, S. Daniele. The "camerari" of the ch. of S. Maria di Commercio agree with "Maestro" Battista the painter residing at Udine to paint a curtain fall, &c. — 1470, Dec. 17, S. Daniele, Maestro Battista the painter residing at San Daniele contracts with the "camerari" of the brotherhood of S. Daniele di Castello to make and paint an altarpiece for the h. altar of the ch. with four figures i.e. Sts. Daniel, Michael, and St. John the Baptist above which a bust picture of the Virgin Mary. 1476, July 26, S. Daniele. Maestro Battista "pictor Sclavonus" resident at Udine, is witness to a public act at San Daniele. 1480, Nov. 19. Udine, Maestro Battista, living at Udine and Ser Giovanni An-

tonio da San Daniele are umpires in the quarrel of the painter Maestro Francesco and the men of the Village of Pasiano in the matter of a picture. In a record of March 10, 1502. Pellegrino, Battista's son, is described as "Mo. Martino qm prudentis Mag. Baptist pictoris de Dalmacia."

² 1491, May 18. San Daniele. The camerari and men of S. Maria di Villanova near S. Daniele agree with Ser Gio. Antonio goldsmith, and Mo. Martino painter Q. Mo. Battista, to the effect that they shall paint the chapel (choir) of their church with the annunciation, the purification, the nativity, the prophets and four doctors. The ch. was renovated in the last century.

called Pellegrino in the 15th than in the 16th century, that what he learnt in Venice or the Venetian provinces before 1494 was acquired under the influence of Cima rather than from Giovanni Bellini, and that but for a happy chance which cast him adrift in the north Italian states from 1508 to 1512, he would have deserved a place in art not much higher than that of Giovanni Martini.

In 1494 shortly after completing his labours at Villanuova, Pellegrino received an order for an altarpiece at Osopo from the Lords of Savorgnano. It is the first and by no means the best of his works. The Virgin enthroned in a splendidly ornamented marble semidome is attended by St. Columba and St. Peter, the steps leading up to the plinth on which she rests being kept by three angels playing instruments, about whom stand two groups of saints, the Baptist, Hermagoras, the Magdalen, James, Stephen, and Sebastian. On a balcony in rear and at the height of the Madonna's chair, two seraphs sound the triangle and guitar, the skirting beneath being hung with golden damask clothes; behind these seraphs a balustrade or cornice on pillars is filled with rows of cherubs holding branches. Nothing more characteristic than this cento of florid architectural decoration and hangings, and figures dispersed on numerous planes. The Virgin, a fair and well proportioned dame, supports the child, erect and leaning back with his arms across, on her knee — a Bellinesque group reminiscent of that which bears Antonello's name in the Berlin museum. Hermagoras and Peter, with some remnants of Friulan ruggedness, the lower angels with their dry shape, are adaptations from Cima. Of coarser local type are the Baptist, St. James and St. Sebastian — whilst, curiously enough, the cherubs in the upper balustrade are better and more boldly drawn than the rest of the picture. That which most reminds us of the defects of highland painting is angularity and overcharge of drapery. Yellow flesh tints heightened with a red flush in the cheeks, a raw and earthy system of shadows with abrupt transitions, betray Pellegrino's ignorance of the delicacies of Ve-

netian treatment. Hard broad outline loosely defines the parts; anatomy and muscular developments are carefully but incorrectly made out. Perspective is skilfully applied.¹ It is obvious that of all contemporary painters Cima was the one who most impressed Martino at this time, it was Cima and not Giovanni Bellini who smoothed away Friulan coarseness and removed its outer rind of roughness. It was Cima that enabled the masters of the uplands to engraft some of the modern graces on the grim types of mountain art. Pellegrino after this had numerous orders for pictures; he had finished altarpieces for the cathedral and for the guild of ironsmiths, in Santa Maria di Piazza (1495—6); his interest was good with the Savorgnani, who were influential at Udine and Osopo, and who frequently gave him their patronage; in San Daniele, at a distance of a few miles, he had courted and married the daughter of Daniele, constable of the city gates from whom he was to receive a fortune. He was himself a candidate for the reversion of the office of constable at Udine and had a promise of it on condition of painting gratuitously all the shields of arms of the town with the figures of the patron St. Mark, all the standards and decorations for public festivals, the St. Marks within and without the walls, yet his ambition led him rather to seek instruction in travel than to court ease at home; and in 1497, he made a will and prepared for a journey to Rome.²

There was at that time in San Daniele a religious cor-

¹ Osopo 1494. April 5. Udine. Two "procuratori" of the comune of Osopo promise to "M^o. Martino detto Pellegrino da Udine" to perform the contract entered into for the altarpiece ordered for the church of Osopo of the said Pellegrino; and in Martino's name, his brother in law M^o. Giovanni de Cramariis promises to perform the contract according to the terms originally stipulated. The picture to which the foregoing record alludes was

in the chapel of the "Castello", and is now in the church of Osopo.

² 1495. January 29. Minute of an application (granted) from the guild of smiths to the lesser council of Udine for permission to set up an altarpiece in San Giovanni di Piazza. Same year, June 6. contract of the guild of smiths with Pellegrino to paint an altarpiece for S. G. di Piazza representing S. S. Giovanni, Alb and Sebastian and a scene from the life of St.

poration under the patronage of St. Anthony the abbot which owned a church of fair proportions within the precincts of the town. This church called Sant' Antonio, had been covered in former years with frescos which no longer bore comparison with the later ones of ordinary Friulan painters. It seems to have been suggested by the relatives or friends of Pellegrino, many of whom lived at San Daniele, that it would be well to prevent his undertaking a distant pilgrimage by retaining him to execute a large and important pictorial work. The brotherhood of Sant' Antonio gave him an order to repaint their chapel, and Pellegrino was thus persuaded to postpone his departure. It was probably the wish of the fraternity that the whole edifice should be covered with subjects, and it is not unlikely that they required a plan of the whole internal decoration to be made; but the first duty imposed on Pellegrino was that of filling in the ribbed sections of the semidome vaulting and the soffit of the arch leading into it with figures of the Saviour and the four evan-

Alò on canvass for 20 ducats. 1498. May 9. Promise of final payment to Pellegrino for the above. 1499. March 22. Gift from the municipality of Udine to the guild of smiths of 10 ducats for P.'s altarpiece in S. Gio. di Piazza.

1495. May 4. Pellegrino is present at the division of the property of the Lords of Savorgnano in their house at Udine. — 1497. April 1. P. is witness to a contract in which a copyhold is purchased of Danielo, constable of the gates at San Daniele and transferred to Pellegrino himself, at that time married to Elena, heiress of Prè Giusto "cappellano" of S. Daniele. Same date, deed in which Ser Giorgio de Cichinis transfers the above copyhold to Pellegrino. Elena, wife of P. was the daughter of Daniel constable of the gates at San Daniele, vide Document of Oct. 10. 1497 in Maniago u. s. p. 292. — 1497. October 12. Udine, will of Pellegrino in which he declares

that he is about to start for Rome and leaves all his property to his mother, Chiara and his wife Elena in equal shares. Same date, will of Elena, wife of Pellegrino making him with slight exceptions her sole heir. Witness to both wills is Giovanni Martini painter of Udine. — 1498. April 11. Udine, P. and Francesco di Ser Giosafatte value an altarpiece of wood by Domenico da Tolmezzo. — 1499. March 4. Udine, Pellegrino presses for the payment of the altarpiece painted for the altar of Corpus Christi in the Duomo of Udine. This altarpiece is described as finished in the contract of June 6. 1495 betw. P. and the guild of smiths. Both of the altarpieces in the Duomo and S. Giovanni di Piazza are gone. — 1495. Dec. 17. Petition of Pellegrino, praying for the reversion of the place of constable of one of the city gates. Maniago, u. s. p. 291. See a. b. c. d. e. f. of plan annexed to the text.

gelists and busts of saints in medallions. Though in comparison with the men of the Carnian province and especially with Giovanni Francesco of Tolmezzo, Pellegrino now applied newer rules to architectural ornamentation and perspective and gave a more modern air to his composition, he still remained impressed with old Friulan character. Byzantine projections mark the face, coarse robustness the hands and feet, of the square foreshortened Christ; the angels round the Saviour are cast in the short and paltry mould of earlier ones at Osopo.

Of the attendant evangelists the shapes are unwieldy and helpless, the chief defects being hard and cornered drapery, ill drawn extremities, incorrect anatomy, vulgar and antiquated masks; no trace of subtlety in treatment is apparent in any part; a dusky and uniform colour breaks with abrupt transitions from yellow to leaden grey in flesh and sharp juxtapositions from primary to primary in dresses; the contours are raw and cutting, the surface is rough, opaque, and hatched in lights and shades to a rude and unsatisfactory finish.

What contemporary opinion may have been as regards this work has not been recorded. It shows that Pellegrino at the time was little superior to Giovanni Martini, that he had some Friulan wildness, and a tendency to imitate Cima. As an analyst and draughtsman he betrayed a vast amount of inexperience, and it might be questioned whether such a beginning could be considered to promise future greatness. Pellegrino signed his name and the date of 1498 on the upper slant of the semidome window; and years elapsed before the decoration was resumed.¹

¹ San Daniele, ch. of St. Antonio. Pentagonal semi-dome vaulting. Most of the blue grounds on which the figures should be relieved are either abraded or scaled, the blue mantle of the Saviour is altered and bleached, the red tunic changed by damp and the head discoloured. Two angels to the r. of the Sa-

vour's feet are all but gone. The violet dress of St. Mathew is spotted and discoloured. In a lozenge in the vaulting of the window (o in accompanying plan) are the words "Pelegrinus pinxit" and in a medallion beneath, the date "1498". The figures of the vaulting are marked in the plan g. h. i. j.

During thirty years previous to the opening of the 16th century, Friuli was invaded seven times by the Turks; and the last of these invasions occurred in 1499. Pouring in large numbers over the Bosnian borders, the Saracens crossed the Isonzo, Tagliamento, and Livenza, massacred or carried off the inhabitants of towns and villages, and forced all those who had the means to take refuge in walled cities. — Pellegrino, it cannot be doubted, was obliged to run for Udine; and many a year went by before the brotherhood of Sant' Antonio required sufficient courage or saved enough money to proceed with the embellishment of its house of prayer.

Meanwhile trade resumed its wonted activity in the chief centres of traffic, and Pellegrino found no lack of patrons in the Friulan capital. A friendly competition began, as we have seen, between himself and Giovanni Martini; and the glory of St. Joseph which he completed in 1501 for a chapel in the Duomo is a record of his victory in this amicable contest. The saint is here represented erect holding the infant Christ, who gives a blessing to the Baptist in the garb of a shepherd. An isolated example of its kind as regards subject and almost irreparably damaged by repainting, it suffices to show that Pellegrino even at the opening of the century had not as yet made any serious progress in modernising his style, his chief characteristic being an imitation of Cima, which becomes very distinct in a background of ruinous buildings like that in Conegliano's glory of St. Peter at the Academy of Venice. The figures are in better drawing and movement the draperies have a more modern cast and the extremities less coarseness, than of old, but there is nothing as yet to foreshadow the bold facility which became so conspicuous later.¹ The success of this com-

¹ The contract for this picture (ib. ib.). — 1501. June 14. Final is dated May 10. 1500, the price to be 35 ducats (Maniago, u. s. 293) an additional sum of 10 ducats was granted on Feb. 1. 1501 payment was made to both Pellegrino and Giovanni Martini (record in arch. notar. of Udine). Not only is the principal panel injured

petition introduced Pellegrino to municipal honours and he was elected member of the council of Udine from 1501 to 1503. Of his pictures at that time we have but a poor example in the Baptist between saints (1502) at Santa Maria in Valle of Cividale.¹ He might have lived

by repainting but the predella representing the adoration of the magi, the adoration of the shepherds and the flight into Egypt — all landscape compositions — are ruined by retouching. Vasari (IX. 28.) greatly praises this picture.

¹ 1501 and 1503. Pellegrino was a member of the "Maggior consiglio" of Udine. There is a St. Benedict in Santa M. in Valle at Cividale half the life size on an arched panel much injured by abrasion, outlined with a minute broken contour; the draperies cutting and rectilinear as in Catena and Bissolo; shadow all but absent. We are asked to believe that this figure is the one referred to in a record published by Maniago (Stor. delle b. a. Friul. u. s. 301.) in which under the date of 1539 payment is made to "Girolamo da Udine" for "l'ancona di S. Benedetto". In the vicinity of the panel above described, there are two others of the same size, representing St. John the Baptist and St. John Evangelist hanging on the walls of Santa M. in Valle. The panel of the Evangelist is supposed to be that referred to in a record, also cited by Maniago with the date of 1501, in which one Elizabeth Formentina at Cividale pays Pellegrino da San Daniele "per la pala di San Zuan" 125 ducats. This figure of St. John Ev. is gentle in shape and mien, the head round and full, the flesh rosy, pale and shadowless, the draperies rectilinear, the feet large and coarse. We should say this was the work of a man bred in the old methods of Friulan art but not unacquainted with the works of Cima. St. John the Baptist is of the same stamp as the Evan-

gelist (much injured too). We are inclined to think that the three panels formed part of one altarpiece, and that the painter was Pellegrino, and the whole piece seems to be that called "Pala di San Zuan" in the record of 1501; but we think also that so weak a production of Pellegrino should be classed amongst those confided principally to his assistants among whom Girolamo da Udine may have been counted. We have the contract of June 28. 1501 by which Pellegrino agrees with "la Reverenda Elisabetta Formentina" abbess of S. Maria in Valle at Cividale to produce the altarpiece which is to represent St. John the Baptist betw. St. Benedict and St. John Evangelist and in the upper part the assumption of the Virgin, the whole piece to be 15 f. h. by 7 and to be valued, on completion. 1501. Sept. 17. Pellegrino is witness to a will at Udine. 1502. March 11. P. promises to pay to the brotherhood of S. Antonio 52 lire, a charge upon a house wh. he had purchased in Borgo Aquileia at Udine. 1502. Nov. 2. Udine, Elena, appoints Pellegrino her agent in the matter of the succession of her relative Prè Giusto ex-chaplain of Santa Maria in San Daniele. 1503. October 24. Pellegrino receives a present of a garden from Gio. F. Flettini of Udine for whom he had done painter's work. 1505. July 9. Contract betw. P. and Gio. Francesco of Spilimberg for a crucified Saviour with the Magdalen in the sacristy of the Duomo of Spilimberg the price not to exceed 82 ducats. There is no present knowledge of the existence of this piece. 1505. Nov. 20.

in this manner for years a respected citizen and a mediocre artist, had not accident driven him from home and brought him in contact with new and very powerful influences. The first of these accidents was one which affected him greatly. We saw, he had been promised the reversion of the post of constable at Udine. When a vacancy occurred in 1506 he claimed it and was mortified beyond measure at not receiving it. In dudgeon, we may suppose, he retired to San Daniele, in the vicinity of which he finished a fresco called *La Vergine di Strada* fragments of which are still preserved, and in 1507 after a short period of unsettled life, he let his house and wandered to the lowlands.¹ Political reasons were probably of weight in the hostility which he encountered at Udine; parties were quietly taking sides for the Imperialists on the one hand, for Venice on the other. The Emperor Maximilian had sent word to Venice that he intended to pass the Alps into Italy; the Venetians had refused and were prepared to resist, the passage. In January 1508

Estimate of repairs to Pellegrino's house in Borgo Aquileia at Udine, he being present 1506. Feb. 10. Payment to the brotherhood of S. Antonio at San Daniele of rent due by Pellegrino for certain houses in Borgo Aquileia at Udine. 1506. March, and foll. deeds of purchase and sale of property by P.

¹ 1506. Sept. 23. Udine. Pellegrino applies for the vacant post of constable of the Pascole gate at Udine which had been promised to him in Dec. 17. 1495. The council refuses to make the grant and appoints another person. 1506. Oct. 9. and Oct. 27. P. lets a house in Borgo Aquileia and appoints two lawyers his agents at Udine.

As to the fresco called the *Vergine di Strada*, old chronicles affirm that it was done in 1506 in the ch. of the Madouna near San Daniele; the subject was the Virgin and ch. with the Baptist and St. Joseph. All that now remains is the Virgin and ch. sawn from the

wall and preserved in a frame under glass on the high altar. The figures are life size but too injured to warrant an opinion (See Hartzen, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1853, No. 23, and Maniago u. s. p. 179). Hartzen in a notice of Pellegrino's works (*D. Kunstbl.* No. 23) ascribes to Pellegrino the glory of St. Ursula at the Brera, but we have seen that it is by Giovanni Martini.

1507. Oct. 5. Udine; deed of gift of a garden in Udine to P. from Gio. Savorgnano, for services done in his profession. Oct. 29. Purchase of land in Borgo Aquileia. Nov. 26. Minute of settlement betw. P. and the brotherhood of S. Antonio at S. Daniele as to rent charge of the latter on P.'s house in Borgo Aquileia. Nov. 15. Deed of gift of two fields at Udine from the noble Gio. Savorgnano to P. for professional services. Dec. 1. P. lets his house at Udine to Giacomo Cibel for 32 lire per annum.

Friuli and Cadore were invaded, and the wars lasted with little interruption till 1512. Those years Pellegrino spent in the north Italian provinces partly as we believe at Venice and partly at Ferrara. —

At Venice a great revolution had been made in painting; secrets of mediums, problems of perspective, subtle laws of harmony, had been mastered and applied; composition, proportion, expression and the draughtman's skill, if not neglected, had become second to effect in pictures; touch had taken the place of pure outline; artifice of treatment and of colour that of severe science; scenic concentration, deep flush of light, sweeps of strong shadow, twilight of glowing tone, were the qualities which gave a new aspect to the works of Bellini, Giorgione and Palma. How striking the change to a man like Pellegrino returning to the haunts of his youth, full as yet of his ideal of Cima and old Friulan ruggedness; how natural that he should strive to acquire something of the attractiveness of Giorgionesque art! We can fancy that in the period of his initiation to this new manner he would fall very easily into that sort of imitation which we discern in an altarpiece of the late Rinuccini collection — a glory of S^t. Mark between S^t. Jerom and S^t. Gerard — falsely inscribed with Perugino's name, in which we observe a superficial copy of Giorgione, Palma, and Lotto. We hesitate as to the authorship which might be claimed for *Morto da Feltre*, but it is quite conceivable that a man of Pellegrino's type should produce the dry and paltry figures, the full, deep, draperies of rectilinear fold, the clouded empty flesh tones — which are so conspicuous in this instance. The Duke of Ferrara at this time was preparing to decorate his palace with mythological subjects. He had ordered a bacchanal of Giovanni Bellini, and scenes from the *Aeneid* of the Dossi; he was to employ Titian at a later period and strive, though in vain, to enlist the services of a still greater artist. The only reason given by Raphael in 1517 for refusing to paint a triumph of Bacchus was that

the same subject had been done for the Duke by Pellegrino da San Daniele.¹

In summer, 1512, Pellegrino returned to Udine where he designed allegories of "religion justice, victory and fame" in monochrome for the monument of Andrea Trevisano in the loggia of the public Palace, but even here the hand of time lies heavy on his labours and we can only discern that he had gained dexterity and grace in rendering form and action.² The reach of his power is only to be measured in the wall paintings which he now resumed at Sant' Antonio of San Daniele. How it happened that this church remained so long without modern adornments has been explained; when Pellegrino resumed duty there in summer 1513, it does not appear that any limits were set to him as regards time. The frescos themselves afford internal evidence of having been finished at different epochs and at considerable intervals — the four doctors in the choir vaulting seen from below at openings of an oval shape, and six life size busts of prophets on the soffit, in the spring of 1514.³

Though injured by damp and, so far, an imperfect

¹ Ex gal. Rinuccini. The altarpiece of St. Mark, betw. S. S. Jerom and Gerard represents three saints erect in niches and on pedestals. It is much injured and inscribed: "Pietro Perugino pinxit anno 1512". The St. Jerom slightly recalls Palma, the head of St. Mark is Bellinesque. Hartzen (*Deutsches Kunstblatt* u. s. No. 23) assigns the picture to Pellegrino (see also *Hist. of Ital. Painting*, Vol. III. 196.). As to Ferrara, see Vas. IX. 22 and 29, XIII. 23, in which it is stated that through Ferrarese influence Pellegrino obtained for relations at Udine the appointment to two canopies. With reference to Raphael's objection to paint a triumph of Bacchus see Campori, *Notiz. Ined. di Raffaello*. 4^o. Modena 1863. p. 7.

² 1512. Dec. 19. Udine, payment to P. for monochromes of the tomb of the late luogotenente at Udine

(Maniago, u. s. p. 295). The figures are of life size, the old and worn outlines impinged upon by the whitewash of the tomb.

³ The frescos described are g. h. i. j. k. in the elevation annexed to the text. 1513. July 26. In the ch. of S. Antonio minute of agreement betw. Pellegrino and Ser Girolamo de Venusii "camerario" of the brotherhood, to adorn the ch. with paintings (Maniago, u. s. 294—5). The figures are damaged by spots, damp and abrasion — the St. Jerom and a prophet in the soffit especially so. Some of the stucco ornaments also have dropped out and the blues generally are all but obliterated. Some of the harshness peculiar to the frescos is due to the system of fine hatching from which Pellegrino has not yet severed himself.

test, these pieces very clearly demonstrate that the works of the modern Venetians had not been carelessly studied by Pellegrino. It was not in him to divest his style altogether of its old Friulan impress; his marked contour and detail were still obtrusive; he was too abrupt in contrasts of light and shade and too harsh in transitions; he indulged to excess in sombre colour, strong tints and sharpness of drapery line; but he showed some mastery over the principles of anatomy and foreshortening, and improved greatly in drawing and modelling. Precision and boldness are judiciously combined in his handling; character and expression are often united in one figure; there is force in the ruddiness of his flesh, and flow in the folding of his drapery. The most distinct feature of his style however is an imitation of Pordenone for which there was probably sufficient cause. Pordenone was born, as we shall see, about 1483, and received the lessons of Pellegrino. In the first burst of his career he produced frescos savouring of the old Friulan and Venetian and markedly like those of 1498 in Sant' Antonio of San Daniele. At a subsequent period he also visited the lowlands and followed the Giorgionesques. Being a man of genius and originality, favoured moreover by the flexibility of youth, he adapted himself to the changes introduced at Venice and returned into Friuli a better painter than his teacher. During his frequent wanderings, Pellegrino probably visited San Salvatore of Colalto or other churches in which Pordenone was employed during the early part of the century and wittingly or unwittingly fell into his manner. It is instructive to observe how at different epochs the two men were masters to each other; Pellegrino first instructing Pordenone, Pordenone later heading and imposing his influence upon Pellegrino. Both artists, great in their way, might have been led to the same results by a similar course of study, yet Pellegrino is so like Pordenone in 1514 that it is hard to believe he did not imitate him, especially as Pordenone is already superior to Pellegrino in every department of his art.

In 1514 Friuli was involved in new complications. The troops of the emperor having treacherously broken truce and forced the Venetians to raise the siege of Marano, occupied Udine and all the strongholds of the hills except Osopo in February. In March they ransomed San Daniele then comparatively defenceless; and a contemporary record tells how the inhabitants were offered the alternative of fine or pillage, and Pellegrino was one of those deputed to deliberate on this unpleasant subject.¹ The Imperialists, it is true, had barely time to secure their booty and retire; but in the meanwhile Pellegrino was forced to a temporary residence at Udine where he produced a Virgin and child with saints, now ruined, in the church of San Rocco.² His return to San Daniele took place in November 1515, and from that time forward, he laboured with little intermission at the wall paintings of Sant' Antonio.

Looking at these frescos in their present condition they seem to have been carried out with constant reference to the progress that art was making throughout the Venetian territories; and we almost fancy that each subject betrays in its handling the exact date of its execution; nor shall we greatly err in assuming that the miracle of the resurrection of the child in the choir preceded the subjects on the wall of the choir arch, and these were followed

¹ 1514. March. 27. Minute of a "council of heads of families" held at San Daniele drawn up by the notary Niccolò di Giorgio, in the archive of Udine. Previous to that date we have other records relative to Pellegrino, ex gr.: 1513. May 12., at Udine; purchase of a house from Vincenzo da Bari. Oct. 28., at San Daniele, action of Pellegrino against an inhabitant of Begliano for 8 ducats. Jan. 10. 1514. Pellegrino buys a feud for 9 ducats. Oct. 18. 1514. Udine. Deed of division between Pellegrino and his brother in law Candido di Giusto of certain property left by q. M^o. Giorgio Mugnialo.

² In a record dated Nov. 14. 1514. at Udine, the "cameraro" of San Rocco fuori porta Pascole at Udine contracts with Pellegrino for a "pala" to contain the Virgin and child betw. St. Sebastian and St. Roch for 45 ducats. It still exists: on panel with figures all but life size, St. Roch in profile praying with joint hands; St. Sebastian naked with his hand behind his back, between the two an angel playing an instrument. The surface after having been flayed was almost completely repainted and is now scaling in many places.

by the saints on the piers, the limbus and the washing of the apostles.

No longer confined to the narrow field of church altarpieces, Pellegrino now appears to us as a composer dealing with expression and incident, and on this ground he undoubtedly reveals new and not inconsiderable powers. His talent for arrangement in the resurrection of the boy is hardly less unexpected than his skill as a colourist and draughtsman. He divides the scene into two parts separated from each other by the figure of the mother imploring the supernatural aid of S^t. Anthony. Her features, of peasant mould, are filled with a spirit of passionate hope and confidence, whilst her child, of plump and pleasant shape, lies flexible in death on her knee. Behind her, in sympathising attitudes, a group of five females of diverse age and complexion, gently supplicating, eagerly inquiring, curiously watching, or timidly listening. In front, S^t. Anthony in benediction, a poor and vulgar specimen of monkish abstinence attended by friars and laymen. — The setting is good; the movements are natural, instantaneous and appropriate. Form, of a robust and fleshy substance in females, comparatively feeble in males, is rendered without delicacy of selection, but in correct perspective; drapery is ample, well cast, and fairly distributed. A slight emptiness may be noticed in the flesh tints; but the colouring is warm and bright. Particularly remarkable is the change in technical handling. Whilst in the earliest of his works, Pellegrino piles his colour substantially and models it up by liquid hatching and thus creates unpleasant blindness and opacity, he now paints on a marble surface, lightly covering the white ground with transparents, and only using solid touches for the highest light or the deepest dark. The latter he puts in with much cleverness where the parts recede and especially where shadows are projected by the brow, the nose, and chin. He produces by this means a massive contrast of chiaroscuro, to which however he sacrifices much, neglecting outline in extremities and articulations,

and merely suggesting in a general way what the shape of a finger or joint ought to be. It was Pellegrino's misfortune to be attracted almost exclusively by richness of colouring. In his effort to rival contemporary Venetians, he imitated them with superficial ease, and thus remained below them in the subtleties of their practise; and we may attribute the want of break in his flesh as compared with theirs, and something in its monotone which reminds us of Pordenone and Correggio to that cause. He was also at a disadvantage because he applied to wall painting a system almost exclusively used by the Venetians for the production of easel pictures. Venice enjoyed in Titian the greatest representative of the art of colouring on canvas, Florence in Andrea del Sarto, the greatest *frescante*. When Titian attempted fresco he was as much beneath himself as del Sarto when he took to the easel, transferring to the wall the technica of canvas, as Andrea transferred to canvas the technica of fresco. Yet Pellegrino in spite of this disadvantage acquitted himself of his task with reasonable success; and though he occupied but a second place as compared with Giorgione, Palma, and Pordenone, he is not the less entitled to admiration. We have seen that for many generations his compositions were frequently assigned to greater artists; and without at all pretending to rob Barbarella for the benefit of Pellegrino we may observe some resemblance in treatment between the works of the latter and the "concert" at the Louvre.¹

Slight progress had been made up to this time in covering the fields of the choir and semi-dome in Sant' Antonio; but slow as the work had been it had proceeded regularly. Some sudden ambition now prompted Pellegrino to undertake the decoration of the large face of the choir arch. Not many years before, Michael Angelo had finished the ceiling of the Sixtine chapel; and a murmur of admiration was heard throughout Italy at the gigantic exertions which enabled one man to cover so wide an

¹ Louvre, No. 44.

area in so short a time with such marvellous products of the pencil. Pellegrino's idea seems to have been suggested by the fame of the Sixtine. It was an attempt to produce a filling of framings and medallions with subjects sacred and profane and subordinate details of architecture and sculpture. — The space is broken into broad divisions, horizontally with deep cornices, vertically with pillars and piers interrupted in their length by capitals and plinths with statues; — in the spandrels of the arch, medallions with imitated reliefs, round the arch itself a border in gilt stucco and flat monochrome with arabesques and trophies. In this rich and effective cento, Pellegrino exhibits fertility in expedients, cleverness in perspective and taste in colour; — being one of the few Venetians who reminds us of the modern classic of the Florentines. He cannot beat Pordenone when he imitates the Raphaelesques at Casarsa, Sebastian del Piombo at Piacenza, Correggio at Treviso or Michael Angelo at Spilimberg; but he alone combines all the innovations of the age; and his ingenuity is conspicuous when he transforms simple altars like those on the sides of the choir arch at Sant' Antonio into piles of monumental splendor. Nothing can be simpler than the cube of these altars on each of which a carved and tinted statue is placed, yet they seem to be very highly ornamented. In that to the right, the wall behind the statue is made to resemble a marble niche whilst two others at its sides, inclosed in monochrome pilasters and borders and thrown back by linear perspective, are painted so as to contain figures of saints. This first course is parted from a second one by a well imitated entablature forming the base of a curved recess of coloured marbles in which three saints are set, — the height at which they stand, as well as their distance within the entablature being accounted for by the concealment of the lower extremities, the foreshortening of the proportions, and the view of the ceiling of the recess. Besides this the figures are placed in appropriate attitudes, St. Sebastian bound to the pillar, his head thrown back and drooping, his frame curved with

one hip outward — a fleshy youthful effigy more like Antinous in voluptuous languor of pose than a Christian martyr; S^t. Job aged yet bronzed and powerful, his right leg nearly overlapping the left on which the whole weight of the body rests, leaning over and supporting himself with both hands on a staff, a cloth round his loins, the limbs disfigured with ulcers; S^t. Roch in soft boots moving to the left and looking round to the right, pointing at the plague boil, a muscular, bearded peasant, in the vigour of youth, very reminiscent of Romanino; S^t. James, with a broad head and low forehead, and large eyes wide apart under arched brows, the barrel of the nose running down from a wide root to a thin point and delicate nostrils. In harmony with the boldness of the arrangement is the chord of rich tones gaily thrown upon the white smooth surface of the plaster. With less emptiness than before, but not without tricky conventionalism in the uniformity of technical treatment, this portion of Pellegrino's work is very remarkable for blending, clear trans- parence and massive chiaroscuro. In the warm flesh tints there is still some neglect of transitions and subtle modulations, yet the parts are brought into keeping by sheer cleverness of harmonic contrasts, and S^t. Roch, in glaring stuffs, is very brilliant; but the richness of the whole is enhanced by effects calculated to assist those of the light streaming through the neighbouring window. S^t. Sebastian, whose body is fully exposed is relieved against the pillar with a strong brown, the depth of which is greater than that of the frame itself. S^t. Job in the centre of the curve is brought out with a very fine play of projected shadow, S^t. Roch by a complicated tress of the same, the strongest of which is cast by the hat on his head, whilst lesser ones are caused by the arm and the hand pointing at the boil — all this improved by a bold application of perspective to form and by touch invariably following the direction of the foreshortenings. What constitutes the difference between this and Tuscan art is the absence of reference to nature. None of the figures will bear close analysis,

correctness of outline and modelling, or selectness of types and masks being always sacrificed to a gay brightness of colour and a sublime ease of hand.

In no fresco is Pellegrino's skill in imitating Giorgione more remarkable than here, and it is not without interest to dwell minutely upon the manner in which the imitation is made, because when a dissection of this kind has taken place it helps us to determine what pictures are justly attributable to Giorgione or Pellegrino. Pellegrino was in the habit of accepting commissions for church standards whilst fully occupied with his principal undertaking at San Daniele. We have records of such a commission for a church at Pozzalis in 1516. A panel finished we believe under these conditions and not improbably about this time is the Virgin and child amidst saints at the Louvre under Giorgione's name.¹ This important masterpiece once formed part of the collection of Charles the 1st at Whitehall, and was purchased for him as a Giorgione by Lord Cottington; it is an oblong with half lengths in a landscape, to the left the Virgin with the Saviour on her knee clad in a red tunic, half covered with a blue mantle and its green lining, her white veil passing downwards under her arm and covering the child's belly. St. Joseph behind to the left, St. Sebastian to the right, bound naked to a tree

¹ Louvre. No. 43. Wood. M. 1.0. h. by 1. 36. bought for Charles the 1st by Lord Cottington (comp. Bathoe. Cat. etc. of King Charles 1st coll. Lond. 1757 p. 106) erroneously stated (Louvre catalogue) to have come from Mantua, successively in the hands of Jabach and Card. Mazarin, embrowned by old varnishes and retouched in a few places (chiefly knee, breast and forehead of the infant Christ). The standard of Pozzalis has not been preserved, but we have records which (with others) may be calendared here. Udine. March 7. 1515. The luogotenente Leonardo Emo summons Pellegrino to appear before him. S. Daniele Aug. 2. 1515, cession by P. in his wife's

name of a legacy of two bushels of corn yearly to the brotherhood of S. Maria of S. Daniele. Udine. Nov. 11. 1515. P. leases land at Udine. Nov. 12. P. grants a power of attorney. S. Daniele March 10. 1516. P. purchases land. — Oct. 21. Final payment for the same. S. Daniele. April 29. 1516. P. hires a house. Udine. June 29. 1516. P. appoints an agent. S. Daniele. Sept. 29. 1516. The Camerari of S. Floriano at Pozzalis confess themselves indebted to P. in the sum of 20 (? 25) ducats for a standard. S. Daniele. Nov. 15. 1516. P. promises to carve, tint, and gild, an image of St. Margaret, for S. Margherita of Anduino.

the sparse dark leaves of which are touched off upon the light clouds that dot the deep blue of the sky; between him and the Virgin, St. Catherine with a hand on her bosom, in front of all, the profile and shoulders of an adoring patron. The heads, in the mould of those at San Daniele, are either square or round and bending so as to form a balance of curves and produce foreshortening of all the features — the Virgin, ill proportioned, coarse in features, and lame in extremities, and an exaggerated copy of Bellini's in the altarpiece of 1505 at San Zaccaria, the child still more pinguid and incorrect. — St. Catherine disfigured by a thick and vulgar hand, the draperies studied in detail but of defective cast and frequent fold as in the followers of Palma Vecchio and Lotto. The treatment is Pellegrino's especially in the artifice of contrasts. St. Joseph, the Virgin and the child are surrounded by deep hues of a blood red tinge whilst St. Catherine is brought forward upon the changing blues of a distant landscape; St. Sebastian partly on the brown trunk of the tree partly on the pale green and yellow of St. Catherine's dress, the lights covering half of every object, leaving the rest in obscurity or semitone, each body in its own projection being relieved on another either as shade on deeper shade or light on shade or half light on half shade. On the same principles as at San Daniele the gesso is perfectly smooth, a general neutral red glazed with a clearer and colder scumble produces a grey half tint in flesh merging into ruddier tones of increasing substance and warmth up to the strong impasto of the highest prominences; these being illuminated from outside, the darks from the transparency of the ground — a very clever trick of technical execution, simulating the sun playing on the surface in one case, and the blood pulsating under the skin in the other; to complete the finish, a copious use of the badger tool, then subtle transparents of light texture enlivening the cheeks and lips in the transitions or breaking the evenness of the shadows, and so managed that the reflex of one colour is reechoed

in another as in nature — withal, a broad handling with full vehicle. The result of this method is not perfection; for abundant impregnation with oil and varnish yields but a hard and misty emptiness, the partial glazes introduced at the close frequently blending but ill with the rest and creating an impression of vague rawness. Such an impression is never produced by the genuine works of Giorgione who was unused to those particular knacks, but Pellegrino might have learnt them from Fra Bartolommeo or Mariotto as he may have taken from Correggio a certain mode of giving hair and locks, or from others the habit of cutting out a speck here and there with the butt end of his brush.

With increasing skill, Pellegrino continued the decoration of Sant' Antonio by filling in the spaces behind the altar to the left of the choir arch, simulating as a back ground to the tinted figure of S^t. Anthony a niche with a mosaic semidome adorned with two cherubs, above the border of the niche, a medallion of Christ in grief between two angels, at the sides of the statue, two life size angels in flight and above these, a double group of saints in episcopal and clerical dress. Though short and square the angels are bold and lifelike in draperies waving to the breeze — the figures in every case bound to their places by atmosphere and gradation of tone, varied in character and expression and ready in action. With much to remind us of Correggio and the Raphaelesques in cast of dress, the fresco still remains behind those of Pordenone in fanciful conception and energetic rendering; and we trace with more and more certainty an increasing neglect of form for the sake of brilliancy and freedom of hand.

More in the spirit of Pordenone is the neighbouring composition on the left wall of the aisle, in which S^t. Anthony on his throne gives the pastoral benediction to a large congregation. Though damaged in many ways this fresco is still imposing from the grandeur of movement and gesture as well as the stern gravity of the principal figure. The sense of vague rendering in form or detail and modelling is all but lost in massive light and shade and a variegated richness of tints. In a series of noble portraits

introduced as worshippers of the saint we have speaking evidence of that sort of art which most painters of the Venetian and Friulan school exhibited, the art of reproducing truthful and effective likenesses. Parted from this scene by a deep cornice with medallions of heads and ornament, we have an upper course representing St. Sebastian at the column, S^t. Michael trampling on Satan, and monochromes, all of them masterly examples of light and rapid treatment. On a level with these, are the feigned statues in the cornice above the altars on the wall of the choir arch. — Statues of David, Adam, Eve and Judith each of them on a round pedestal; in the spandrels of the arch, medallions with simulated bas-reliefs of the drunkenness of Noah and the sacrifice of Abraham, to the right and left, arched fields containing the nativity and adoration of the Magi in very bad condition, above these again in the pediment, two obliterated subjects in white and black at the sides of a court in which the announcing angel is seen alighting and bringing the message to Mary. Striking as a proof of the variety of Pellegrino's observation during long years of travel is the peculiar form of imitation observable in the two principal incidents of the nativity and Epiphany. Like Pordenone who went to Ferrara, Girolamo da Treviso who studied in Bologna, or del Piombo who visited Rome, Pellegrino wandering in Lombardy and the Venetian provinces acquired an insight into the habits of most of the painters of the lowland schools, reminding us of Gaudenzio Ferrari in the adoration of the shepherds, of Bazzi and Pinturicchio in the adoration of the Magi, where the ornaments are raised and gilt in the most approved Umbrian fashion.

To the right in the aisle the window slants contain masks and images of saints in half and full length, and near it are the injured remnants of S^t. George and S^t. Christopher carrying the Saviour, poor and hasty productions of the master's assistants.

To what extent Pellegrino still feels the impress of Giorgione may be seen in some of the saints in niches in

the piers of the choir, the angel and Tobias and a bishop to the right, S^t. George and S^t. Columba to the left, — S^t. George a youth in armour standing in the attitude of S^t. Liberale in Giorgione's altarpiece at Castelfranco or of the smaller replica at the National gallery, with a slight variety in the way in which the sword and lance are held; here too the head is helmless, and the long hair falls in abundance to the shoulders; the right hand grasping a palm whilst at Castelfranco it crushes a glove. It may be that Pellegrino never saw Giorgione's altarpiece, yet the coincidence is singular and suggests a Giorgionesque inspiration. Receiving light from the window, the figure is in a very advantageous situation; it is well brought out by massive shadows, skilful rounding, and accurate perspective, its shape made beautifully prominent by strong rich colour; and again we forget in the gorgeous effect of chiaroscuro and tinting want of analytical power and faulty drawing.

We must not suppose that Pellegrino's constant residence in a small and unimportant town in Friuli cut him off from communication with the ideas and progress of the world around him. His works at San Daniele alone would prove that he kept up acquaintance with the treasures of art in his own, and even in neighbouring, provinces; nor was there any lack of connection or interchange between the people and commodities of the hills and lowlands. Private records tell us that Pellegrino was in constant intercourse at least with Udine either for the purpose of administering the property of which he was still possessed there or in pursuit of his business as a painter. Not unfrequently he went up to the capital to sign a lease, make a contract or act as referee between patrons and artists. In May 1517 we find him receiving a deed of assignment of a burial place for himself and his family in the church of San Michele at San Daniele, in September of the same year valuing a carved altarpiece by Giovanni Martini. In September 1519 he was present at a sitting of the council to exhibit a drawing of the figures with which he proposed to adorn the

doors of the cathedral organ at Udine; and when the work was finished in 1521 it was submitted to Giovanni Martini and Sebastian Florigerio as umpires. Many were Pellegrino's subsequent personal applications to obtain his dues.¹ S^t. Peter and S^t. Hermagoras on one side, the four doctors in couples on the other, form the subjects of these doors which are unhappily painted in distemper on canvass, so that what remains of them as at present preserved in the great hall and in the private rooms of the town house, is in a most unsatisfactory condition. — They seem originally to have been executed with great boldness, and only to differ from earlier productions by a certain stylelessness in drapery; but it is to be remarked that a Judith in the spandrels of the arching above the figures of S^t. Gregory and S^t. Jerome, is a mere repetition of that in Sant' Antonio of San Da-

¹ Udine. May 7. 1517. Deed of cession by Maestro Bernardino "teologo" to P. of his family sepulchre and monument in S Michele of S. Daniele. S. Daniele. Sept. 11. 1517 and Dec. 4. 1518. Payments of rent by P. for a house at S. Daniele. Udine. Sept. 26. 1517. P. is umpire betw. Gio. q. Martini and the Camerari of the ch. of S^t. Lorenzo at Sedegliano, his fee is six lire or about 1 ducat, for travelling expenses and valuation. Gemona. April 11. 1518. P. is appointed agent for the chapter of the minorites of S. M. delle Grazie at Gemona. Udine. Sept. 21. 1519. Minute of council of P.'s appearance to show the drawings for the organ of the Duomo (Maniago, u. s. p. 295). Nov. 6. Contr. for the doors of the organ (ib. 296—7). Udine. Nov. 3. 1521. As to appointment of umpires to settle the price of the organ doors (Rec. in Arch. of not. at Udine). Nov. 15. Appointment of Giovanni q. Martini and Sebastian Florigerio as umpires (Maniago, u. s. 297). Nov. 19. Award of the above (Maniago, u. s. 290). Nov. 28. P. claims payment and receives 35 ducats on account (Rec. in arch. of Udine). Dec. 4. Further payment of 20 duc. (ib. ib.) The organ doors (which Vasari mentions Vol. IX. p. 26.) are in a bad state and as these lines are penned the figures of S^t. Peter and Hermagoras are being restored. The four doctors, forming the inner face, are also in poor condition. To the right we have S^t. Augustin, fronting the spectator, with the right hand on a book on his knee, his left on a book resting on a desk — behind which S^t. Ambrose sits in half shadow. This couple in episcopals sits under a vaulted chapel, supported by ornamented pillars with mosaic lunettes; on the capital of the pilasters, David with the sling and a boy with a banner; to the left, S^t. Jerome and S^t. Gregory in a similar chapel — on the capitals of the pilasters Judith and a boy, the whole work broadly executed but now of a dull tone from time and retouching. The face of S^t. Augustin, the figures of S^t. Gregory and David are blackened and repainted.

niele, a sort of repetition not unfrequent in Pellegrino, as in 1519 he painted an annunciation for the tailors' guild at Udine, and in comparing it as it stands in the academy of Venice with the same subject in Sant' Antonio, we observe that one is a mere reduction of the other.¹ A much more interesting canvas of the same period and one which we may consider identical with that admired by Vasari in the house of Messer Pré Giovanni at Udine is that of a female in the collection of Conte Bernardini at Saltocchio near Lucca to which as we might expect, the name of Giorgione is given. Vasari accurately described it as "a Judith in half length carrying the head of Holofernes." The face is round and regular with heavy locks of rich chestnut hair falling to the shoulders; a white chemisette, and a green dress with broad armlets, showing their lining of amaranth, and an inner white sleeve, make up the dress; one arm is on a plinth on which the words "pro liberanda patria" are written, the left supports the grisly head of Holofernes against the edge of the plinth; a halo is thrown round the whole by a green tree in a clear sky. Great richness of tints and a solid touch of oily impasto in Palma Vecchio's manner give peculiar charm to this fresh and youthful apparition whilst the sombre tone of flesh, relieved by darker shades of the same colour, without Giorgione's subtlety of glaze and without definite outline or correct modelling, unmistakeably betray the hand of Pellegrino.²

In the meanwhile the frescos at San Daniele continued to progress; and Pellegrino devoted to them undiminished energy. Christ washing the feet of the apostles to the left in the choir of Sant' Antonio is a composition of great power and very remarkable for the energetic character and suggestive grouping of the figures. Posture, strain and

¹ Venice Acad. No. 563. canvas — oil. m. 1.90 h. by 3.45. inscribed: "Pelegrinus faciebat 1519. P. P. M. Dominici Suchonici camerarii auspiciis Francisco Tascha priore" altogether repainted in oil.

² Saltocchio — compare Vasari Vol. IX, p. 29. The picture is a panel, the figure half length and the size of life.

absence of beauty in type or dignity in mien are compensated by resoluteness and breadth of general treatment. We are reminded of Gaudenzio Ferrari by certain masks such as that of S^t. Peter who, half kneeling half stepping, protests his unworthiness; but the Saviour bending towards S^t. Peter, the disciple stripping on a bench or conversing as Judas retires through the door, the lodge with square pillars and hangings, are very reminiscent of Pordenone. — On the opposite wall are frescos of the same period and of similar style. Christ striding to the edge of the abyss triumphantly exerts his strength to raise the struggling Adam; males and females issue in various attitudes from the cavern to the right whilst to the left behind the Saviour, the repentant thief, a nude of Herculean muscularity, supports his cross upon the ground. Characteristic is the foreshortening of the heads by which the horizontal facial lines are brought into close proximity and high projection, conventional the swell and depression of the contours, false or undefined the shape of extremities and articulations; the standard of selection in type and mask is, as ever, low; but something naturally true and bold in the totality of the movement, massive distinctness of light and shade and warm transparent colour in the fashion of Pordenone and Correggio, prove absolutely attractive. When Pellegrino repeated this subject as we believe him to have done, in a much injured canvas at the Palazzo Reale of Venice, he merely introduced a couple of additional figures into the scene; yet the piece is attributed to Giorgione.¹

In two lunettes above the washing of the apostles, S^t. Anthony fights with the fiends and kneels awe-struck before

¹ Venice Palazzo Reale (old Procuratie Nuove). The "Christ in limbus" is an oblong canvas (with small figures) which used to hang in the Ducal Palace in the room called "ante secreta del collegio" (Zanotto Guida di Ven. 1863 p. 106). There is this difference in arrangement between it and the fresco at San Daniele that in addition to the repentant thief supporting his cross

there is to the left a S^t. John the Baptist, a nude male and female, and part of another figure. The rest is all but a repetition of the fresco. The execution seems to have been rapid and at one painting; the surface now is injured by abrasion and extensive repainting, so that it is hard to say whether the work was originally a tempera or not.

the dead body of St. Paul the hermit. These are designed in the spirit of Schön or Dürer and treated with neglectful ease in a manner akin to that observable in a Christ transfigured assigned to Morto in the church of Ognisanti at Feltre. The most important fresco and the last completed at Sant' Antonio is the crucifixion, a large and straggling composition, in the conception of which Pellegrino contents himself with the old model produced at Provesano by Gian' Francesco da Tolmezzo. Though here we become perfectly aware of the progress incident to lapse of years in arrangement and technical treatment, we are struck by that sort of resemblance which successive painters in one locality necessarily acquire. We note, as in Gian' Francesco, want of balance in distribution, exaggerated action, and absence of selection in type. The Saviour crucified in the middle of the picture, the Magdalen looking up as she grasps the instrument of death, the thieves writhing on tree crosses, the dicers, the Virgin in a swoon attended by the Marys, the guards and spectators in a landscape — these make up a time — honoured whole which gains interest from the peculiarity of its execution. The form, lie, and proportion of the Redeemer's frame are certainly the best that Pellegrino ever produced; nor is there any lack of expression in the head, but assuredly it was difficult to find a heavier or a more common fleshiness, a coarser or more peasant face. The thieves are very like those of Gian' Francesco in vehemence and contrast of position; the unrepentant with his torso bent outwards in throes of agony, the repentant drooping his head and shoulders and raising his right knee. In both instances there is some command and much parade of means; and Pellegrino so far succeeds that, though he does not rival Pordenone in the grandeur and breadth of a similar subject at Cremona, he now all but equals him in outline and modelling of articulations and extremitities. Quaint, if not of unquestionable taste is the cut and varied tinting of costumes and head-gear, most of the spectators and guards being in

particoloured vestments with here and there a breastplate embossed with golden rivets; others in long hair falling from beneath wide soft hats decked with feathers or turbans of fanciful shape. The forms are plump and pleasant and the personages in their mummerly are set in pretty attitudes, their frames turned one way, their heads another, massive shadow thrown over them by accidental projection from hat and hair, and puff and plume. In this medley of genre which most of the Giorgionesques cultivated we have the precise reverse of Titian's grave and high bred tact.

When called upon to remunerate Pellegrino for his long and arduous service, the brethren of Sant' Antonio, in December 1522, found it difficult to satisfy his demands. They were unwilling to enter into litigation, and therefore obtained the painter's consent to accept the award of Don Giovanni Angelo vicar of the patriarch of Venice; but even then they were forced to pay a sum of 100 ducats and the matter was not settled without difficulty and delay.¹

¹ Sant' Antonio of San Daniele. The following in respect of the frescos in this locality may be added to the general sketch in the text.

Lunette l. Resurrection of the boy, life size. The distance here is a background of houses and a tower to the left and the rest hills and sky. The Virgin's red dress is scaled. Altar m. Here the St. James is much injured in the lower parts; the blue jerkin and boot lining of St. Roch reduced to the red preparation — (figures life size). — Altar n. The lining of the pivial of the bishop in the upper course to the l. is abraded (figures life size). St. Anthony giving his pastoral blessing to a congregation — fresco — o.: Here the lower part of the fresco is altogether eaten away and the heads of the kneeling congregation are but partially preserved, some being abraded or discoloured and spotted, others all but obliterated. — Above this is a rich cornice balcony with profiles in monochrome, and above again frescos p. and q. representing saints in niches parted from each other by pillars. Of these St. Sebastian is almost destroyed by damp, and St. Michael is all but gone, the blue ground of the niche being bare to the preparatory red. — Two monochromes above (fresco r.) represent Moses striking the ock and the miracle of the brazen serpent. The simulated statues s. appear from below to be of life size; they are in as good preservation as the medal-

lions x and y. In the nativity t. the figures are seven in number and large as life, distance landscape. The blues are abraded and a piece of intonaco to the left has dropped, the rest spotted and spoiled by damp. The adoration u. is still more injured, a large spot in the centre being altogether bare, and the arm of the kneeling king deprived of colour. In the annunciation A the Eternal in a round occupies the middle of the space, the figures are made to appear of the life size; the blues are, as usual, scraped away. In the sides and soffit B there are rounds of St. Peter Martyr, Chiara, Nicholas of Bari, and Erasmus, and full lengths of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen. C and D St. Christopher and St. George are in a very bad condition, and the same may be said of the medallion monochrome E. St. George killing the dragon and the judgment of Solomon. The saint in episcopals on the pilaster I is part abraded part repainted. The face above is preserved and of a soft expression. The "washing of the feet" J is damaged by the abrasion of certain colours, as in the tunic of the apostle seated on the left foreground, and the violet mantle of St. Peter. The Judas and an apostle next him, as well as the Christ are disfigured by spots. Christ in the limbo K is much injured, colours having dropped off here and there, or being changed and blackened in tone. The hauds, feet and articulations are most extraordinarily inaccurate. St. Anthony in strife with the devils in the lunette L is full of stains and very much dimmed.

Pellegrino never again undertook a commission of such magnitude and what he did during the closing years of his life was merely a succession of altarpieces and church standards. — We have records of contracts for the furnishing of standards in 1526 for the churches of Alesso, Cepis and Pignano, in 1529 for San Francesco of Udine and Santa Margarita of Gruagnis, in 1533 for San Daniele of Cavazzo and Tricesimo, in 1547 for the church of Meriano, none of which have been preserved.

Sebastian Florigerio had been for some time apprentice to Pellegrino and probably had proved his ability to work out designs of his master's invention. A very curious deed dated the 27th of November 1525 shows how he bound himself to do duty as assistant in return for a promise of somewhat distant realization. It was agreed — and the agreement was ratified by a kiss and shake of hands — that within two years Pellegrino should give Florigerio his daughter Aurelia and a dowry of 200 ducats payable at his death, Florigerio promising his bride 100 ducats and a silver girdle; the pair and their children to live in Pellegrino's house and Florigerio to receive no salary for his services.

And now for the first time a direct and unpleasant rivalry was engendered between Pellegrino and Pordenone. Both painters had friends at Udine, who energetically supported their claims. Pellegrino, according to previous arrangement,

— In the distance St. Anthony offers to the hermit Paul the bread miraculously sent by a raven. In lunette M the distance is scaled, but two lions are seen scooping out the grave for the hermit. — In the crucifixion N, the whole of the lower part of the fresco is more or less spoiled by scaling or abrasion. The colours in the dress of the Magdalen and on some parts of the frame of Christ (ex gr. the left hand) are scraped away. The landscape is Friulan, a distance of hills with numerous towers and walls in the same arrangement as those of Pordenone and Morto and Gian' Francesco da Tolmezzo. All the parts of the composition to the right are more opaque, and less vivid in treatment than the rest, and we believe them done by Pellegrino's journeymen. The same may be said of the figures in the window side in the choir (frescos X) viz. rounds with St. Anthony, Louis, Bernardino, Benedict, a bishop, and Anthony of Padua. — In the

aisle of the church of S. Antonio we have remnants of a life sized figure of St. Pannuzius in his tree. We have notice of the completion of the frescos of Sant' Antonio in the following records: San Daniele Dec. 18, 1522. — Minute stating disagreement betw. P. and the brotherhood of Sant' Antonio after the frescos in the chapel had been valued. Both parties, being unwilling to litigate, remit their quarrel into the hands of Don Gio. Angelo di San Severino Patriarchal vicar. S. Daniele. Dec. 21, 1522 Messer Narduccio cameraro approves the above arrangement. S. Daniele Dec. 29. — The council of the brotherhood of S. Antonio also approve. San Daniele March 8, 1553. The camerari explain to the council of the brotherhood of S. Antonio that being bound by sentence of the patriarchal vicar to pay to P. 100 ducats, they submit a proposal to sell a mortgage possessed by them on the land of Ser Giacomo Portunerio of San Daniele. — Approval of the council.

had promised to attend the council on the 30th of March 1527 with drawings for the decoration of the pediment of the cathedral organ, but having been prevented by rain and snow from coming, a partisan of Pordenone rose and made an offer in his name that the work should be done in oil or distemper as the citizens should think fit for 31 ducats. An animated debate took place which ended in the acceptance of Pordenone's offer. At a later period the same competition was renewed in another place, and Pellegrino had the mortification of witnessing the payments made to Pordenone in 1535 for a Trinity in the Santissima Trinità of San Daniele. He consoled himself for his defeat at Udine by accepting a commission for a resurrection with saints from the minorites of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Gemona.

Towards the close of 1529 he completed the Madonna with six saints between St. Michael and St. Sebastian in Santa Maria of Cividale, one of the few altarpieces in his later style which has been preserved. Without exhibiting any serious novelty of treatment this large and important picture, greatly injured by time and restoring, is an interesting illustration of the bold freedom acquired by constant practise in wall painting. The Virgin a well proportioned fleshy dame sits enthroned in a ruined chapel with the infant child erect on her lap; — at her sides, four female saints artfully posed, with turns of head and frame in varied contrast, some in the figured turbans and slashes peculiar to Bernardino Pordenone, others with their long hair in tresses bound with ribbands falling on full throats and shoulders after the manner of Palma Vecchio. An angel playing a large viol sits on the steps of the throne like that of Pordenone at Susigana. The child, in twisted action looks down to St. John the Baptist who stands in a green mantle on the foreground, whilst to the right St. Donato holds the model of a town. With all his experience and years Pellegrino still imitates his contemporaries, caring as little as ever for precision of form, of outline, or of modelling, trusting to pose and

colour for effect, and working out his familiar system of cold preparations for warm light and warm grounding for cool shadow. In his drapery he combines with curious effect the curves of festoons and the angular breaks of substantial brocades.¹ The last subject of any size upon which we find him engaged, is that of restoring to its original condition St. Peter receiving the keys from the infant Saviour, an altarpiece with numerous saints at San Pietro in Borgo Aquileia of Udine described in Pellegrino's contract of April 1542 as "of the olden time". Years have disposed of this and other canvases of the same

¹ The following calendar of records comprises those referred to in the text.

Udine Dec. 7, 1520. P. arbitrates between the painter Giovanni G. Domenico and the "Camerari" of the church of Santa Maria and Sebastiano at Clauzetto. S. Daniele, Jan. 16, 1521. P. purchases certain houses at S. Daniele. Udine. Feb. 18, 1521. P. leases certain houses at Udine. Udine, Aug. 14, 1525 and Aug. 25, *ib. ib.* Udine, Nov. 27, 1525, deed of betrothal betw. P. and Florigerio called Mo. Sebastiano figlio di Giacomo di Bologna presently in Conegliano. 1526, San Daniele, numerous contracts of purchase and sale of timber. S. Daniele, May 5, 1526. P. contracts to paint a "Gonfalone" for the ch. of Alessio for 32 ducats. *Ib. ib.* on the 22d May for 24 ducats for the ch. of Cepis. *Ib. ib.* Aug. 6, for 60 lire for the ch. of Pignano, subject the Virgin, S. Leonard and St. Roch. Udine, March. 30, 1527. Minute of council as to the question whether Pordenone or Pellegrino should paint the organ of the Duomo at Udine (Maniago, u. s. 310—11.). — Gemona, Dec. 28, 1527, agreement of P. to paint for S. M. delle Grazie a canvas of the Resurrection of Christ with the four doctors according to a design previously submitted and for the price of 50 ducats. This picture has not been preserved but there is a Virgin and ch. enthroned between St. Joseph and St. Elizabeth (full length) in the church of that name in which we may still observe the manner of Pellegrino's school. Udine, May 31, 1529. P. values a gonfalone by Ser Battista Vicentino painted for the brotherhood of SS. Pietro Paulo e Antonio of Valvasone. —

Cividale Sept. 20, 1529, receipt of P. acknowledging payment of 100 duc. for the altarpiece in S. M. de Battuti. (Maniago u. s. 177, 238.) The upper part of this picture is fairly preserved, the lower part is thrown out of harmony by cleaning and restoring. All the final glazes are rubbed down. Specially injured in the

central panel are the mantle of the Virgin in its lower parts, and the flesh of the neck of the figure immediately to the right of her, the left foot, cheek, hair and orange dress of the angel on the throne step, much injured the Sts. Sebastian and Michael and two small panels of angels at the sides which we take to have been done by P.'s assistants Florigerio, or Luca Monverde. The central pinnacle representing the Eternal is missing. The altarpiece is arched and about 9 feet high by 5 in its central part. — It is mentioned by Vas. (IX, 29.)

Udine, Dec. 13, 1529. P. promises to paint a Gonfalone for S. Margherita of Grugulis representing St. Margaret with the dragon at her feet between Sts. Ermagoras and Fortunato, and above this, the Virgin and child, the work to equal in richness the Gonfalone previously done by P. for the brotherhood of the Virgin della Concessione in S. Francesco della Vigna at Udine. 1529—34, numerous contracts of Pellegrino for delivery and sale of timber, and for purchase and lease of houses and lands in Udine and S. Daniele. Udine, Dec. 1, 1533, P.'s Gonfalone for the church of S. Daniele at Cavazzo is valued by Giovanni (Ricamatore) da Udine and others. Jan. 20, and July 5, 1534, summons for payment, and payment in panels and wood. Tricesimo. June 28, 1534, agreement with P. for a gonfalone for the church of Tricesimo. S. Daniele, Nov. 9 and 16, 1534, Valuation of a picture and models of the same done for the ch. of S. Cristoforo of Gradisca di Sedegliano by Pellegrino. S. Daniele, Jan. 22, 1535, Pordenone's receipt witnessed by Pellegrino for a picture in the Santissa. Trinità of S. Daniele (this record is also in Maniago u. s. 48, 315.). 1535—40, numerous contracts and agreements as to purchase, sale, and lease of lands and houses. — Udine, Dec. 3, 1540, Valuation of certain frescos of P. in S. Andrea of Paderno, by Gio. (Ricam.) da Udine and others. Udine, Octob. 23, 1547, Valuation of P.'s Gonfalone in the ch. of Merlano.

period;¹ and we know of no more pictures of which records are extant, but there is still one specimen of the master which deserves to be remembered, and this is the Madonna with saints in the collection of Prince Giovanelli at Venice. The canvas contains half lengths of the Virgin and child between S^t. Sebastian and S^t. Roch with S^t. Peter and S^t. Andrew in half shaded distance, standing out upon the blue and white of a clouded sky. Neglect of drawing and modelling is carried so far that the lines of the ribs and pectoral muscles in the S^t. Sebastian are out of place and the fingers are given with a single touch; yet there is an air of freshness in the whole scene that charms, and reminds us of Palma Vecchio.²

Pellegrino lived till 1547; his death occurred at San Daniele on the 23^d of December of that year.³

Whilst at Udine and San Daniele, Friulan art, influenced by Venetian example, underwent the changes which

¹ Udine April 27. 1542. P. promises to repaint the altarpiece at S. Pietro in Borgo Aquileia of Udine. (This church was remodeled in the last century and was till quite lately a military magazine.) Udine, March 12. 1543. Agreement by which P. undertakes to paint four figures of saints on canvas, for S. Pietro in Borgo Aquileia of Udine. San Daniele, March 24. 1546. Agreement by wh. P. promises to pay to M^o. Agostino sculptor of Venice 27 lire for agency in getting the commission for an altarpiece done by P. for the ch. of S. Lucia of Prato.

² Venice, Principe Giovanelli. The picture is on panel, the figures half length under life size. It is properly assigned to Pellegrino. With the exception of a few parts unevenly cleaned and some retouches, the picture is fairly preserved.

³ The only other pictures with which Pellegrino's name is coupled

are the following: London National Gallery No. 778. W. 8 f. 2 h. by 4 f. 9. arched. The Virgin and ch. with a donor between S^t. James and S^t. Fortunatus — formerly in possession of Count Ugo Valentinio of San Daniele: purchased in Venice of Signor V. Azzola in 1867 (not seen). Belluno, in the hands of a dealer who bought it at Udine. Wood, oil, figures one third of life size. Virgin and child, between S^t. Peter, S^t. Paul, S^t. Hermagoras and S^t. Fortunatus much repainted and injured and probably of Pellegrino's shop.

In the register of deaths of the notary A. Belloni of Udine we find the following entry: "1547. 23 Decembris Ser Peregrinus de Sancto Daniele obiit." It is not to be forgotten that an interesting and valuable monograph on Pellegrino was written by the late M^o. Hartzen in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* Nr. 24. 1853.

we have endeavoured to follow, something of a very similar kind occurred in the cities of Feltre and Treviso. At Feltre Pietro Luzzi or Morto as Vasari teaches us to call him, learnt the trick of Giorgionesque and Palmesque treatment after the superficial fashion of Pellegrino. At Treviso, where first Pier' Maria Pennacchi had inherited local and Paduan traditions and gradually modified them by contact with the moderns, Girolamo Pennacchi, his son, successively cultivated the styles of Giorgione and Pordenone to fall at last into imitation of the Bolognese followers of Raphael.

Vasari relates that whilst Pinturicchio was painting the castle of Sant' Angelo and the Vatican chambers, a youth came up from the North to learn drawing at Rome. Morto of Feltre, as he was called, spent his time in designing ceilings, house-fronts and arabesques. Amidst the excavations of the old city and in the classic ruins of Campania, — as far South as Pozzuoli and Baïæ — he sought out remains of old art, copied ornaments of stucco, and revived the antique applications of foliage to surface decoration. Having mastered this specialty, he was attracted to Florence by the fame of Michelangelo's cartoons and strove to acquire skill as a figure painter. Discouraged however by the conviction that he could not successfully compete with the more advanced Tuscans, he gave up his new studies after producing a few Madonnas, and returned to his favourite pursuit in companionship with Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini. From Florence he went to Venice where he was employed by Giorgione in composing the ornaments of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, and thence into Friuli where he laboured until such time as, having taken service with the Venetians, he fell in an engagement at Zara.¹

Ridolfi, the garrulous Venetian annalist, was ignorant of Morto da Feltre's existence, but curiously enough, relates how Pietro of Feltre more commonly known as Zarato, being Giorgione's disciple, seduced his mistress and broke Giorgione's heart.² Of this cause for the death of the great Venetian, Vasari shows himself in turn utterly unacquainted; but it is remarkable that both historians should describe Giorgione as the master of a painter connected in a mysterious manner with the city of Zara.

At a very early period Morto was recognized as identical with Pietro Luzzi; and Cambruzzi, a Feltrine annalist of the 17th century, embodied what had been but a popular tradition in his "Storia di

¹ Vasari IX. 106 and foll.

| ² Ridolfi Marav. I. 137.

Feltre" which is still preserved in manuscript in the library of his native place. He stated that Pietro Luzzi of Ridolfi was Morto of Vasari and described his altarpieces and frescos in the Loggia, in San Stefano, San Spirito, and Via dell Tezze at Feltre, and a Madonna in the village of Villabruna.¹

Modern investigation brought a number of records to light in confirmation of Cambruzzi. It was not proved that Morto and Luzzi were one person, but Luzzi's birth and employment as a painter at Feltre were placed beyond all doubt. He was born in 1474. His father Bartolommeo, having matriculated in the guild of surgeons and unsuccessfully canvassed for the post of medical officer of the town, withdrew to Venice where he was appointed in 1476 surgeon to the city of Zara. He lived there till his death in 1530; but when or where he apprenticed his son Pietro to art is unknown.²

If we accept the theory of Luzzi's identity with Morto, he went in 1495 to Rome, in 1506 to Florence, and in 1508 to Venice. He may have witnessed Giorgione's death in 1511, he would naturally be called Zarato from the home of his father's adoption. Of his works at Rome, Florence or Venice not one is preserved; his practise at Feltre began about the same time as that of Pellegrino at San Daniele or that of Pordenone at Conegliano. At the outset of the wars which desolated Friuli all artists fled from that province. When peace was proclaimed they trooped home again, Luzzi no doubt amongst the number; but Feltre had suffered more than Udine or San Daniele. It clung to the Venetian side with an obstinacy that ended in punishment by pillage and by fire. The town was but a heap of ruins with remnants of a decimated population, when the truce with Maximilian was signed. In 1515 an order was issued commanding that the principal edifices should be rebuilt. A bull of Leo the Xth and a ducal decree of Leonardo Loredano sanctioned the restoring of the church of San Stefano in March 1519. The town hall and its loggia were set up anew; and Luzzi was employed to furnish altarpiece and frescos for both.³ It is probable that he had already painted the outer walls and turret of the old palazzo upon which traces of ornament and the date of 1518, may still be discerned.⁴ According to

¹ For an authenticated copy of this Ms. we are indebted to the kindness of the librarian of the Seminario di Feltre Signor O. Zanghellini. Antonio Cambruzzi's Chron. Ms. goes up to the year 1681. He began it about 1630.

² These facts resting on authentic records are contained in Signor O. Zanghellini's life of Pietro Luzzi, published in "Il Messaggiere

Tirolese di Rovereto" of the 10th of April 1862.

³ *Ib. ib.*

⁴ That the Palazzo and turret at Feltre were in existence in 1518 is proved by the arms of Venice and the inscription: "AND. MAVRO PRAI MDXVIII" on the upper front of the Palazzo. The frescos on the walls, chiefly escentcheons, would not have any value as art

Cambruzzi he designed the façade of a house in Borgo delle Tezze and finished an altarpiece at Villabruna;¹ oral tradition ascribes to him a Virgin and Saints of Caupo and a Christ transfigured in Ognisanti of Feltre. It is unfortunate that works respecting which records have been discovered should be those of which no trace remains. In the course of years, San Stefano was ruined; its altarpiece was lost, and the frescos of the loggia were obliterated, what remains is the façade in Borgo delle Tezze and the altarpiece of Villabruna.

If we could presume to attach any authenticity to a half length of the Madonna attended by the Baptist and St. Anna, under Luzzi's name in the hall of the episcopal palace at Feltre, we can assign it to his early period, when, studying amongst the Bellinesques he might acquire a bony dryness and vulgarity of mask easily attained from the poorer followers of that school. Even in this unattractive piece a certain individuality of type may be observed.² In a later phase of his manner Luzzi may have designed that altarpiece of the Rinuccini collection which was introduced into the complex of Perugino's works by a forgery and which may be ascribed alternatively as we have seen, to Pellegrino da San Daniele.³

At Villabruna the painter is in his fullest expansion, and though his subject is simple, it is treated with the art of the 16th century. The panel is arched and hangs high above the altar; it has lost its old patina and has fallen into disharmony from cleaning and retouching; but it is not so injured as to preclude an opinion. The Virgin sits on a cloud forming a pretty group with the child whom she supports on her knee, as with his left hand he grasps the wrist of his right and gives the blessing. On the landscape foreground St. George in armour looks up to the infant and points to the dragon at his feet. St. Victor on the opposite side stands boldly leaning on a double handed sword, the staff of a banner within the hollow of his left arm. The white shirt and square cut vest, the slashed sleeves and wrist bands, the chain, medal and buttons, the red mantle lined with amber, the crimson hose and black cloth shoes — these numerous parts of

even if they were well preserved, they are all but obliterated. Andrea Malipiero is known to have been Podestà of Feltre; he succeeded Agostin Moro in 1518. (See Mem. Storiche di Feltre &c. del Conte Antonio del Corno. — Ven. 1710, p. 146).

¹ Cambruzzi: M. S. u. s.

² Feltre. Vescovado. Wood. Horizontally split in half, ground dark, and the surface generally injured by repaints. The Virgin's face

is broad at the forehead, narrow at the chin, the child, in benediction, Bellinesque. The saints are dry and bony, with ill drawn hands. The colour is sombre hard and copiously imbibed with vehicle. Something in the whole work recalls the early works of Bissolo; yet Morto may have done it in his earliest time.

³ Florence, ex. Rinuccini Gall. See anteà in Pellegrino.

the dress of the 16th century put together in variegated colours, — produce that picturesque effect which distinguishes north Italian portraits of this time. The Virgin, gently bending her dimpled and oval face, and glancing from the corners of her eyes at the spectator, is of the large and fleshy shape which we observe in Pordenone or Pellegrino, whilst the child, of less Venetian mould, recalls the models of Bazzi, Beccafumi, or Peruzzi. St. George and St. Victor, with their bushy hair and marked features, are altogether Palmesque in their peasant air. What chiefly characterizes the treatment is a combination of spirited resolution with looseness in drawing. Detail is sacrificed to mass, and drapery is given with judicious volume but without correctness of fold. Rosy flesh tints of dense crust are shaded with transparent brown, by means familiar in the handling of Pellegrino. The touch is liquid, bold, sharp, and sweeping, producing a slimy and somewhat empty surface. To break this monotony, rubbings of red or greenish blue are put in here and there, and hair is made to sparkle with tips of ruby and amber.¹ Luzzi in fact practised all the subtle tricks which increase the effect of works of high art, but which are no surrogate for the absence of the higher qualities of draughtmanship and selection.

With the same ease, and with similar breadth he probably executed the Virgin and child between St. Valentine and St. Gregory in the church of San Giorgio near Feltre. Though assigned to the school of Titian and not unworthy of being classed amongst the works of Francesco Vecelli, it has too much of the character of the Madonna of Villabruna not to be by the same hand. Here too the infant Christ reminds us of Bazzi, Beccafumi, and Peruzzi, and the projection of the muscular swell in flesh as well as the compression of the parts at the joints marks a conventional facility in drawing. The masks and shapes are the portly ones of the Friulans of the period, the males especially distinguished by powerful scantling and vulgarity of aspect. St. Gregory alone in pontificals to the left, presenting a piece of fruit to the Saviour, is one of the austere masculine types of which we find the originals in the canvases of Titian.²

¹ Ch. of Villabruna. High altar. Wood, arched; the figures life size. Retouched, or altogether repainted are the blue mantle of the Virgin, the eyes and flesh shadows, the yellow glory, and clouds. In the child, the shaded contours are retouched, the feet almost new and ruined; the flesh tone generally abraded. St. George is also retouched in parts, and St. Victor is injured chiefly in the shadows of the head and in the hair.

² San Giorgio near Santa Giustina on the road between Feltre and Belluno. Wood, arched; figures life size. This picture is worm eaten, dimmed by age and spoiled by old restoring. The red tunic of the Virgin is throughout discoloured. St. Valentine holds the book and palm, the dove whispers at St. Gregory's ear. At both sides of the throne a landscape distance. The drapery is serpentine in fold, the forms generally of great weight.

In the church of Caupo near Feltre and in the gallery of Berlin, where the subject of the Virgin and child between two saints is repeated, we find the same general principles of art enfeebled either by the effects of time and repainting, or by the employment of assistants.¹ At Berlin some reflections are suggested by a curious and apparently modern inscription. On the foreground to the right of a standing figure of St. Maurice are the words: "Laurencius Lucius Feltrensis pingit," and we are asked to believe that Lorenzo Luzzi and Pietro Luzzi of Feltre are two painters. But in the *Memorie storiche di Feltre* published at Venice in 1710 by count Antonio del Corno, *Morto da Feltre* is called Lorenzo Luzzi, and it is not unlikely that the author took the name of Laurencius from the inscription on the altarpiece now at Berlin. Whether Pietro Luzzi was also known as Lorenzo Luzzi is doubtful. He may have been christened Pietro Lorenzo, he may even have signed a panel with the latter name, but the pictures assigned to *Morto* and to Pietro Luzzi are similar in style to that of Berlin, and it is equally apparent that the inscription at Berlin is one of those comparatively modern forgeries which throw critics into doubt and misgiving, and often involve the history of painting in artificial obscurity.

We recognize the identity of *Morto* and Luzzi with most certainty in the decoration of two houses at Feltre, Casa Bartoldini in Via delle Tezze, and the old Crico palace in the Mercato Nuovo. Casa Bartoldini, the best ornamented of the two dwellings is that which

¹ Caupo (4 miles from Feltre.) Ch. of, arched canvass with life size figures. In the middle the Virgin enthroned in a landscape, the child erect on her knee blessing St. Vitus to the l. whilst St. Modestus to the r. holds the palm. In a cloud above the Virgin's head is a half length of the Redeemer in benediction. The sky and hills are all repainted; and the figures though less damaged are also retouched in many places. The figures are more paltry and vulgar than those of previous examples; nor are the movements free from affectation. The work is that of Luzzi, though feeble of its kind and perhaps carried out by assistants.

Berlin Mus. No. 154. Wood, arched 8 f. h. by 5 f. 1, from the Solly collection. It has been sup-

posed that this is the picture originally in San Stefano of Feltre, which represented St. Virgin and child between St. Stephen and St. Victor (Cambruzzi M. S. u. s.) and this may be true if the forged date be set aside, the contract for the altarpiece of San Stefano being preserved at Feltre and dated 1519 (O. Zaughellini private communication). The picture as it stands at Berlin is in the same spirit as that of Caupo, somewhat feeble and washy and probably done in a great measure by assistants. No. 176. in the Berlin Museum, a canvass: 3 f. 6. h. by 3 f. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$, representing. "Peace and War" is a mongrel production of no real value or interest. It bears the name of *Morto da Feltre* who is thus made to figure as a painter different from the so-called Lorenzo Luzzi.

Cambruzzi describes; it is chiefly remarkable for a fresco of Judith throwing the head of Holofernes into a sack held by a female slave — a series of half lengths immediately above a piece of frieze containing three cupids holding a tablet. Lower down and in the centre of the façade, Curtius sits with his back to the spectator on a charger who rears at the gulph. At each side are false windows and niches with children, a framing with Romulus and Remus at the she-wolf's breast and panellings with trophies. The figures are thrown on the wall with great ease and breadth, the Judith and Cupids Giorgionesque in character and shape as well as in treatment, and especially so in the large and effective rendering of form and perspective. Curtius, full of life and resolution, seems designed after an old medal. The ornament alone is overcharged.¹

Much more complete as an example though more imperfectly preserved is the decoration of the old Crico palace, a house of irregular front altered by the addition of an upper story. Beneath the imitated brackets which tell of the earlier shape of the building there runs a long strip of panellings bounded at each end by the Crico escutcheon supported by Cupids. In these Cupids we find types like those of Pellegrino and Girolamo da Treviso. Some of the panellings are abraded, others contain fragments of subjects — charity, faith, temperance, prudence — the two last, half lengths of females pouring water into a vase, and looking into a mirror. They are richly furnished with hair, bare necked, bare armed, healthy and plump, seductively inviting in pose, provoking in glance, and graceful in movement. Broad treatment and warm dusky tone almost conceal a certain abruptness of transition from bright light to dense hatched shadow. There is a masterly calculation of harmony in the juxtaposition of broad surfaces of flesh with garments of white or tinged in primaries — an illustration of that grand system of handling which culminates in the so-called mistress of Titian at the Louvre, or in the Flora attributed to Giorgione at the Uffizi, or finally in the Palmas of the Belvedere collection. Compared with Pellegrino, Luzzi has less feeling for colour, less ease of hand, and less transparency.

The lower courses of subjects on the façade are confined within two wide piers in which traces of medallions are found. Between a cluster of four windows and a larger single one, Abraham armed with the knife is stopped in his intended sacrifice by the angel. He still grasps with his left hand the clothes of Isaac. The size of the figures is much above that of nature, their appearance betraying some relationship in the artist with Peruzzi or Pontormo. Abraham is strong, stern, well drawn in limb and extremities, Isaac large and unwieldy

¹ Feltre. Via delle Tezze. No. 604. Casa Avogadro Tauro, now Bartoldini. The Judith and frieze

are monochrome; of the Curtius, part of the colour is abraded and the ground worn away.

like a child by Bandinelli. Studied drapery seems to reveal acquaintance with the laws of sculpture obeyed at Florence in the 16th century. Beneath this composition Jephthah may be seen meeting his daughter, a mere fragment, yet full of Giorgionesque character, and much in the spirit of the Madonna of Villabruna.¹

We thus have in the Crico façade a mixture of styles natural to a person such as Vasari describes Morto to have been, a Venetian who visited Rome and Florence and there saw Giorgione in his prime — we observe at the same time a certain resemblance of manner in the frescos and in Madonnas assigned to Pietro Luzzi. But besides this there is to be found in the Crico façade harmonic division of space, a judicious overcoming of difficulties arising from irregularity in the building, a tasteful arrangement of parts within friezes and piers, chaste arabesques in appropriate places and in every respect a scientific application of perspective. We may therefore incline to believe that Cambruzzi is right in affirming that Morto and Luzzi are identical. With these mural designs we exhaust all that can tend to strengthen this belief.

One of the few remaining frescos with which Luzzi's name is connected is a Christ transfigured — with saints — in the altarniche of the sacristy in the church of Ognissanti at Feltre. This fresco bears the date of 1522 and in the simplest form of composition represents the Redeemer looking up to heaven with his arms outstretched, whilst St. Anthony and St. Lucy stand at the corners of the foreground.² What strikes us most immediately in this fresco is its likeness to those done by Lorenzo Lotto in 1534 for the church of Trescorre. The same sort of affinity is to be found in frescos by Pellegrino,

¹ Feltre. Mercato Nuovo. In the panellings between the Crico escutcheons, taking the spaces in order from l. to r. we have 1. traces of a figure holding a sword? 2. charity a female with a child raising itself to the breast and two heads of other children, the rest of the picture gone, and the wall bare to the stone; 3. in a round, a female with her hands joined in prayer; 4. the fresco is gone; 5. the two female busts described in the text, on a ground of blue sky with clouds. Of the female to the left pouring water, part of the forehead and hair are wanting. In the fresco of the sacrifice of Abraham the colour is abraded in the angel, the sky and part of the figure of Isaac. Under the

fourth window of the cluster is a panelling with pretty ornament. The meeting of Jephthah and his daughter is almost gone. The dress of the female is almost worn away and little but Jephthah's head remains. There are bits of other figures and an architectural interior also just visible. The arms are those of the Crico family and the initials A. C. on the escutcheons are those of Andrea Cricus. The house once called Casa Tauro is now Casa Toschi.

² Feltre. Ognissanti. The colour is warm, but somewhat abraded by time. On a cartello at St. Anthony's feet is, the date MDXXII in three lines; at St. Lucy's feet the plate with the eyes.

whence the difficulty of deciding to which of the two painters Luzzi or San Daniele the transfiguration should be assigned. Essentially in Pellegrino's fashion is the compression of the horizontal lines in the Saviour's face, and the true movement of the frame and limbs, whereas, the vulgar face and form and the heavy extremities as well as the neglected contours point to Luzzi. St. Anthony glaring from the corners of his eyes, looks wildly austere, St. Lucy like a robust country wench. As in other specimens of this period and locality, the types are degenerate Giorgionesque, the drapery ample but undefined, the flesh warm but dense in the high lights and darks, and strongly hatched in the transitions.

In a deposition from the cross at the Seminario of Feltre we discern the hand of a painter whose Madonna with saints at Dresden is catalogued under the name of Catena.¹ A portrait at the Uffizi (538), were it free from some of its coarsest retouches, might prove to be by Torbido; nor is it unlikely that it was ascribed to Morto solely on account of a death's head in the hand of the personage represented.²

Vasari's assertion that Morto met a violent death in battle may be correct; he must needs err in fixing the date of that event in the artist's forty fifth year.

¹ Feltre Seminario. The dead Christ raised by the Evangelist, the Magdalen wringing her hands, to the left the Virgin in a faint, attended by the Maries; other figures, canvas fragment, with figures under life size. This picture was once in San Spirito of Feltre and goes by the name of Luzzi. It is spotted and worn. The composition is conventionally arranged; a vulgar realism characterizes the faces; the drawing is poor. Some figures are too large for the rest, the Christ for instance being over large; the flesh tones are sombre even in light and the dress tints are sharply contrasted. Something in the appearance of the surface suggests the use of wax in the vehicles. — This is the style of a picture (Nr. 211) assigned to Catena in the Gallery of Dresden (see ante in Catena). It may be by Luzzi in his last period or by some follower of his —

² 2 saints in armour on horseback about life size, injured by restoring beyond all recognition. We are told (Zanghellino in *Messaggero di Rovereto*) that there was a Madonna betw. St. Francis and St. Anthony once in S. Spirito of Feltre which afterwards passed to the Gallery of the Seminario. It is not in the Seminario now.

² Florence Uffizi. No. 538. Canvas — half length of a man in a dark dress seated in a chair in front of a brown yellow curtain; this is said erroneously to be Morto himself. He points and touches with his finger the surface of the table on which is a death's head. His hair is chestnut, his expression smiling. On the table are the syllables MEN — SOLIN." The flesh is deprived of its final glazes and the dress is so dimmed by dirt, that the folds cannot be seen. — The solid impasto, brownish raw flesh tints and dark shadows, have the dirty look of Torbido's creations. Vasari's woodcut of Morto is altogether different from this.

There are other pictures assigned to Morto da Feltre in the Venetian provinces; ex gr.: Colonia, Duomo.

Pietro Maria Pennacchi was born in 1464, and probably spent the years of his apprenticeship in Treviso, where he produced pictures remarkable for dryness and patient finish.¹ One of his earliest works — Christ in the tomb between two angels, a panel which passed out of the collection of the Avogari of Treviso into the Berlin Museum — is very remarkable for the careful minuteness of its outline and detail, the dim and shadeless pallor of its tones, and the hard ugliness of its forms. It is so different from Pennacchi's later pieces that but for the signature we should doubt its genuineness. It shows that Pier' Maria, before he studied at Venice, was trained in the ways of the Squarcionesques and held to that mixture of the transalpine and Paduan which makes so many old artists of North Italy unattractive. When he painted the replica of this subject, now in the Correr museum at Venice, and the Madonna with saints in San Leonardo of Treviso, his style had already received some polish from the Bellini and Vivarini, yet he was still so German in air that Dürer's monogram and the date of 1494 were not considered a forgery.²

After he settled at Venice Pennacchi began to waver between imitation of Bellini and Carpaccio, and we observe in the annuntiate Virgin at San Francesco della Vigna, comparatively bold action and regular proportions in the figures, together with a pleasing shape in the faces and a broad cast of drapery — features the more striking as they are altogether unexpected. Still later Pier' Maria adopted the free system of treatment of Rondinello — a liquid touch with much use of varnish, a full square mould of form and dresses of Palmesque fold; and of this class we have the half length Virgin and child in a

¹ Pier' Maria Pennacchi. — His birth is in Federici, *Mem. Trevig.* I. 219. 238. He was the son of Giovanni di Daniele Pennacchi.

² Berlin Mus. No. 1166. Wood, 1 f. 10 h. by 2 f. 1 from the Solly collection, inscribed: "PETRVS MARIA TARVISIO P." The distance is a hilly landscape. The two angels stand on the ledge of the tomb within which the Saviour is supported. Worthy of remark is the bony leanness, the roundness of the head and the height of the forehead, in the figures. The hairs may be counted. The picture was in Federici's time in the Avogaro collection.

Venice, Correr Mus. No. 36. Wood, 0.64 h. by 1.50; on the tomb the

forged date: "A 1494." There is a slight difference between the attitudes of the angels here and those at Berlin; they grieve with much grimace. The colour is abraded.

Treviso, San Leonardo. Virgin and child enthroned with an angel at the throne foot playing an instrument, to the left, S. Bartholomew, to the r. S^t. Prosdocimo. In the arching the Eternal; wood; on a cartello are remains of an illegible inscription. This piece has been ascribed to Jacopo Bellini (see ante I. 116.) but seems — in such parts as retain their original character — by P. Maria in a style a little more advanced than at the Correr Mus. The Eternal and angel are modern.

radiant glory at the Salute.¹ Three panelled ceilings in Venetian churches are assigned to our artist, the one in Santa Maria della Misericordia is adorned with half lengths of prophets; another in the Madonna de' Miracoli with the Visitation, St. Joachim, St. Joseph, the doctors, Evangelists and prophets; the third in Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano with the doctors, the symbols of the Evangelists and a coronation of the Virgin. We hardly recognize the same hand in each of these churches. At the Misericordia, bloodless flesh tints and opaque shadows give an unpleasant air to figures otherwise pleasing in contour and mask. At the Miracoli, a rude treatment and a poor echo of the manner of Verlas might suggest that Pennacchi left his work to assistants or that it was renewed by later and feebler craftsmen. At the Angeli we are repelled by overweight in the heads and frames and want of character in the design generally.²

An assumption in the cathedral of Treviso gives a much more favorable insight into Pier' Maria's later period. It is a lively composition with balanced movements in the Virgin and angels who rise amidst the clouds, a good sway in the breezy drapery, and varied attitude in the apostles who surround the tomb; but brisk action is counterbalanced by a certain paltriness in the individuality of the personages. The treatment is by no means complex, the flesh, of full body being shaded with warm semi-transparent tints and finished without glazes after the fashion of some of Bellini's pupils.³ In other

¹ Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, canvass, hanging high up in the choir. The Virgin kneels at a desk, in the left hand corner of a room with a high panelled ceiling. Through an opening we see the country. Here the colours are light and uniform.

Venice, Santa Maria della Salute. Wood. The child on the Virgin's lap holds the thumb of her left hand. Rays surround her head. The colour is clear, semi-transparent and unbroken. The size is above that of life. Some repaints have been lately removed; but the surface is raw from more than one cleaning.

² Venice, S. M. della Misericordia. This ceiling with relief panelings is not noticed by the guide-books. The prophets and saints in the squares are half lengths, some of which are bleached and others in part obliterated.

Venice, Madonna de' Miracoli.

This is assigned to Pennacchi by Boschini (Le R. M. Sest. di Canareggio, p. 5.) and Ridolfi (Marav. I. 305.). It is a flat ceiling with the principal subject in a central round, the rest in smaller medallions circumscribed by squares. The prophets and saints are half lengths of rude execution. Of the organ shutters with the annunciation outside and St. Peter and St. Paul inside mentioned by Boschini (Sest. di S. Polo p. 6.) as by Pennacchi, nothing further is known; but perhaps the canvass at San Francesco della Vigna, is part of them.

Murano, S. M. degli Angeli. The ceiling is in the same style as the foregoing.

³ Treviso Duomo, above the entrance to the Sacristy; wood — figures under half life size. In the sky amidst angels in clouds the Virgin ascends with her hands joined in prayer; below,

productions of this kind at Treviso, it is hard to say whether Pennacchi works alone, or in company of his son Girolamo. There are panels and house decorations in which he reveals a more modern spirit. The Virgin and child between St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist, a series of half lengths in possession of the advocate Signor Perazolo at Treviso is a pretty and not unattractive production in which we find a distant reminiscence of Palma and the germ of certain peculiarities of pose and action which pertain to the compositions of Girolamo Pennacchi. The touch too shows better acquaintance with the technica of oil painting, the surface is warmer and more blended than before. Again we observe, a diluted mixture of the Palmesque and Giorgionesque with the usual air of Pier' Maria's figures in fragments of an injured fresco representing the ordeal of a saint, virtues, and busts, on the front of a dwelling in the Via Ognissanti at Treviso — a design in which there is something akin to Paris Bordone, Bissolo, and Catena. The drawing is bold and resolute, the tone hot and strongly relieved by shadow. The date of this decoration is 1528 the year in which, according to Ridolfi Pier' Maria died. In other fragmentary pieces on buildings and in churches at Treviso, the same style may be discerned, and the field opened up by Dario in the previous century receives its final cultivation.¹

the apostles about the tomb (Ridolfi, Marav. I. 305.). The whole panel is injured; and in some parts the colour is scaling off.

¹ Treviso, Signor Perazolo. Wood, oil, half lengths, half life size; a distant landscape is half concealed by a red hanging; to the l. a small angel flies above the Virgin; the Baptist holds the cross and lamb; the face of the Virgin is injured.

Treviso, Via Ognissanti No. 1329. House front. Under the eaves between the windows, the fates and half lengths of aged men; beneath them, a frieze with busts of females in ornaments of leaves; to the r. in a large empty space, a female saint amidst soldiers before an idol under an arched portico (fragmentary); above the piers of the lower colonnade Fortitude and another figure, and on a tablet

above the key of one of the arches: "I. 5. XXVIII." Much of the decoration is rubbed away. In the same style as this we have the following:

Treviso, Seminario. Refectory of the monastery of San Niccolò. Fresco with remnants of figures large as life, two knights with banners at each side of a composition reduced to a mere fragment, but not unlike the temptation of St. Anthony. In the upper part of the sky an angel flies away. Treviso, Contrada del Gesù No. 112. 114. House front with escutcheons and figures, "MDXXV. MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS." — This is a rudely handled work of the school. — Treviso, Contrada S. M. Maggiore No. 141. Graffito with gambols of children and figures, done with rude haste in the style of Pennacchi's school.

Girolamo da Treviso was the pupil of his father whose later style he inherited. He first reformed his art by studying Giorgione and Pordenone; he subsequently wandered to Bologna where he adopted the Raphaelesque manner; but in all his transformations he preserved the Venetian type. Like his father he was very quick in realizing momentary action; his system of colouring is monochromatic like that of Pordenone and other Friulans; he throws objects boldly into shadow without transitions; his touch is liquid and his flesh of a warm reddish uniformity; he thus differs from Giorgione and Titian, yet in some early pictures in which we trace the results of his imitation of Giorgione and Palma Vecchio he superficially resembles and has not uncommonly been taken for, Barbarella.

Girolamo di Pier Maria Pennacchi was born in 1497, and probably served his apprenticeship in the paternal atelier.¹ We may seek and perhaps find the trace of his hand in works exhibiting the modes of Pier Maria, combined with a younger and more modern spirit. — Such works, we have seen, exist in the habitations and convents of Treviso. Of that phase in his practise in which a faint dye of the great masters is apparent we have three specimens in the Onigo collection at Treviso, two of which bear the name of Giorgione. — The most important is that representing the Virgin near a ruin reading and holding the infant erect on a parapet of stone behind which St. Joseph sits looking up. There are few panels by Girolamo in which a more graceful and delicate feeling is manifested. The group is charming; and the child clings to the mother's veil and looks up most naturally. The forms are clean and plump in the mould of the Giorgionesques and Pordenone, the drapery ample and well cast, and the flesh painted in a well blended, rich, and liquid tone. The distance of hills, half concealed by a green hanging, is one of those made fashionable by the Venetians of the 16th century and frequently used by Pellegrino and Morto for the purpose of bringing out the figures into strong prominence. What distinguishes the piece from those of Giorgione is the sombre warmth and unbroken surface of the flesh, the abrupt transition from light to dark, and the sudden depth of the shadows, the want of that combination of notes which make up the subtle harmony of Barbarella, Titian, and Palma. The male bust in the same collection is that of a man in a black pelisse with a yellow fur collar holding a glove in his right hand and standing in front of

¹ See Mauro's genealogy in Federici n. s. Mem. Trev. I. 238. which gives the date of Girolamo's birth in 1497. This date is confirmed by Vasari's first edition in which Girolamo is said to have died in 1544 aged 46. In Vasari's later edition (IX. 51.) his age is given as 36.; and, following that apparently, Ridolfi (Marav. I. 305.) says Girolamo was born in 1508.

a stone niche; his hair hangs down to a chin covered with a slight pointed beard. In the fullness and weight of the parts as well as in technical handling there is a reminiscence of Pordenone rather than of Giorgione, and the treatment, similar to that of the Holy Family we have just examined, proves that Girolamo tried to produce in the manner of the more talented Venetians and Friulans. The second portrait, still more resolute in the relief and depth of its shadows, is that of a short haired, bearded man, dressed in a dark damasked surcoat; with a collar round his neck, the golden warmth of whose flesh recalls Tintoretto and Titian.¹

At some period of Girolamo's stay at Treviso he was employed as a decorator of façades; of which we have an example in the house known of old as that of Pier' Maria Pennacchi. On the front of that building there are fragments of medallions, with sporting children, allegories of the Virtues, and a Judgment of Solomon, in which the painter's grace, facility of hand, and truthful rendering of nature, are united to great boldness of outline and richness of tone. In the casa Moretti and a dwelling in the Contrada Tommasini we observe a continuation of the same style, and in the last perhaps the work of a later artist of the school.²

How long Girolamo remained in his native place is uncertain. He went early it is said to Venice. Yet we are in doubt as to what he may have done there, for the glory of St. Roch between St. Jerom and St. Sebastian in the sacristy of the Salute is a doubtful specimen; and though he may

¹ Treviso, Casa Onigo, tavola. Virgin ch. and St. Joseph, figures under life size. — Same collection. Half length, on the left hand a ring. Same collection. Busts without hands — on canvass. Brown ground.

² Treviso. House of the Pennacchi, Contrada dei due passi No. 1138. Centre: judgment of Solomon, the dead child to the l. with one of the mothers looking down at it, and fragments of spectators; to the r., saints and all but lost, the soldier about to strike the babe which he holds by the leg. On a throne to the left and parted from the rest of the scene by a pillar is part of Solomon on his throne and the second mother, — on a line with the composition and to the r. of it, a figure of prudence and remnants of a Fortitude; on an upper frieze, ovals contain: a) two cupids playing with

a monster, b) a boy slapping another boy in a tender place, c) a boy throwing a ball at a monster. — All the figures are life size. Casa Moretti — Adomari — Celestini. Contrada dell' Accademia No. 1033. Sports of children — a frieze with ornament, children and bull's heads, trophies; and lower down, traces of designs of which the subjects are no longer to be guessed at. — Below that and in the spandrels of a colonnade are rounds in one of which is the encounter of Hercules and the lion.

Contrada Tomasini, No. 1147. — Venus, Neptune, Jove, Judgment of Paris, ornaments, Centaurs and Amazons, a Virgin and child. These last are bold Michaelangellesque designs in the style of Becenfumi, and might be by Fiumicelli. The first of these three façades is assigned to Girolamo by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 305.).

be the author it, reminds us also of Lorenzo Lotto.¹ It is stated by Vasari that Girolamo was one of those whom Andrea Doria employed in the Palazzo del Principe at Genoa; he tells an anecdote of the painter's presumption in pitting his powers against those of other artists in the same service. It is not improbable that Girolamo visited Genoa between 1528 and 1532; but there is nothing left to show us in what manner he bore the rivalry of Pierino del Vaga and Pordenone.² In 1532 Girolamo was despatched to Trent to paint for Cardinal Glöss some of the frescos in the Castello; and there are traces of his hand in wall paintings on a staircase of the second floor.³ In 1533 he was at Faenza under the patronage of Sabba da Castiglione for whom he executed a large votive fresco of the Virgin and child with saints in the church of the Commenda. It forms the ornament of the high altar niche and being designed on the section of a circle, is made to represent the interior of a round and roofless temple above the balustrade of which the Eternal appears with his angels, whilst, between the pillars, a distant landscape is seen. To the right is St. Catherine of Alexandria, to the left St. Mary Magdalen recommending Sabba, who kneels at the Virgin's feet in the dress of preceptor of the knights of St. John. In the breadth and swing of the contours we recognize the influence exercised on Girolamo by the works of Pordenone, and this is especially visible in the

¹ Venice S. M. della Salute. —

Wood, whole lengths under life size; distance, landscape. — This piece has been much repainted. — The colour is strongly impregnated with vehicle and has a glossy semi-transparence. The clear tone of flesh with its blue grey shadows, is in the manner of Lotto. The slenderness of the figures too would point to the same artist, and yet we are not sure that he is to be preferred to Girolamo as the painter of this piece. Boschini (*Le R. M. S. di S. Marco* p. 104.) and Sansovino (*Ven. desc.* 121.) mention a picture of St. James, between St. Lawrence, the Magdalen and other saints by Girolamo in San Salvatore of Venice, but the picture is missing. A choir of angels in the upper part of the composition is described by Ridolfi (*Marav.* I. 305.) as like that in Raphael's St. Cecilia at Bologna. This might prove that the altarpiece was done after 1535, and after Girolamo's return from Bologna.

² Vasari X. 160 — 1. and 186.

³ Trent Castello. Second floor. Above a door in the staircase is a Virgin holding the child who blesses a kneeling abbot presented by a canonized bishop, an angel in flight raises the curtain of a dais. This composition is supported by a caryatide. — Above it is a row of portraits of celebrated men in rounds, with medallions between them bearing the date of 1532. In a neighbouring hall is a frieze of children and caryatides by the same hand, which we should assume to be that of Girolamo da Treviso. There is something of the same character in the frescos of a room in the first floor already described (I. Note to p. 448.) as possibly by Fogolino. Twelve small panels with half lengths of prophets in the Ginnasio of Trent are also by Girolamo. (Consult Vas. IX. 53.) Cardinal Glöss or Clesio, b. 1485, made in 1529, died at Trent on the 29th of July 1539. (see Vas. annot. IX. 53.)

glory, where the Eternal is wafted forward on the clouds, whilst in the landscape there is more of the Titianesque. The handling is that of a practised craftsman, but hard in some measure by reason of the thickness of the paint and the peculiarity of its tints. Sabba was not content to employ Girolamo, and dismiss him. He liked to consort with artists and in his "Ricordi" speaks of "Tarvisio" as a man "of quickness and resolution, and of excellent practise in all the secrets of his craft". He was of opinion that in the Madonna of the Commenda Girolamo had shown unusual power, and risen above his usual level.¹ Girolamo produced other pictures at Faenza, some of which have perished, one in San Maglorio now ascribed to Giorgione, in which the Eternal appears in the clouds to the Virgin who bends over the child standing playing with a bird at her knee, and receives the adoration of St. Severus and St. Gregory.² About the same period Girolamo, laboured with considerable success in many churches of Bologna, decorating the outer walls of palaces, interiors of convents, and sides of chapels. In San Salvatore he left two compositions which have since been lost, and in San Domenico a Madonna with saints which came at last into the National Gallery in London.³ In this example we have an illustration of the master's latest transformation. To the large and weighty cast of figure which elsewhere betrays Girolamo's affection for the models of Pordenone, a more delicate scantling is substituted; the form is more slender; the drawing is marked with greater precision, and the distribution or drapery tell of a new phase of imitation. Though still a Trevisan Girolamo here follows the Raphaellesque and becomes enamoured of the creations of Innocenzo da Imola and Bagnacavallo. He is most Venetian in a landscape distance, in the type and movement of the Virgin who sits behind a hanging raised

¹ Faenza, ch. of the Commenda (outside of). In rounds above the arching of the niche are St. Mercuriale and St. Jerom in monochrome; on the pedestal of the throne: "F. SABBA. CAST. PRECEPTORE. HIER. TARVIS. DICT. FACIEBAT MDXXXIII." The figures are large as life. — See Sabba da Castiglione, Ricordi & Co., Venice 1584. p. 115.

² Faenza, San Maglorio. Arched panel — with figures half the size of life; the lunette with the Eternal and angels repainted. A hanging behind the Virgin partly conceals the landscape distance. The flesh tints are light and rosy. The Virgin holds the child erect on a book in front of her, and points

to the r. with an outstretched arm. The two saints kneel.

³ Bologna, San Salvatore. Presentation in the temple with St. Thomas of Canterbury and a Virgin in glory with St. Jerom and St. Catherine. (Vas. IX. 52.) Above one of the city gates, a crucified Saviour betw. the Virgin and Evangelist. (Ib. ib.) Bologna S. Petronio cappella della Madonna. (Ib. ib.) For Gio. Bat. Bentivoglio. Adoration of the magi — a large picture with small figures from a cartoon by Peruzzi. (Vas. IX. 53. and Lamo Graticola p. 35.) see antea. Hist. of Ital. painting. Vol. III. p. 398. — Palazzo Torfanini. — Casa de' Dolfi. Vas. IX. 53. and Lamo p. p. 22. 29.

by angels, or in the infant Christ erect at her feet. He is tenderly affected and Bolognese, in the St. James who occupies the right foreground, or the neighbouring St. Joseph. In the left hand group, St. Paul recommending the kneeling patron, the setting is Venetian, the form Romagnole. But there is a change to notice also in the system of Girolamo's colour which now resembles that of Romanino in its richness, though it has not his force or clear power. The flesh tints are full of gloss and warmth and strongly relieved, but still comparatively unbroken whilst the vestment colours are gay. Though a fine work, there is still too much conventionalism in it to produce absolute pleasure.¹ In other productions of the time such as the fresco portraits — male and female — at the sides of the arch in Sant' Antonio of San Petronio we are reminded of the Dossi or Garofalo. In the monochromes of the chapel itself — scenes with life size figures from the legend of the titular saint — the compositions are good and freely thrown upon the wall with reminiscences of Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo, but there is so much restoring in all the subjects that half their value is gone.² Girolamo would have remained longer than he did at Bologna, but that he took offence at being neglected in a competition for an altarpiece in the hospital della Morte.³ Between 1535 and 1538 he returned to Venice where he came into familiar intercourse with the clique of Sansovino, Titian and Aretino. The latter, in a letter of May 1537 addressed to Francesco dell' Arne requests to be remembered to his gossip Girolamo; and in a later epistle of August 30, 1538 to Andrea Odone he relates how fortunate his gossip has been to enter the service of Henry the VIIIth of England.⁴ During his last stay at Venice Pennacchi had painted many palaces and amongst others that of Odone, which in the seventeenth century was inhabited by Antonio Triva.⁵ In the Palazzo Colonna at Rome a fine portrait called Poggio Bracciolini betrays Girolamo's imitation of the Tuscans, Bronzino, Bazzi and Beccafumi.⁶ In 1542, he was architect to Henry the VIIIth and employed by him in designing a residence; in 1544 he was raised to the rank of an engineer; and in this new capacity [commanded the works of the

¹ London National Gallery. No. 623. W. 7 f. 5½ h. by 4 f. 10. inscribed: "IERONIMVS TRIVISIVS. P." This picture is well preserved, was done for the Boccaferri chapel in San Domenico of Bologna (Vas. IX. 52. Lanio. p. 21.) was taken to Imola in the last century, and has been in the Northwick and Solly collections.

² Bologna, San Petronio. Cappella S. Antonio, inscribed in the monochrome of St. Anthony re-

viving the dead child: "HERONIMVS TRIVISIVS FACIEBAT.

³ Vas. IX. 53.

⁴ Aretino, Lettere. I. 99. and II. 50.

⁵ Venice Casa Andrea Odone. See the subjects described in Ridolfi. Marav. I. 305. and Boschini, Le R. M. S. di D. Duro pp. 52-3.

⁶ Rome, Palazzo Colonna, No. 31. Portrait half length of a man holding a medal, on dark ground.

siege of Bonlogne. He was killed by a canon ball before that place whilst throwing a portable bridge over one of the ditches.¹

We shall complete these notices of Trevisan painting with a few words upon artists whose names are to be found on pictures. In the sacristy of the Cathedral of Lendinara, hangs a panel, once the centre of an altarpiece, containing the Virgin and child enthroned, with a boy angel playing a viol at her feet. This panel is Bellinesque and Giorgionesque in style and copies with but slight variation the Madonna in Giovanni Bellini's altarpiece of 1505 at San Zaccaria of Venice. The execution is warm, soft, and feeble, and betrays an attempt to imitate Giorgione with neglected drawing and touch substituted for contour. This panel bears the name of Domenico Mancini of Venice, and the date of 1511.² In the same style we should cite a Virgin and child in a landscape between full lengths of St. Anthony and St. Catherine assigned to Giorgione belonging to Mr. Bennett in London;³ and a group of two (busts) a man in a broad hat with his arm round the neck of a female, who leans her cheek on his shoulder in the Scarpa collection at La Motta. On a button which adorns the man's hat we read the word: "Mancin". Unfortunately for critical research this piece is so much repainted that its original appearance cannot be guessed at. It is the counterpart of a panel, in the Dresden Museum catalogued as a Giorgione.⁴

In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg is a bust portrait of a man at a window sill looking out. He wears a pelisse lined with fur. His

¹ Aretino, to Girolamo da Treviso, Venice May 22, congratulating him on the appointment to a salary of 400 scudi from the king of England — on his building of a palace for the same and his nomination to be one of the king's gentlemen. *Lettere*, II. 274 verso. Aretino to Sansovino from Venice 1545, in July, describing the mode of Girolamo's death. *ib. ib.* III. 158. Bottari, *Raccolta*, III. 137, and Vas. IX. 53.

² Lendinara, Duomo, Sacristy. Wood, figures three quarters of life — on a cartello fastened to the step: "Opus Dominici Mancini uenitj p. 1511." Brandolesi who mentions the altarpiece ("Del Genio de' Lendinaresi u. s. p. p. VII. VIII.) adds that the sides of the triptych, which contained four apostles (in couples) were first re-

moved into Santa Maria Elisabetta of Lendinara and then came into his own possession. They have since been lost.

³ London, No. 100. upper Ebury St. Mr. Burton Bennett; small panel. In the distance is a man on a horse and two other figures, a shepherd and his flock and a deer. In the foreground are two hares and two rabbits, at the feet of St. Catherine a deer. The Virgin and child are almost a replica of those at Lendinara; and the treatment is the same. The flesh in some parts, as in the Virgin's head — the child and St. Anthony, are somewhat damaged.

⁴ La Motta, Scarpa collection, No. 33. This repainted picture is under the name of "Francesco Mancini." — The Dresden example is No. 229. in the Dresden Museum.

sleeve, chequered in red, green, and yellow, hangs over the sill. In his left hand he holds a book, long hair falls over his neck, and a black cap with blue lozenges on its band covers his head. In the distance is a colonnade, and a torso of Venus fills a niche to the right. A medallion on the face of the sill bears a doe or dog as motto round which we read "MDXI . . . DOMINICVS. A XXV." This bust is assigned to Francesco Domenico (?). It is not a very clever or valuable picture, nor is it in such good preservation as to make criticism sure. The signature is partly abraded and retouched. The style is Trevisan and the panel seems an original of which several replicas exist. Of these we may quote one belonging to Mr. William Russell in London, darkened and retouched with the signature in the medallion: "MDXII DOMINICVS F. A XXV;" another, somewhat restored, in the collection of Mr. Cheney in London, with: "FRAN: DOMINICI S. E. A XXV;" yet another in the Malaspina Gallery at Pavia, with a variation in the distance in which are the modern words: "ANTONIVS A COREGGIO. F 1587," whilst on the sill but not in a medallion, we read: "DOMINICVS DE MEDICIS. A XXV." The last example is repainted and no doubt when in its original state had the signature of Dominicus like the rest. It is important to note that the technical execution in none of these examples leads us to believe in the genuineness of the date of 1511—12, the style being that of a later part of the century. But there is something of a reminiscence in them all of the art of Domenico Mancini as displayed in the altarpiece of Lendinara. That in each case these works should be assigned to Francesco Domenici arose perhaps from the fact that an artist of that name was mentioned by Ridolfi, and that there are pictures by him (one dated 1571) in the Treviso Cathedral.¹ The authorship may have been guessed at with partial correctness, and it is possible that Domenici may be the son of Domenico Mancini.

Again we have to inquire whether Domenico Mancini is the same artist as Domenico Capriolo, their style being not unlike. Capriolo painted a small adoration of the shepherds now in the rooms of the director of the hospital of Treviso; a cartello on the hut bearing the inscription: "Dnicus Chapriolo 1518 p." In the treatment we observe reminiscences of the school of the Pennacchi; the composition is good, the figures delicate in build and in natural motion; the colouring is bright but a little empty and worked in with a liquid touch. Several panels of similar character are to be found, one a Holy Family assigned to Domenico Campagnola and bearing the monogram *D*, in the Giovanelli collection at Venice; a Virgin and child in the Correr Museum, a nativity with life size figures in the church of the Cap-

¹ St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 89. 3 f. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rhen. h. by 3 f. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$; See as to Francesco Domenici Ridolfi, Marav. I, 309. and Crico u. all the others of the same size. s. p. 13.

puccini outside La Motta, two Holy Families under the name of Palma Vecchio in the Pitti and Uffizi at Florence, and an Epiphany ascribed to Giovanni Bellini in the municipal collection at Treviso.¹

¹ Treviso, Hospital, small panel. The child lying on the ground is adored by a kneeling shepherd and by the Virgin in presence of St. Joseph. Two other shepherds stand by, and an angel flies in the air. Distance a landscape with small figures. — Venice, Casa Giovanelli. Virgin and ch., St. Joseph and a female saint in front of a building. Behind a wall to the left, a shepherd and distant landscape; the ox, the ass, houses, trees complete the picture. This also is a small panel, retouched

in the Virgin and child. — Venice, Correr Mus., not numbered, half length, figures half the size of life. — Cappuccini, outside La Motta arched panel with life size figures. In a high ruin the stable; in the middle, Christ on the ground surrounded by the kneeling Virgin, Joseph and a shepherd; behind St. Joseph, a shepherd and a tall tree, in the distance the procession of the magi and in the sky angels — Florence Pitti. No. 254. Uffizi No. 623.

CHAPTER V.

P O R D E N O N E.

We have seen how suddenly the Friulan school arose — a modern edifice on old foundations. It expanded with such rapidity that the same artists could recollect how they began with antiquated models to end with those of the revival. Pordenone received the first impressions of his boyhood from Gian' Francesco da Tolmezzo and Pellegrino; a little later, he crossed Friulan art with that of the lowlands and learnt at Venice to imitate Palma and Giorgione. But in the course of his subsequent career he felt the influence of Correggio, Titian, Raphael and Michaelangelo, and acquired something from each of these masters without rising altogether to their level.

Few painters have borne so many names. For a long time known as Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone he assumed the title of "de Corticellis" from his father's native village near Brescia; he was then called "Sacchiensis" or "de Sacchis" and lastly "Regillo" or "Licinio".¹ His father, Agnolo di Bartolomeo of Lodi and Brescia was an archi-

¹ He is called maestro Gio. Antonio pittore in a record of Oct. 1. 1504, and in later ones till 1517. After that date, and namely in an inscription at Treviso, and in a contract of Aug. 20. 1520, at Cremona, he calls himself „Magister Johannes Antonio de Corticellis." In a deed of purchase of land at Pordenone, dated Nov. 2. 1524, he

signs J. A. figlio di M^o. Angelo de Sacchis, and in a contract of Oct. 13. 1525, he calls himself M^o Gio. Ant. Sachiense. The name of Regillo, was that which his descendants adopted as we perceive by a document of 1588, cited by Maniago (n. s. p. 343). Vasari and others call him Licinio.

tect and builder habitually living in Pordenone. His mother, dame Magdalen, lived to see him rise to great repute.¹ The date of his birth is generally and we may believe correctly placed in 1483.² He was liberally educated, and is said not only to have been taught drawing but singing and playing; and he had some smattering of Latin.³ At a very tender age, we think, he was apprenticed; and there is much colour of truth in the suggestion of Ridolfi that he studied with Pellegrino at Udine.⁴ He was married under age on the 1st October 1504, to Anastasia, daughter of maestro Stefano of Belluno, and resided for a year after his marriage in Pordenone.⁵ Where he went to after that is not recorded. When he came back in 1513, it was to marry his second wife, Elizabetta Quagliata; and in the interval, he had probably wandered in Friuli, Venice, and Lombardy.

Ridolfi relates as a story current in his own time that Giovanni's first commission was given by a shopkeeper of Pordenone during whose absence at mass he finished a Madonna. Such *leger-de-main* is not usual in beginners; but tradition naturally clings to the salient points in the character of celebrated men; what would have been easy for Pordenone at 30 seems miraculous at 20, and fragments of a fresco were still preserved in 1859 under the portico of a house to vouch for the truth of Ridolfi's tale. What history has not preserved is the date of this production.⁶

¹ See the wills of his father in Maniago (u. s. p. 303, and 304—5.).

² Ridolfi. *Le Marav.* I. 145.

³ Vasari IX. 39.

⁴ Ridolfi. *Le Marav.* I. 145.

⁵ Pordenone, Oct. 1. 1504. Maestro Angelo da Brescia "Muratore" at the prayer of his son Maestro Gio. Antonio Pittore, signs a deed assuring a dowry to his son's wife. Same place and date, contract of marriage between Anastasia daughter of Maestro Stefano di Belluno, and Maestro Angelo da

Brescia, in the name of his son Gio. Antonio pittore with a dowry of 100 lire in money and 200 lire in clothes. Pordenone, Dec. 22, 1505. Inventory of effects brought to Gio. Antonio, by his wife Anastasia at her marriage. (Those three records are in the *archivio notarile* of Udine.—All other records quoted in the notes to this chapter are from the same collection and furnished as we have before stated by the kindness of Signor Vincenzo Joppi.)

Ridolfi. *Le Marav.* I. 145.⁶

Vasari says that Pordenone was driven away from home by an epidemy; and that whilst it lasted, he spent his time in painting country churches.¹ About fifteen miles from Pordenone lies the village of Vacile with a parish church once filled with mural designs. Above the choir arch is the annuntiate angel alighting whilst the Eternal sends the infant Saviour in a ray, and the Virgin receives the message at a desk; ten half lengths of saints fill the arch soffit, and eight sections of the semidome vaulting contain Christ transfigured, the doctors and Evangelists, Enoch, Elias and angels. — The treatment and technical handling of these frescos is imperfect. We have remarked in early Friulan works vulgar form and commonplace conception, dissonance and opacity of tone, hard outline and angular drapery. Vacile offers examples of these defects. — The Virgin, of a full and regular shape is disfigured by common and ill drawn hands; the Saviour is coarsely muscular and squarely heavy; some figures are too large for the rest; flesh tints of a yellow tinge are hatched with white and red; the shadows are deep and opaque, the dresses of glaring primary tints; exceptional grace distinguishes some of the angels. We shall see that this and other peculiarities are those of Pordenone at San Salvatore of Colalto, where under more favorable auspices and with more experience he still recalls Gian' Francesco da Tolmezzo and the early manner of Pellegrino.²

Colalto is an old feudal estate in the neighbourhood of Conegliano. At a very early period its chapel had been adorned with frescos by an artist of the Giottesque type,

¹ Vas. IX. 32.

² Vacilè. The frescos here are not well preserved. The following parts are sealed: arm and hand of the annuntiate angel, blue dress of the Virgin annuntiate, desk and symbol of the Evangelist St. Matthew, the blue ground behind the figure of David. The head of St. Gregory is spotted and the red and white hatchings are every where discoloured. The order of the de-

sign in the vaulting from left to right is as follows: Enoch, St. Jerom, Gregory, the Saviour, St. Augustin and Ambrose, Elias. In the apex of each section containing the doctors is an angel, and in the lower corners of the same (from l. to r.) St. Luke and David, St. Mathew and Daniel, St. John and Habakkuk, St. Mark and Ezechiël, at each corner beneath the Saviour an angel in clouds.

but these frescos only covered the left side and ceiling of the nave; and the remaining spaces had been left distressingly bare. When Pordenone was engaged in the first years of the 16th century to complete the cycle he was neither famous nor deserving of fame, but as he proceeded with his task he warmed to it, observed his defects with keen self-criticism, interrupted himself occasionally to seek for new inspirations, and came at last to imitate successfully the Palmesque and Giorgionesque. No one need ask how this process was gone through; the frescos tell us that the change took place; they bear no dates and the lords of Colalto have more to do than to search their mouldering archives for records of Pordenone.

Three compositions strike us on entering the chapel — the Epiphany, annunciation, and flight into Egypt on the right hand wall. — With truer action, the first of these subjects is still but a repetition of Gian' Francesco's design at Barbeano. Striking disproportion between the small slight figures forming the circle of the Holy Family on the left and the heavier build of the magi who stand to receive the blessing, illustrates thus early one of Pordenone's most frequent imperfections. The readiness of movement in the young king who takes an ewer from a page or in the foremost rider of the suite who curbs a foreshortened jibbing horse scarcely compensate for want of poise in distribution. Opaque shadow, white and red hatching, and staring primaries, betray the unpractised hand of a beginner; yet bold drawing and warm general intonation give promise of future excellence.

The annunciation, greatly injured in all its parts, replicates the poses and attitudes of the fresco at Vacile.

In the flight into Egypt we are startled by the mock solemnity and unnatural posture of S^t. Joseph and the glaring contrast between the bony dryness of his frame and the over-plumpness of the Virgin and her four attendants. We observe also that form is defined with much hardness, and drapery is cast in superabundant rectilinear folds; but the virgin and child are prettily grouped

and great care is lavished on the rich detail of landscape, or on delicate minutiae of children and birds and trophies in the pilasters parting the subjects from each other. What pleased the contemporaries of Pordenone was the daring of his perspective, his instinctive feeling for rendering quick motion and his taste in ornamentation. We see the dawning of his talent in each of these directions at Colalto. But his manner, with its lively disparities of shape and quaint exaggerations of costume and head-dress in the fashion of Palma Vecchio, is in the main Friulan.

The meeting of Christ and Martha fills the right hand lunette of the choir. Thought and spirit are evinced in the mode of placing the Saviour and his two apostles between the prostrate females on one hand and the humble males on the other; and if technical skill in treatment fails to strike us as yet, there is undoubted progress in arrangement. Not so however in the raising of Lazarus immediately beneath the lunette. Here Christ stands in benediction in the middle of the picture; but being thrown back by perspective into the distance and thus necessarily reduced in size, his person loses its due importance. Lazarus too struggling out of the winding sheet with the help of his friends, instead of being the chief actor in the scene is concealed almost entirely by the hind-quarters of a man in front whose bold foreshortening is as striking as it is unfit for the place into which it is thrust. The composition is frittered away by the introduction of a dwarf near the Saviour, and hardly rescued from absolute condemnation by a pretty episode to the left, where a kneeling man talks of the miracle to a child inwardly struggling between fear and curiosity. It was no uncommon thing for Pordenone to commit breaches of pictorial decorum, but his habitual repetition of them invalidates his claim to rank in the first class with his contemporaries. In the meanwhile he continued to improve in drawing, modelling and chiaroscuro; his drapery took a better mould, and his style, following that of Pellegrino in its expansion, became imbued with a more modern spirit.

Increased mastery is apparent in the four Evangelists at round openings in the vaulting of the choir as well as in the angels and prophets at the bases of the triangular sections. Stern energy of mien in the saints is skilfully counterbalanced by grace and pleasing masks in the heavenly messengers, and, except in the excessive marking of the outlines, we are reminded of the principles of treatment peculiar to Correggio. The ceiling is earlier by some years than that of Pellegrino in Sant' Antonio of San Daniele yet superior to it in more than one respect, superior to it in vigour of tone, relief and projection of shadows.

Far ahead again of any thing done by Friulans up to this time, though still but a fanciful transformation of an old Friulan design is the last Judgment behind the altar in the choir. Christ pointing with his right hand across his breast to the abyss, holds with his left the banner of victory, treads upon the globe with his left foot and presides over paradise. At his sides are four great seraphs bearing the symbols of the passion, to the right the Baptist, to the left the Virgin heading the celestial host, beneath the clouds on which this glory reposes, four angels darting forward and sounding the coming of the Judgment. Beneath this, and divided into two by the sarcophagus of a noble of the Colalto family are the partially obliterated legions of the condemned and blest, the former led by a pope covering his face in great despair.

Throughout this composition, and particularly in its upper part, the skill with which the space is distributed is considerable; the forms, though colossal, athletic, and strained, and frequently defective in drawing especially of the extremities and articulations, are always in movement of extraordinary daring. Light is concentrated upon the figure of the Redeemer, and damped in surrounding objects by a clever gradation of neutral shades and deepening tints of drapery colour, so that the balance which fails in action and setting is compensated to some extent by tone. The treatment is more frank than in the earlier numbers of the series and the flesh with its golden

shimmer is well relieved by the harmonious chords that surround it. The style is a mixture of the boldness of Signorelli and Correggio with the affected bends and exaggerated contours of Palma Vecchio.

Having got thus far at San Salvatore, Pordenone paused. We are led to think so by the change which came over his style — a change which seems to involve assimilation of new elements and a certain lapse of time. In 1507 as we saw, war threatened to break out between the Emperor and Venice; and war was something more than usually serious for the people of Pordenone. For ages the town had been governed as an Austrian feud by a captain holding the archduke's commission. There was no good feeling between the inhabitants and the neighbouring country in time of peace; hostilities meant siege, assault and capture. Pordenone surrendered to the Venetians in 1508 and was given to the condottiere Bartolommeo d'Alviano. It reverted to the Imperialists by fortune of battle in 1509, then again in 1511, and remained in their hands till 1514. But then they were expelled, and d'Alviano resumed possession. — During the whole period of the struggle between Maximilian and Venice, that is, from 1506 to 1513, there is no trace of our artist in Pordenone. We may believe that some of his time was spent in the lowlands; we may suppose that he began at the church of San Salvatore, then left it and finally resumed his labours in the peaceful days of the truce. We can thus fancy that having finished the parts we have described he now commenced the left side of the choir which he completed about 1513. It is there that we detect an alteration in the practise of his art, an alteration presupposing personal contact with great Venetian masters.

At the sides of a window to the left in the choir and beneath a fresco of Christ at the limbus which escapes criticism in consequence of its bad state of preservation, are two most interesting subjects — the dumbness of Zacharias and the visitation. — In the first, Zacharias sits at a table in a landscape before an arched and highly

ornamented portico; near him is a man in a turban pointing to a scroll on which he asks the name to be written; he is accompanied by a boy in the puff sleeves and variegated dress of the age, who precedes a nurse with the child and two attendants. There are none of Pordenone's usual contradictions in this picture which is full of gentleness and composure and nice individualism. A very pleasing interest is given to the man leading the boy, a most graceful youthfulness to the boy himself. The nurse, a handsome slender woman of modest air with a winning glance — forms a charming group with the pretty well fed babe. No exaggerations of plumpness or dryness strike the eye, and nature is consulted simply and naturally. — We cannot but perceive that the types which were in Pordenone's mind as he painted this incident were those of Palma and Giorgione.

The visitation shows us three figures altogether in the spirit of the last; the Virgin with outstretched arms embracing Elizabeth who smiles at her greeting, and a noble profile of a female to the Virgin's left — all in a landscape with a portico as before. Here the style is still more expanded in the Giorgionesque fashion, the Virgin matronly in the swell of her portly but healthy flesh, the contours given with great freedom, drapery of a large cast though still Palmesque in the breadth of the surfaces and the shallowness of the angular breaks. A masterly half shade throws St. Elizabeth out of the focus of the highest light; warm transparent flesh, modelled largely yet with soft transitions, dress tints of great harmony and force, a subtle play of atmosphere, illustrate in an agreeable way the cleverness of Pordenone's adaptation of principles derived from the high class Venetians.¹ —

¹ San Salvatore of Colalto, adoration of the magi. There are many parts of this fresco, scaled away and abraded. Scaled away: part of the mantle of St. Joseph; abraded, the blues of the Virgin and old king's mantle, the distance with the procession and three angels on the upper part of the penthouse. On an imitated stone to the right in the picture and near the jibbing horse we still read the first word of Pordenone's name: "Joannes". The rest is obliterated. Annunciation. Discoloured: the head of the angel, the dress and head

We shall have occasion to speak of several pictures like these last frescos at San Salvatore. Of the same kind but not contested are the panels of the transfiguration once on the altar of the chapel, and now in the castle, of Colalto. In the centre, the Redeemer between Enoch and Elias with the three apostles on the foreground, figures of curt stature one quarter of the life size; to the right and left, half length large as life, four saints — Prosdocimo, austere and stolid with small pinched features in a head of bony projection sinuously but precisely outlined, Peter, square in face, low-browed, with an antiquated mask like that of Pellegrino's early time, the Baptist, young and well conditioned, S^t. Jerom dry and lean — Palmesque reminiscences. This is a specimen of Pordenone's ability in throwing life and movement into composition and giving a golden hue to full and fluid flesh tone.¹

The masterpiece of this period is the Madonna with saints in the church of Susigana, a manor of the Colalto family; and there Pordenone attains to a successful combination of the Giorgionesque, Palmesque and Friulan. Against a blue sky dotted with white clouds, a roofless semidome is thrown, faced with pillars culminating in

of the Virgin. The background is partly gone and partly repainted. Flight into Egypt. All the upper part of the distance is spotted by damp. Martha invites Christ to enter, Christ in the centre with two apostles, Martha prostrate to the left with other females; a male prostrate to the r., in the distance a view of the castle of Colalto. The blue sleeve of Martha's dress is gone. Raising of Lazarus. This fresco is injured by efflorescence, there are but fragmentary outlines of some children in the background. Vaulting: The dress of S^t. Luke is obliterated, the sleeve of S^t. Mathew also: S^t. Mark is greatly damaged by damp. Last Judgment. Abraded or colourless: group of saints to the r. of the Saviour, the Virgin's

blue dress, S^t. Peter's yellow mantle and red tunic, two angels with trumpets, and the sky. The elect to the left are all but obliterated, Christ at the limbus. Though this fresco is almost gone, we can see it is composed in the spirit of Pellegrino's at San Daniele. Dumbness of Zacharias. The blue dress of the nurse is repainted in oil. Two elliptical fragments of intonaco in the arch above Zacharias are gone. Visitation. The Virgin's veil is discoloured, the lower part of S^t. Elizabeth's dress repainted.

¹ Colalto, Transfiguration. The red mantle of Enoch is new and the mantle of Elias is removed. S^t. Prosdocimo's red pivial is new and likewise part of one eye and temple. The mantle and hand of the Baptist are repainted.

rich capitals, and divided by cornices. — On an elevation in this ruin sits the Virgin gracefully holding and affectionately contemplating the naked babe in her arms. He clings with one hand to her veil, throwing his head round to look at S^t. Catherine, a grand matronly person of somewhat sluggish nature. On the left of the picture, near S^t. Catherine, a clumsy athlete in a strained posture represents the Baptist, whilst to the right, a plump youth with bushy hair stands by the side of a dry and skinny S^t. Peter. At the foot of the throne, a boy angel in modern dress plays the viol, the precursor of Pellegrino's in the altarpiece of Cividale. There are no pieces of Pordenone's early time which more completely embody his peculiarities and defects. The finest part is undoubtedly the Virgin, whose appearance is very gentle and Giorgionesque. There is something essentially Venetian in the weight and at the same time in the affected delicacy of movements in the hands and fingers of S^t. Catherine; and this impression is not diminished when we consider the costume, its studied reflections, and the care with which the substance and make of stuffs are reproduced. The composition is good and well arranged; the figures are relieved by deep tone on the lighter ground of the distance with an effect the more clever as the dresses have as much variety of tint as the stones of the semidome; the outlines are both accurate and finished, a rare quality in the master, and the drapery is cast with an amplitude hitherto unequalled; the colour is harmonious, rich and softly fused without extraordinary heaviness of impasto; but there is too much disparity in the build of the personages; too startling a contrast between muscularity and fleshiness and composure or sudden action; altogether out of character in so grave a scene is the straggling motion of the legs and arms of the infant Christ who is as much too small in stature as he is too brisk and unnatural in motion.¹

¹ Susigana. The altarpiece here | storing. It is on wood with figures is injured by damp and by re- | of life size. The flesh is bleached

Pordenone returned to his native place at the opening of 1513 and, we saw, took for his second wife Elizabeth Quagliata, a widow of some fortune who showed her devotion to him by vesting the whole of her property in his person. From this time forward, commissions overwhelming in number and importance poured in upon him.¹ In 1514 he painted the glory of S^t. Anthony and saints about an antique Madonna in Sant' Antonio of Conegliano, the last of which is preserved in a ruined state in the garden of the Casa Manzoni. The following autumn found him at Villanuova a village within three miles of Pordenone adorning the church of Sant' Odorico. In 1515 he finished the Virgin of Mercy in the cathedral of Pordenone; at Rorai Grande in 1516, he covered the whole of the choir with subjects, at Travesio he completed a S^t. Christopher on the façade of the church, and at Udine, a Virgin child and angels in the loggia of the townhall. For 1519—20 we have the frescos of Treviso, part of those in the nave of Cremona cathedral and perhaps the altarpieces of Torre and Moriago. During the first of these years he was exclusively employed in Friuli — for a while on the Livenza, then in the villages round Pordenone or the hamlets west of the Tagliamento. His name was carried at last beyond the boundaries of the hill country and he became famous in the Venetian provinces.

We need only touch upon the frescos of Conegliano and Villanuova to say that they were the natural sequel of those which had been previously carried out at Colalto. From what remains of the four saints in the Manzoni garden, we can discern that they illustrated the most chastened aspect of the master's art. In a youthful Magdalen, a stern S^t. Ubaldo, a calm S^t. Augustin and portly S^t. Catherine, the painter rings the changes as of

by salts and varnishes. On a cartello at the Virgin's feet we read: "Joan Ant. Pordenon".

¹ Pordenone. 1513. April 4. Elizabeth Quagliata settles her property on Pordenone her husband. Por-

denone. 1513. May 19. Pordenone buys a field for 12 ducats. 1513. Aug. 3. Elizabetta Quagliata appoints Pordenone her agent. The record of May 19. is also in Maniago (u. s. 330).

old, depicting gentleness in the first and noble composure of mien in the second — the last an instance of his uncontrollable habit of putting matronly shape into posture and introducing affected gracefulness into gesture; in rendering form and giving transperence to colour he exhibits progress without forgetting the lessons of Palma Vecchio.¹

At Sant' Odorico of Villanuova, where a series of scenes from the new testament perished under whitewash, the vaulting of the choir is covered with the traditional subjects of the doctors, Evangelists and prophets, which would call for no special notice but that they reveal to us Pordenone's increasing ease and freedom of treatment, and a gradual concretion of the characteristic features of his style.² At the very time of their execution, Pellegrino

¹ Conegliano. The church of Sant' Antonio has been demolished and the glory of S. Antonio perished (Maniago u. s. p. p. 78 and 201). The saints in fresco mentioned in the text are much injured. The figures large as life are at the sides of an older Virgin and child much damaged in a sort of square recess. They stand in couples under arched porticos. The blues in the dresses of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine are extensively scaled. The St. Augustin is injured and spotted in the head. The letter T four times repeated in the lower border of the frescos and the flame between the letters are the sign of St. Anthony. In the hands of two angels beneath the central Madonna is a tablet with the words: "LYD. SALODIENSIS CAN. REGO. LAT. EX VOTO". The angels are all repainted except the heads: on the border beneath the tablet "JOANIS ANTONII OPVS . . ." The date, now abraded is given by Maniago (u. s. 201) as 1514.

It is said in Ridolfi (Marav. I. 149) that Pordenone painted a rape

of Ganymede on the front of the Casa Cometti at Conegliano. This house, No. 395. Piazza dei Noli, is still decorated in the upper story with figures in niches, of abundance, prudence, and other allegories. According to Maniago (u. s. 77—8. 202.), these frescos were dated 1520 — a date which no longer exists. If we judge by the style the author is Francesco Beccaruzzi or Lodovico Pozzo.

² Pordenone. Sept. 10. 1514. The villagers of Villanuova near Pordenone contract with Gio. Antonio pittore to paint the choir (cuba) of the ch. of Sant' Odorico for 48 ducats (Maniago also publishes this record u. s. 307). The doctors are enthroned in the centres of the four sections of the vaulting; in the corners beneath each figure an evangelist, and a prophet. The flesh tints are bleached and discoloured, the blues throughout scraped away and the nimbus obliterated. St. Augustin and St. Ambrose are damaged by efflorescence; new are the face of St. Jerom, the green mantle of St. Gregory, the blue mantles and red tunics of

was working at his second ceiling in Sant' Antonio of San Daniele; and it is very obvious that whatever the relation may have been between the two artists at an earlier period, Pordenone was now in every respect ahead of him.

In a diary in Pordenone's own hand he tells with some self-satisfaction how he finished a "nicely coloured" picture in the Duomo of Pordenone representing St. Joseph playing with the infant Christ. Payments made by Francesco di Tetio in June 1515 for this interesting composition are recorded; and the panel itself is in its original place on the first altar to the right in the aisle. The distance is a landscape with blue cones of hills and large bluffs varied with farm buildings and flocks. Through the depressions of the ground a mountain torrent runs. The Virgin in calm composure covers with her cloak Francesco Tetio, his wife and three of their family whose portraits Pordenone had taken in separate canvasses before introducing them here. Near the Virgin St. Christopher, with his feet in the torrent, supports the heavy weight of the infant Christ, grasping with one hand high above his head, with the other low beneath the hip, an unhewn bough. His face is thrown upwards so that he can see the Saviour seated on his shoulder and holding on to his hair; on the other side St. Joseph carries the child in his arms. — A warm tone pervades the fluid lights and pastose shadows of the flesh, of which one sees the broad preparation overlaid with semi-transparent and rubbings. In the amiable air of the oval-faced Virgin Pordenone reminds us much of the high class Venetians and even of Titian; it is his gentlest and most comely type; Lotto and Paris Bordone affected the dry muscularity which we find in the St. Christopher; and the faun-like Boy on his shoulders has all the archness of the infants of Correggio.

St. John (who is otherwise in bad condition) and St. Luke, the red dress of David, the red sleeve of Isaiah and the hair of St. Mark. There are still traces of a St. Christopher on the façade; the rest was whitewashed (Maniago *u. s.* 201, see also Ridolfi *Mar.* I. 146.).

The spiral action of St. Joseph who looks at the spectator and smiles as he dandles the babe seems stolen from one of those natural but indescribable movements by which mothers bring merriment into the faces of their nurslings. The only faults to be noted are a certain rawness in the transitions of the flesh, and want of atmosphere in the distance, but these are almost lost in the general gayness of the tints.¹

Equally bold and successful is the slight and sketchy fresco which Pordenone, in a few summer days threw upon the wall under the loggia of the town hall at Udine.

The holy effigy acquired absolute veneration in course of time, and when that part of the loggia in which it stood was altered in the 17th century, a grant was made from the public purse to remove and restore it. In recent days only it was disfigured with a silver crown adapted to the Virgin's head. What particularly characterizes Pordenone is the complicated twist of the Saviour's masculine form by means of which the head, hand, and knee are all made to converge to one point as if for the purpose of showing how cleverly the features and foot can be foreshortened.²

¹ Pordenone. Dec. 15. 1514. Will of Gio. Francesco Tetio detto Cargnelutti figlio di M^o. Colao di Piazza in which he orders his heirs to spend 30 to 50 ducats on an altarpiece for Santa Maria of Pordenone (altar of the Virgin of Mercy) with the subject described in the text. Pordenone. May 8. 1515. Contr. of Pord. with Gio. F. di Tetio to paint the altarpiece in question for 47 ducats before Easter next following (Maniago 306. 307). Pordenone. June 15. 1515. Receipt of Pordenone for 11 duc. on account of the above. This is an arched panel with figures large as life. The sky is opaque from restoring. There are pieces scaled out of the farm houses in the distance to the l., and others in the dress of the Virgin. The only separate por-

trait of the five is the middle one of the group of three under the Virgin's cloak to the r. It is a bust of a woman of 25 on dark ground with a collar of pearls round her throat, warm of tone, and of fluid thick impasto. Another of these portraits described by Maniago (u. s. 61.) preserved with the one described in the Casa Monteleale at Pordenone was sold some years ago.

A document of this time which does not relate to art is preserved. It is dated Pordenone June 11. 1515. and is a receipt of Pordenone's for the price of a drawing made of a piece of ground respecting which there were judicial proceedings.

² Udine. Sept. 8. 1516. Payments. 1642, Sept. 23, removal of the fresco

The decoration of Rorai Grande differs from that of other country churches in this that the centres of the sections in the vaulting of the choir instead of containing the doctors of the church are filled with subjects in medallions — half lengths of the Evangelists and prophets being placed in the corners. In one medallion the Virgin gives the girdle to St. Thomas, the Eternal floating with outstretched arms above the framing and the apostles standing in groups below; in a second, the flight into Egypt is repeated with slight variety from San Salvatore of Colalto; then comes a straggling composition of the Sposalizio and a pretty presentation in the temple. Of the Evangelists and prophets, one or two may be selected as typical of the rest — St. Jerom, a man of powerful build and stern appearance, St. Mathew youthful, fleshy and plump — Pordenone as usual bold in his treatment but oscillating between wide extremes reminiscent of Correggio and Pellegrino. It is no doubt in consequence of his rapidity that his contrasts of light and shade are so massive, and that trusting much to the ground for light his tints are full of a gay transparence. We are far away from the days of red and white hatching, of opaque shading, and staring primaries. Before he left Rorai, Pordenone had covered the whole of the high chapel with incidents from the Passion and from the legend of St. Lawrence but, like the façade of Travesio, this cycle was obliterated by neglect and whitewash.¹

(Maniago u. s. 312. 313). The fresco is now in two fragments one with the Virgin and child and another with three mutilated angels playing instruments. The surface in many places is bared to the preparation. The pieces are now under the Loggia of the town house of Udine.

¹ Pordenone. June 3. 1516. Contract of Pordenone with the men of Rorai Grande to paint the choir and its vaulting with the 4 Evangelists and Doctors and the mystery of the assumption, scenes of the

Passion and incidents from the legend of St. Lawrence, the arch of the choir with the annunciation for 57 ducats. The ceiling which alone remains is injured throughout by damp; and the colour is obliterated in the corners of all the sections. The blue grounds in the rounds and some of the mantles are repainted. The red tunic of the Eternal and the dress of an apostle in the round of the Virgin giving the girdle are new. The marriage of the Virgin is all but destroyed.

During 1519 Pordenone was invited to Treviso by a gentleman of the Ravagnino family to compose a series of mythological subjects for the front of his palace. It was a noble work for which he asked the moderate sum of 50 scudi, yet Ravagnino protested against the charge and refused payment. It was agreed that Titian should be consulted. He came from Venice for the purpose and was so struck with the beauty of the painting that he told Ravagnino not to press for a valuation.¹

About the same period two men of high ecclesiastical dignity in Treviso, the bishop Rossi and his vicar Malchiostro showed their munificence by founding chapels for themselves and their dependents in Trevisan churches. Malchiostro's chapel in San Niccolò of Treviso was finished in 1519; he took advantage of the joint presence of Pordenone and Titian to entrust to them the decoration of the walls. After some deliberation the scheme most congenial to both was found to be this that Titian should design the annunciation on the altar whilst Pordenone completed the subject by depicting the Eternal descending amidst angels in the ceiling. The rest of the space was to be left to Pordenone to fill with scriptural and legendary incidents. During this negotiation Pordenone probably paid a visit to Venice where Titian held a high place in public estimation. The Assunta of the Frari, the Madonnas of Casa Pesaro and San Niccolò de' Frari had just then been finished; and Pordenone who had every reason to be satisfied with Vecelli's recent acknowledgment of his talent might naturally feel inclined to see some of his contemporary's latest masterpieces. He is reported by Dolce to have said that "the S^t. Sebastian in the Madonna of S^t. Niccolò was more like real flesh and blood than colour." If in later years, jealousy and rivalry arose between the two painters, there was a time

¹ Ridolfi, *Le Marav.* I. 147. But between this and the date of the frescos of Rorai, there are records of Pordenone in his native place: Pordenone Feb. 19. 1517 record showing that he was at Pordenone. Jan. 14. 1518. Pordenone umpire at Udine. Feb. 4. 1518. Pordenone gives a power of agency to Ser Bertolo Sabino.

as we now perceive when they were united by friendship or at least by professional esteem.

The Malchiestro chapel is a rectangle with a cupola and semidome. — To the right of the entrance a circular opening gives light to the space; beneath it is a figure of S^t. Liberale protector of Treviso in a niche. On the altar is Titian's annunciation with S^t. Peter and S^t. Andrew on the side-walls in the semidome curve. S^t. Liberale in armour is accompanied by an angel who points to a vision of the Virgin and child floating in a circular halo in the heavens — an allegory suggestive of the rescue of Treviso from the perils of a siege, — on the left the adoration of the magi and the visitation, in the angles below the entablature, the four doctors in medallions, above the entablature a simulated balustrade and an open sky in which the Eternal with his angels sends the spirit to the annuntiate Virgin. A niche in the balustrade contains a carved bust of Malchiestro beneath which are the lines:

Brocardus Melchiostrus Parmensis

Cañ. Tarvis. Sacratiss. dicatum

Una cum fornice ceteroque ornata

Sua impensa fecit.

Bern. Rubeo Antist. Tarvis.

Bene de se merit.

Tunc Bononiam sapienter ac fortiter prolegato
regente.

Ann. Dom. MDXIX mens. Oct. F.

On a tomb in the chapel:

Rever. Brocardus Melchiostrus

Virginis Deiparæ dicavit.

and on a stone in the Epiphany:

Brocardi Mal —

Cano Tar.

cura atque

Sumptu —

Jo. Ant. Corti —

cellus P.

MDXX.

If Pordenone contrasts favorably in anything with Titian, it is in the cleverness with which he executes fresco. We can easily imagine that he knew he could not show his skill to better advantage than by pitting his wall painting against the altarpiece of his competitor. He was no doubt perfectly aware of the dangers which beset him in the task of covering the globe of a cupola with a single colossal figure. In whatever position he might take that figure supposing it to fill the greater part of the space at his command he would have to perform extraordinary feats of drawing. Far from shrinking from difficulties, he courted them, and as he represents the Eternal floating down from heaven with outstretched arms in the direction of the altar he had to calculate that the head, hands, and feet at the verge of the space must necessarily be nearer the spectator's eye than the torso which is in the centre. In the same way he had to determine the form of numerous angels so that they might appear from below to keep their proper shape, gambolling half hid amongst each other or behind the clouds. His success in this endeavour was great and decisive. In spite of their large size and fleshiness the angels are very charming in face; and the life which pervades them is so great that they produce an impression not unlike that of coils of writhing serpents. Making use of the rays thrown upon the ceiling by the circular window, Pordenone gives greater depth to the sky on one side than on the other and manages the contrasts so that light and shade are in equipoise throughout, either by an exact quantity of each in one figure or by giving more to one and less to another. Atmosphere, mellow modelling, nice gradations, and a golden shimmer are united to a playful elasticity of movements; and effects are thus produced which remind us of Correggio and Titian, more especially of Titian in the *Assunta* by the subtle variety with which cloud greys are brought out against each other. The Eternal, a bald and vulgar mask with a long beard and herculean torso, is one of the master's most daring attempts at foreshortening, ill drawn

and full of incorrectness in extremities but causing us to forget in its life and motion the faults which it displays. With great judgment the red tunic is made to cling to the frame, whilst the broad folds of the mantle resting on the mist or floating in the air are relieved in deep and brilliant blue on the less intense tint of the sky. We analyze the parts and find them all imperfect in something, but the aspect of the whole is grand and imposing.

Under similar difficulties and with not less mastery of handling and perspective, Pordenone depicts S^t. Liberale with the angel in the ruins of Treviso. Careless of the sharp curve of the niche he gives us a background with a round temple and embattled buildings, the tower of Treviso, a pyramid, and crumbling porticos. S^t. Liberale in his cuirass and mail walks majestically in an orange cloak borne on the breeze, whilst the colossal messenger of heaven, in startling action and vehement gesture points upwards to the vision.

In the adoration, the old king, of great size, kneels in the very middle of the foreground doing homage to the Virgin on the right; two others are grouped about him with riders after them and two porters to the left, one of whom carries a striped sack, whilst the other, turning his back, spends his giant strength in closing a trunk with his knee. A pleasing portrait of a man with falling hair and bending head in rear of the infant Christ is made to do duty for S^t. Joseph. Highly characteristic of Pordenone is the curious twist in the Virgin, the disproportionate smallness and the strain of the child, the affluence of dress in the magi, the vulgar strength of the humbler dramatis personæ. Life, motion, and modern realism make the picture attractive, but as in the resurrection of Lazarus at Colalto, so here, the principal figure is lost in the massive proportions of the minor actors in the scene. At no very distant interval of time Paolo Veronese was to arrange this form of composition in a more dignified shape whilst the Bassanos were to reduce it to more commonplace vulgarity.

The remaining frescos in the chapel are treated boldly, but with the obvious inferiority of a subordinate; and such critics as are inclined to distinguish in them the hand of Pomponio Amalteo have only to remember that Pomponio was born in 1505, that he could not handle fresco in this fashion in his fourteenth year, and that, if he really had a share in the decoration, it was at a later part of the 16th century.¹

Pordenone himself may have done more at Treviso than is usually supposed. In the dead Christ at the Monte di Pietà — a picture which enjoys a great though adventitious celebrity as a genuine Giorgione — we find some angels with the weight, action, and neglected drawing peculiar to those in the cupola of the Malchiostro chapel.

We may presume that a man so peculiarly ductile as Pordenone would find great pleasure in extending his acquaintance with the artists who had filled or were filling the edifices of north Italy with their pictures. He had been influenced and therefore pleased by the works of Titian, in contemplating which he admired varieties of colouring and conceptions of character far more subtle and dignified than his own. We can easily believe also that to wander in new scenes, study more masters and decorate edifices in large and important cities like those of Lombardy would have more charm for him than to spend months in the remote hamlets of Friuli. He had scarcely returned home in February 1520 than the passion for travel seized him anew, and he suddenly journeyed to Mantua where the "magnifico" Paris of Ceresana invited him

¹ Ridolfi, *Le Marav.* I. 147. Maniago 79. 204. 205. Crico. *Lettere sulle belle arti Trevigiane* u. s. p. 27. The four doctors are much injured and spotted — one all but gone. In the curve of the semi-dome the distance is injured by damp and the left hand corner has lost its intonaco. The vision of the Virgin and ch. is partly abraded, partly obliterated. The blue

drapery of the angel is damaged. In the adoration of the magi (life size) the flesh tint of the Virgin is discoloured, the mantle reduced to the ashen preparation. The cushion on which the child rests is scaled, the middle distance to the left and the town to the right are effaced. The visitation in the lunette to the left is likewise injured.

to adorn the Palazzo del Diavolo with frescos. The speed with which this palace was built had given rise to the legend that fiends set it up in a single night. The rapid manner in which Pordenone covered its front with a picture of Parnassus and heathen episodes might well contribute to confirm this popular tale. The court of the Gonzagas at this period chiefly employed the Costas and Bonsignori, and was on the eve of securing the services of Giulio Romano. It seems to have disdained the large and colossal fable painting of the impetuous Friulan; but he little cared, it would seem, for a patronage ill-suited to his independent spirit and, attending only to the matter in hand, he varied such leisure as he got by looking at the masterpieces of Mantegna. It was in consequence of the name which he acquired at Mantua that he was requested to visit Cremona; it is at Cremona that we see how much he had paid attention to Mantegna.¹

Pordenone met the superintendents of the cathedral of Cremona by appointment on the 20th of August 1520. He entered into an agreement with them to paint some recesses above the arches of the nave and a large space over the inner portal. But a few years had elapsed since the nave was begun by Boccacino; it had been continued by Altobello, Giovanni Francesco Bembo, and Romanino. Three of the recesses near the portal remained to be filled in and these were the first allotted to our artist.

In punctual obedience to the terms of his contract he completed Pilate delivering Christ to the Jews on the 9th of October, the procession to Calvary, the preparation for the crucifixion and the crucifixion itself in the following September. It is characteristic of his energy that though he was bound to produce the cartoons and submit them for inspection before they were transferred to the wall, he was not prevented by this from finishing the first of his compositions within six weeks. One of the conditions

¹ Vas. IX. 34. Ridolfi. *Le Ma-* 320; but see also the contract at *rav.* I. 160, and *Maniago*, 80. 209 and *Cremona*, in *Maniago*, 318—22.

to which he submitted was that his work should not be inferior to that of the Ceresana palace at Mantua, another that he should not claim to continue the series unless the first fresco should be approved. He had not been two months at work before sounds of praise were heard from every man's mouth. Such an art as this, Cremona had never seen; it had such an effect on Cremonese artists that they all learnt to imitate it.

Unhappily Pordenone's wall paintings were sadly ill treated by time and worse by restorers; and the absence of colour in some figures is as detrimental to their general effect as the refreshing of outlines in others. Yet there is no grander episode in any of the master's frescos than that in which Pilate washes his hands before the people and one of the chief priests derisively points at the Saviour as he is dragged away before the mob. The frequent want of compactness in arrangement or action which marks many of Pordenone's designs is to be found in the mounted captain forcing back the crowd, his most powerful realism and command of vehement motion in the Virgin stumbling on the road or the Saviour scourged by the soldier. There is great disproportion between the nearer and more distant personages. Unpleasant but masterly is the third scene where the executioner loosens the rope to nail the wrist of Christ to the beam; and terrible ferocity is exhibited in the guards who fight — some of them with knives — for the garment. The Saviour and thieves are strong foreshortenings even for Pordenone, precursors of those which Tintoretto carried out with so much daring and success.

The crucifixion displays an art based on that of the old Friulans, but modified first by Pordenone's greater talent, next by his dramatic energy in rendering form and movement. It is more masculine, more vivid and grandiose than that of Pellegrino, and superior in its adaptation of Giorgionesque principles to any thing produced by Romanino. It casually recalls the Leonardesque and

particularly Bazzi in such groups as that of the fainting Virgin.¹

Autumn, 1521, found Pordenone at home attending to local commissions. We discover him in spring of the following year painting an altarpiece and gonfalone for the villagers of Valerio di Valle; a little later at Udine adorning the Tinghi palace. On the front of this edifice, where Neptune and a syren support a pillar surmounted by a cardinal's hat, Vasari recognized the arms of Pompeo Colonna, the friend of the Tinghis; he further describes the clever distribution and perspective of the sham architecture, the various divisions of the space with its copious ornament and its statues in niches, a combat of giants with Pallas, the fall of the giants, and Olympus. — Of all this we see but the ruins, the syren, Neptune, Pan, Minerva, gambols of monsters, friezes with sacrifices and other mythological incidents. The Tinghi family is extinct and their palace at last became a ruin.²

During a second visit to Cremona which lasted till the end of December 1522, Pordenone executed a vast de-

¹ Cremona. The contracts are in Maniago u. s. 318—24. In addition to the parts mentioned in the text, six prophets in the spandrels below the recesses (medallions) are by Pordenone. The whole of the frescos have scaled, especially in the skies which are all brought down to the red preparation; and in addition to this, the outlines have been traced anew and the surfaces are in a great measure repainted — effect doubtless of the grand cleaning and repainting carried on in 1747 at the Duomo of Cremona as described by Zaist. Pitt. Crem. I. 26. The crucifixion especially is in very bad condition. The figures are all much above life size. See also Calvi, notizie u. s. Part II. p. p. 93. 94.)

² Pordenone. Feb. 24. 1522. Deed of agreement betw. Pordenone and the men of Valerio di Valle to paint a gonfalone with a dead

Christ supported by an angel at each side for 12 ducats of which sum one half to be paid in wheat. April 14. The cameraro of the ch. of SS^{ta}. Giacomo e Filippo di Strada agree with Pordenone to paint a tavola. June 5. Pordenone gives a power to the notary Girolamo Rorario.

Vasari praises the frescos of the Tinghi palace in Vol. IX. p. 33; see also Ridolfi: *Le Marav.* I. 151, who says some of the designs were engraved by Odoardo Fialetti. See also Maniago 72. 198—9, and 313. The house is now No. 1849, Contrada Santa M. Maddalena. Three new windows broken into the front wall have done much harm to the decoration. Inside the house we find paintings of gambols of children on gold ground and landscapes; they are poor and by artists of a later period.

position from the cross on the wall to the right of the high portal in the Duomo and an altarpiece for the chapel of the Schizzi. On nine colossal and heavy figures which make up the first of these subjects he left the perfect stamp of his manner, dealing in the most violent exaggerations of action, the strongest indications of passion, the most athletic cast of form. In these strong but vulgar impersonations we have the models admired and copied by the facile hand of Rubens, and in that of the Redeemer in steep foreshortening an inspiration from Mantegna's well known Christ "in scurto". The altarpiece though flayed and stained, offers the usual type of his Madonnas, a comely fleshy matron with a handsome boy angel playing between S^t. Dominick and S^t. Paul; whilst the donor kneeling at one side recalls the grave and dignified Venetians in Titian's *Madonna di Casa Pesaro*. But in his reminiscences of Titian and Mantegna, Pordenone can no more claim to possess the science of the one than the colour of the other, and in both instances, he raises his art above the common only by the prestige of a bold free hand and easy outlines.¹

At no great distance from Cremona, where Pordenone spent nearly two whole years, lay the cities of Parma and Correggio, one of them the birth place, the other celebrated for the works, of one of the greatest painters of the 16th century. We can scarcely believe that the peripatetic Friulan, if he had not done so before — did not now visit these cities and study the masterpieces of Allegri. We should think it likely too that he would not stop there, but that in his passion for wandering, he would

¹ Cremona. Dec. 30. 1522. Payments to Pordenone for the deposition from the cross. Maniago 322--4. This fresco is in no better condition than the others. The blue mantle of the Virgin is scraped away; (the figures are over life size). In a lunette above the deposition is an imitated niche with a sacrifice of Isaac. The altarpiece (wood,

figures of life size) is justly praised by Vas. (XI. 252.) but it is covered with wax droppings and is damaged by flaying and repainting. Of the frescos supposed by the Anonimo (Ed. Morelli p. 35) to have been done by Pordenone in the refectory of the minorites (Sant Agostino) at Cremona, we know nothing.

proceed to Florence to see with his own eyes what was true of all that was told of the skill exhibited by Michael Angelo, Raphael, and del Sarto.¹

As towards spring of 1524 Pordenone went up into the hills west of the Tagliamento and took up his abode near the castle of Spilimberg, he produced a series of vast distempers for the organ of Santa Maria in which there are distinct reminiscences of the Correggiesque and Michael-angesque. It is not that we discern more startling foreshortening, action, or perspective than of old, but that there is something unusually grand in the conception and character which suggests familiarity with the modern masters of central Italy.

In the assumption where the Virgin is wafted upwards from the floor of a long arcade, and the apostles are gathered together about the tomb in attitudes of extraordinary diversity we are reminded of Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo; in the fall of Simon Magus, who drops from on high, head foremost but away, S^t. Peter on the left foreground seems adapted from Titian's *Assunta*; in other respects Pordenone is himself and in his best. In a conversion of S^t. Paul, the horse in full front seems struck as by a thunderbolt and rears with one fore-leg out of the picture, throwing his rider in helpless tremor. There is a surprising dash in the outlines of the figures and their drapery; and — most appropriately — the vanishing points lie low to suit the elevation at which the canvasses are placed.

The mere enumeration of Pordenone's works immediately after this is imposing. Before leaving Spilimberg he finished an altarpiece and five small scenes from the life of the Virgin on the well of the organ at Santa Maria and some frescos in the castle;² in spring of 1525 he painted

¹ The following show that Pordenone was home again early in 1523. Pordenone, May 8, 1523. Pordenone purchases land for 60 ducats. August — December 1523. Pordenone being absent, his wife

Elisabetta purchases certain lands in his name.

² See Maniago p. 308 for proof of Pordenone's stay at Spilimberg in summer 1524. The canvasses of the organ are distemper and in

the façade of the church of Valeriano; in the following summer (1525) the choir of San Pietro of Travesio and soon after, saints on piers in the Duomo, and an altar-piece in San Gottardo, of Pordenone. In 1526 he adorned the front of a chapel at Blessano and delivered a Madonna with saints to the parish church of Varmo. A nativity and other scriptural subjects in the churches of Valeriano and Pinzano, the well of the organ and an annunciation in San Pietro Martire of Udine, were the labours of 1527; and last not least though of uncertain date are the frescos of the parish church at Casarsa and those outside San Martino of Valvasons.

In comparison with the wide and imposing cycle at Travesio that of Valeriano is a slight and unimportant one.¹ Pordenone, we remember, had designed the or-

poor condition. In the assumption, the background, and sky, the blue dress of the Virgin and the lake coloured mantle of an apostle in the foreground have lost their colour. In the fall of Simon, St. Peter's dress is gone and the sky and architecture are spoiled by repainting. The glory in the conversion of St. Paul is repainted so that the repaints cover the lances of the soldiers in the middle ground. The reds are all renewed. The leg of St. Paul d^r. Of the small panels once forming the well of the organ: 1. the nativity of the Virgin is ruined. 2. Sposalizio, some heads only are kept. 3. Epiphany — all gone except the Virgin and child, the old king and fragments of other figures. 4. Flight into Egypt, bare. 5. Christ disputing in the temple, bare. These panels are now in the sacristy. There is nothing else by Pordenone in the church; but he is said to have painted in the castello, on the gates and in a private house, and to have finished a Madonna between St. Roch and St. Sebastian (Vasari IX. 34. Ridolfi I. 152. Maniago 67. 194—5. 308). The Madonna is missing. There

is a head in a round in a pediment above the gate of the castle of Spilimberg. The façade in which the gate stands is also full of frescos, but we have seen (antea in Dario) that they are older than Pordenone's time.

¹ Valeriano. Oct. 1. 1524. Agreement to paint the façade in Maniago 309. The front is a gable with remnants of a frieze of children. In the centre are two angels holding a crown between them — all that remains of a fresco of the Madonna; to the left of these are fragments of an epiphany. In the niche above the portal are remains of an Ecce Homo; left of the portal, St. John the Baptist betw. St. Florian (upper part preserved) and St. Stephen (almost obliterated), right of portal, injured by a long vertical split and by abrasion, a colossal St. Christopher. The frescos were probably painted in spring 1525 as Pordenone was at Pordenone all the winter ex gr.: Pordenone, Nov. 2. 1524. P. buys certain lands. D^o. D^o. Feb. 1. 1525 and May 3, 1525.

nament of the façade at Travesio in 1517; he now filled up the walls and ceiling of the choir leaving the arch to be completed in 1532. In some respects the difficulties with which he had to contend were similar to those he found at Treviso but complicated by numerous divisions and spaces of larger area. The choir — an octogon with a lancet window — has seven fields and coved lunettes giving a furnace shape to the vaulting. Two faces to the right and left are doubled for a conversion of S^t. Paul and an Epiphany. Three single ones between these two contain the last supper, the Pietà and the Martyrdom of S^t. Paul; in the seven lunettes are, the fall of Simon Magnus and scenes from the legend of S^t. Peter, in the coves, scripture subjects in medallions on a mosaic ground with ornaments of leaves, birds, quadrupeds, and children, the pendentives cleverly packed with angels helping to support the clouds of a glory. In the centre of this glory and therefore in the middle of the furnace vault, the Saviour stands all but naked on the mist, the breeze winding a flap of his blue mantle across his hips. With one hand he holds the cross, with the other he points to the higher heaven where the Eternal issues forth with his head and arms outstretched breathing out the spirit. About the Redeemer but in a lower sphere, groups of prophets are lulled by angels playing a concert above them. Into this paradise S^t. Peter is wafted up from earth in reverent attitude of prayer. We are accustomed now to the daring action and energetic foreshortening of *Porde none*; we expect from his exuberant fancy a supernatural display of vehement movement, projecting muscle, and giant proportion. He dallies at Travesio with the greatest difficulties of art, and he does so with a confident and neglectful ease bordering on presumption. Success however is assured, by exceptional skill in distribution, a strong concentration of light on the three principal figures, a judicious veil of passing shade in some of the prophets, and a masterly modulation of cloud greys and vestment tints. In the midst of this gorgeous medley the flesh tone shines

with a charming brightness in a vapour glow worthy of Correggio.

Count Fabio Maniago in describing these pieces half a century ago felt justified in alluding to the good state of their preservation; but efflorescence and scaling have since impaired their beauty; and a great number of the compositions is altogether obliterated.¹

In the next period of his career Pordenone seems to have modified in some measure the colossal nature of his style. We have an example of this in the glory of San Gottardo now in the Town house of Pordenone, where majesty in the principal figure is combined with an unusual simplicity of form in two assistant saints.² Another instance of the same kind is the Virgin of Mercy which was painted — probably about this time — for a mem-

¹ Travesio. Jan. 7. 1526. Payments to Pordenone, Ducats 112 (Maniago 316). Of the frescos in the octogon of the choir, the conversion of St. Paul is all but gone; the Epiphany, central part, without intonaco, and the rest scaled. Last supper. Head of Christ gone. Pieta, all but gone. Of the martyrdom of St. Paul, the Saint and executioner alone remain. The scenes in the lunettes are: 1. Fall of Simon Magus, intonaco almost all dropped out. 2. St. Peter before the judge, the intonaco in the r. corner gone. 3. St. Peter visited by the angel. 4. St. Peter meeting Christ, l. side injured. 5. St. Peter before the judge. This and 6. the funeral and 7. the resurrection of Tabitha (?) are obliterated. The frescos in the sides have figures of the life size, those in the lunettes figures of half the life size. The subjects in the medallions of the coves are: 1. Moses receiving the tables. 2. Sacrifice of Isaac. 3. David with the head of Goliath. 4. Jonas. 5. Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt. 6. Judith and Holophernes. 7. Samson and Delilah (?). In the vaulting the sky

is discoloured and leaden, the choir of angels to the left is discoloured, the forehead of the prophet to the r. is bared, and the clouds beneath the glory are abraded. The whole of the series is damaged by efflorescence, and damp. In Ridolfi (Marav. I. 147) Travesio is called Treves.

² Pordenone. Oct. 13. 1525. Deed of agreement between the brotherhood of San Gottardo, San Sebastiano e San Rocco (Cappuccini) and Pordenone to paint an altarpiece for the high altar of the church of San Gottardo (now razed) to represent (on canvass) St. Gottardo betw. Sts. Roch and Sebastian with three scenes from the lives of the saints in a predella for 70 ducats. The altarpiece is now in the comune of Pordenone; the figures are life size, the Saint Sebastian much damaged and the ceiling of the portico repainted. There are two boy angels playing instruments at the foot of the throne; the predella is gone. Several frescos in San Gottardo perished when the church was destroyed by fire (Maniago p. 61).

ber of the family of Ottobon at Pordenone. Canova purchased this picture, with a quasi-replica in the form of a gonfalone, at Rome; and both were transferred to his chapel at Possagno in the Trevisan march. It is not many years since the first of these Virgins became the property by exchange of the academy of arts at Venice.¹ What specially distinguishes the figures — and they are numerous — is an almost absolute freedom from exaggerations of proportion and posture; and this is also noticeable in the two frescos of S^t. Erasmus and S^t. Roch on the piers of the Duomo at Pordenone. In both these saints the outlines are uncommonly pure and the treatment remarkably correct. S^t. Erasmus leans against the edge of a niche with one hand on his head, the other behind his back, his worn face indicating pain. The peculiar torture which he underwent is suggested with clearness but without revolting realism by a small windlass at his feet. The slender form is admirably studied from nature. S^t. Roch, as we learn from a fragment of Pordenone's journal is a portrait of himself with long hair divided in the middle, a well chiselled nose, an expressive mouth and eyes. In direct contradiction to the impression which his works produce this portrait is kindly and winning and gives us no clue to that ferocity which induced Boschini to write:

"Le to' bravure fu da homo da ben;
Che infin el to' penel giera la spada."

but the same impression or very nearly so is created by

¹ Venice Acad. No. 486. Canvass m. 2. 65 h. by 29. 1, engraved in Zanotto's *Pinacoteca dell' Accad. Ven.*, to wh. see also the text. The Virgin is on a pedestal, her mantle held up by angels, and two saints at her sides, the beato Simon Stock and the beato Angelo in monkish dress. In a gallery fronting the pedestal but lower than the foreground a monk, is half seen looking up in prayer, and seven members of the family of Ottobon kneel and

stand; on the foreground are the two chiefs male and female of the family. The picture is much injured. The counterpart of this piece at Possagno is a gonfalone, with only two kneeling Saints, a canvass with figures of life size much damaged and restored. On the obverse of the gonfalone are two saints standing (and now scarcely to be distinguished owing to repaints as a work of Pordenone).

the so-called likeness of the master by himself at the Uffizi in Florence a bust almost smothered in smears.¹

There is not one of the canvasses and frescos executed between 1524 and 1527 that does not illustrate a phase in Pordenone's character, but none of them have any special novelty. They may be dismissed with the general remark that though many are injured in condition, and some damaged beyond redemption, they show no symptoms of a decline in power and, whether produced for remote villages or in more populous places, they are all conscientiously and ably treated.² A higher interest clings alone to the wall paintings of Casarsa.

¹ Pordenone, Duomo, frescos of life size, the St. Erasmus, spoiled by dirt and spots; the St. Roch, with left hand and sleeve injured. Beneath the St. Erasmus the words: "S. ERASMVS EPS. TÖES ANTONIVS". Maniago (62.187) records a date of 1525 which is now illegible. In the spandrels of the niche are medals with profile heads in them, at the corner of the niche to the l. a mître. On the step upon which St. Roch rests his r. foot, an inscription of later date than the fresco has been scratched in with a nail to the following purport: "M^o. Luis fiol de M^o. Zuan lonardo da Pezana (?) a fat fare p sua devocione, 1523 die duo decimo m^osis novembris fuit .. (?) Magna (?) copia. Adio oportuit nos a dorno fra ... et" an inscription which Maniago refers to the quarrel between Pordenone and his brother giving it in the following terms: "... Novembris ne tam magna neq^{ue} copia ... oportuit nos e domo fratris exire ne pondere premeremur. Joannes faciebat." But Pordenone and his wife were only obliged to leave the paternal house in 1523 as we shall have occasion to see. There is not much importance to be attached to the date of 1523 as we perceive, but it may be that the two figures were not done at

the same time. It is also to be observed that Maniago in giving the inscription says erroneously, it is beneath the St. Erasmus. That the St. Roch is Pordenone's own portrait is stated in a fragment of his diary in Maniago (p. 62). The portrait at the Uffizi, No. 373, is a life size bust of a man in a yellowish cap, a hand on a parapet. This hand is quite new and the rest of the picture is more or less repainted. See for Pordenone's character, and the verses quoted in the text Roschini. *Carta del Navegar*, p. 201.

² Blessano. In this village we still see the remnants of a fresco with the flight into Egypt on a house once consecrated to holy purposes. An angel leads the ass and St. Joseph in rear of the animal supports the child in benediction on the Virgin's lap. To the right and left are heads belonging to two abraded groups of brethren and children. The angel is half gone, the Virgin's mantle partly dimmed partly effaced. With difficulty one reads the date "MDXXVI".

Varmo. April 5, 1526. Agreement betw. the men of Varmo and Pordenone to paint "palam partim in pictura partim in sculptura", for 300 ducats (Maniago 314-15). This is a highly ornamented altar-piece (canvass), in the parish church

In the parish church of this border town Pordenone filled the choir with incidents from the legend of the finding of the cross, and covered the sections of the vaulting

with life size figures. In a central compartment, under an archway, the Virgin is enthroned with the ch. erect on her knee. Three angels at foot play or tune instruments (this canvass has been cleaned with corrosives and retouched). To the l. St. Lawrence with the gridiron and St. James (rubbed and spotted); to the r. St. Anthony the abbot and St. Michael Archangel with Satan under his feet weighing the souls. (Same condition as the rest.) All this is in a rich wooden altar frame with an Eternal in a pediment and the angel and Virgin annuntiate in volutes at its sides and a bas-relief of Christ supported by angels in a predella. This must once have been a very fine picture with figures of the compact character natural to Pordenone in these years. A copy of the altarpiece is in the Casa Colloredo Mainardi at Goritz.

Valeriano. June 30, 1527. Receipt of Pordenone for 53 lire on account of his painting above the altar (Maniago, 309). This is a fresco of the nativity (life size) betw. St. Anthony and Floriano in the ch. of the hospital of Santa Maria, and a flight into Egypt. The execution is rapid and somewhat neglected. The flight into Egypt is composed of figures one third of life. Of the same period we have frescos of St. Sebastian attended by other saints and a kneeling patron in the church of Pinzano (the simulated pilasters also filled with saints) an ill preserved series. About St. Sebastian, we have St. Nicholas and the archangel Michael (repeated from the altarpiece of Varano), St. Stephen and St. Roch. In the pilasters and arch St. Floriano, St. Lucy (half length), St. Urban and St. Apollonia. The lower part of all

the figures is obliterated, the shadows of the St. Sebastian bleached, the sky changed in tone, the head of St. Stephen injured, do the eyes of St. Lucy. In the same church on a wall to the right of the portal is a Virgin of Mercy with patrons under her cloak (her blue mantle abraded), a mutilated fresco with figures large as life — all this in Pordenone manner and of this time (1525—6). In the same style we have fragments of a Madonna on the front of an edifice now used as a mill in the vicinity of Valeriano. The arms of Savorgnano are in the border of the fresco.

Udine. March 30, 1527. Minute of meeting of council in which it is resolved to give Pordenone the painting of the well of the organ. Oct. 28, 1527. Contract — Jan. 5, 1528. payment (Maniago 312.). There are seven canvasses (distemper) in all, two, St. Hermagoras and Fortunato carried to the tomb and St. Hermagoras performing rites of Baptism, in a very bad state from repaints in the Sacristy of the Duomo, the rest in the organ loft! The compositions are good and lively and freely treated. They have all been reduced in size. The annunciation in San Pietro exists but is so repainted as to be scarcely recognizable as a work of Pordenone. The Eternal forming a lunette to that picture also exists in the choir but full of stains and dirt. (Vas. IX. 33.) Documents illustrating the time of the production of these pieces exist as follows: Pordenone, March 31, 1526. purchase by Pordenone of a field at Aviano. Udine, Dec. 15, 1526. Pordenone is elected umpire betw. Giovanni Martini and the syndics of the parish of Mortigliano to value Giovanni's altarpiece of carved oak.



with figures of the doctors, Evangelists, and prophets. In the arch soffit and piers he introduced the usual number of saints; but little more than half a century after their completion the frescos were subjected to a necessary repair so that most of the compositions excepting those of the ceiling have lost all claim to originality. It is a very striking feature in the stern impersonations at Casarsa that they display a chastened simplicity and a quiet grandeur much more nearly related to the creations of Fra Bartolommeo and the Raphaelesques than any that Pordenone had produced elsewhere. He represents the Eternal appearing in heaven and looking down upon the Redeemer in glory with a calm dignity in face and form and a noble selection of proportions which are altogether wanting in those of Treviso and Travesio. His style is purified of many vulgarities and exaggerations. Angels forming the glory are thrown together with novel variety and grace, some as children supporting the circling clouds, others as choristers at the sides. In youthful masks and shapes like that of the Evangelist Mathew who sits on the mist with S^t. Jerom, redundancy of flesh is cleverly avoided, and Correggio's tenderness is attained in the friendly look and sentimental bend of the head. When we revert to Pordenone's familiar type in the S^t. Jerom, realism is refined by expression. In S^t. Ambrose, we have the majesty of Fra Bartolommeo. No decoration of the kind by Pordenone is so completely masterly in distribution or so spirited in treatment.¹

¹ Casarsa. A great part of these frescos was renewed by artists of Pordenone's school, the style of the restoration being that of Pomponio Amalteo in his later and feebler period of 1576; yet even the restored parts are in a very bad condition. But first as to the state of the ceiling of the choir: The blues are all gone ex gr. in the skies and grounds, the blue dress of the Eternal — of S^t. Jerom, of the angel at S^t. Jerom's back, of

S^t. Mathew, of the angel in the apex of the section containing S^t. John, of the dress of the doctor near S^t. John and the angels at the Doctor's and S^t. John's feet. Besides these disfigurements we notice discolouring or abrasion above S^t. Mathew, in the angel at the apex of the section, whose sleeve is repainted, in the yellow ground about S^t. Mathew, in fact, in many places too numerous to be described. In the piers and

It was in 1528 that Porderone first came to Venice to undertake a work of large dimensions and ambitious design. There was an obvious tendency in Venetians of the time to neglect fresco for oil. — Of the two great artists who had used that medium at the beginning of the century Giorgione was dead and Titian was overwhelmed with commissions. Sebastian del Piombo was hesitating whether he should not return to Rome and Palma Vecchio was no longer in existence. Churches, and palaces of recent architecture stood waiting for inter-

soffit of the choir arch, we have (to the left) a saint by Pordenone except the head which was renewed by the more modern hand of Pomponio, above this, half lengths of St. Agnes (Pomponio), of St. Barbara (Pordenone — green dress repainted —) and (as we go round the soffit to the right face of the piers) St. Agatha, St. Catherine, St. Apollonia, St. Rosa (injured), St. Lucy (injured) all Giorgionesque and by Pordenone, then St. Margaret and a full length of a bishop (Pomponio).

Taking the five sides of the choir from right to left we have: No. 1. The vision of an angel to Constantine greatly damaged in every part, the distance with figures by Pordenone, the angel and foreground figures by Pomponio (a large corner to the right of the whole fresco has lost its intonaco; and on the left is a bare stone which once had an inscription). No. 2. Face with lancet window, all bare. No. 3. Face behind altar, all bare. No. 4. Face with lancet window, the slants containing four saints in medallions (by Pomponio). No. 5. Christ appears to Heraclius carrying the cross. It is impossible to describe the intermixture of Pordenone's original work and Pomponio's without a diagram. The figure carrying the cross is so injured as to be scarcely discernible. This fresco is further injured by a door having been broken

into it. — All these subjects are parted by ornamented pilasters with gambols of children. In the lunettes — 1. The empress Helen kneeling at the pool of Bethesda, the distance only is in the manner of Pordenone, the rest in that of Pomponio's school. 2. Resurrection of a man at the raising of the cross. Here also the distance only is in Pordenone's manner. 3. Bare. 4. Christ in the act of being nailed to the cross. The figure of Christ might be by Pordenone and his are the figures in the distance. The fresco is almost worn away. 5. Deposition from the cross. The Virgin to the r. with the Marys seems by Pordenone. In the body of the church there is a fresco in a bad state, with life size figures (the upper part only visible) of the Virgin and child between St. Louis of France and another saint. This abraded piece is by Pordenone.

In San Martino of Valvasone, not far from Casarsa there are frescos by P. on the façade; — Christ at the tomb, betw. the Virgin and St. John and two angels, half lengths large as life but almost worn off the wall. There is also a colossal St. Christopher, — an inscription beneath the latter illegible. It is impossible now to say that these frescos are by Pordenone; and they might be by Pomponio.

nal and external adornment. It had not yet been proved by experience that fresco was more perishable than canvass; and no frescante was known to surpass Pordenone in the north. We may feel surprise not that the great Friulan should have been employed but that he should have been employed for so short a period. The subjects with which he filled the tribune of the now modernized church of San Rocco were similar to those which he had chosen on many previous occasions — the Eternal, the doctors, Evangelists, and prophets, and the transfiguration; they were carried out so as to elicit praise even from Vasari. He did not paint fresco alone — and two panels which he executed are still at San Rocco, a colossal effigy of St. Martin sharing his cloak and St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ, both in his broadest and most Titianesque manner,¹ but all this did not give Pordenone such credit as to induce him to settle at Venice.

He spent spring and summer of 1529 in his native town and only left it in October for Piacenza.²

Several persons there disputed with each other for a share of his labours; — a noble — the cavalier Barnaba Pozzo — entrusted to him the design of the front of his palace; others who had votive chapels in the church of the Madonna di Campagna asked him for frescos, and

¹ Venice, S. Rocco, contract with Pordenone. May 9. 1528. Maniago, p. 206. The frescos have been described by Vas. IX. 36. and all subsequent historians till the close of last century. But Vasari in his hasty manner assigns to Pordenone Tintoretto's miracle at the pool of Bethesda. The panels of St. Martin and St. Christopher hang high up on one of the walls of the church and seem even at the distance to have been in part retouched. They are very fine specimens of Pordenone's ability in foreshortening and his power in chiaroscuro. The perspective shows that the figures were to be seen from below.

² Pordenone was at home in Nov. 1528, as we see in a record in the archive of Udine dated Nov. 2, in which his presence there is attested. Besides we have the following: "Pordenone, Jan. 5. 1529. Pordenone gives a power of agency to his brother Baldassare. Jan. 19. P. witnesses a deed. July 26. P. purchases a leasehold of a mill in Rorai Grande, which was feud of the castle of Pordenone. The record states that he received possession by taking in his hand of the earth stones and grass in the place. Pordenone, Oct. 13. 1529. P. appoints Pre Massimiliano Basilio of Pordenone to be his agent.

the "rectors" insisted on his covering the cupola with scriptural and heathen episodes. A current anecdote is that, on his arrival at Piacenza, Pordenone was required to furnish a specimen of his skill, and that this specimen is the fresco near the portal in which S^t. Augustin enthroned rests his hands on volumes held before him by boy angels. He gave a very high finish to the surface and tinged the flesh with a very bright rosy tone, but it is curious, if the story be true, that he should have been careless and conventional in the drawing of the angels, and that his trial piece should thus be less successful than those of a later date.¹

One of the chapels of the Madonna di Campagna contains very pretty compositions of the birth of Mary and the Epiphany with the flight into Egypt and the nativity in lunettes, angels in the cupola and saints and prophets in the piers. The glow of their colour and the depth of their shadows, their grouping, movements, and masks, are all reminiscent of Sebastian del Piombo.

Still more effective but of the same class and suggestive of similar reminiscences are the paintings of the second chapel, where the sermon, marriage, torture, and martyrdom of S^t. Catherine are the principal features of attraction. By far the most important composition is that of the sermon which embodies more completely than any other the various features of Pordenone's style. It illus-

¹ Piacenza. The records which prove that Pordenone was in Piacenza in 1529 and had not yet finished the decoration of the Madonna di Campagna in March 1531 is in Maniago p. 324. The frescos done for Barnaba Pozzo are mentioned by Vas. (IX. 35.) and described by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 161—162.). Vasari's story of Pordenone's marriage at Piacenza seems a myth, yet there was a tradition, that the Virgin in the marriage of S^t. Catherine at the Madonna di Campagna was a

Pozzo and that Pordenone had painted himself in the same piece as S^t. Paul. (See Vas. IX. 35. and Garilli's *Raffaelle*, Pordenone e Lomazzo, 8°. Piac. 1861. p. 15. cit. in Cittadella. *Notizie* p. 604.) The fresco of S^t. Augustin is life size, the lower part in bad condition. Vasari errs in describing it as tavola (IX. 35. and XI. 253.). That it was Pordenone's trial piece is stated by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 160.).

trates his habit of taking a very close view of the foreground, so as to attain a sharp diminution of size in the personages within the plane of delineation. It shows considerable skill in applying perspective to architecture, in focal concentration of light and harmonious combination of chords; it differs from earlier efforts by a sterner and deeper key of tone, strong effects of shadow, and less than usual gaiety of tints in dresses. Every figure is momentarily yet very energetically in action, S^t. Catherine in the middle ground with the train of her mantle in one hand, raising her arm on high, her copious hair loose on her shoulders, the philosophers around her. One of these stoops to the ground to look out a quotation, another on a stool with his foot on one volume, his elbow on another, turns his back to the spectator, but glances round at his neighbour, who rests one foot on a tressel and an elbow on his knee whilst he makes deductions on his fingers. Others again meditate or gesticulate as they converse, expressing surprise and conviction — all are in the fashion of del Piombo. At a balcony, the king looks down and gives a threatening command; and in the opening of an archway is the Madonna di Campagna, built but a few years before on a fine Bramantesque plan.

But Pordenone reserved his strength for the cupola of the drum, introducing prophets and sybils of a large size into the sections of the octogon vaulting and panellings with mythological incidents into the frieze below the entablature. Additional gaiety and finish is given to the design by a border of children sporting with dolphins and rabbits on a blue ground under the edge of the lantern; ornament covers the bands separating the larger fields from each other, and medallions interrupt the series of the frieze at regular intervals. Whilst the principal scenes in the drum are treated allegorically, with a view to the appropriate filling of the triangular sections, the panellings contain regular compositions in which we discern Neptune and Amphitrite, the rape of Europa, the drunkenness of Silenus, Bacchus with Fauns and Satyrs, Hercules strangling

the serpents, Jupiter hurling lightning at the giants, Diana hunting the boar, Venus and Adonis. The beauty of the architecture and the purity of its lines no doubt roused Pordenone to an exceptional effort and led him to combine in an uncommon degree the sublimated rules of his art. At Piacenza he is a painter in the higher sense with taste and fancy and power as a composer and distributor of space, unusually versatile in means and subtle in combinations, measuring and calculating all, and, under some unknown stimulus, uniting colour to form so as to produce that mixture of the Michaelangesque and Venetian which we see in del Piombo. He is to be distinguished from the latter only by a greater predominance of the Venetian element. With a force which almost equals that of oil he colours his frescos in warm and luscious shades of flesh and vivid tones of dress, harmonizing the most intense primaries with the exact complements of secondaries and tertiaries in scientifically precise quantities, relieving the whole by such effects of shadow as none but a man of his education and country would have ventured on. He sacrifices light for the sake of richness acquiring in a low but burning key an extraordinary intensity of power.¹

¹ Piacenza, Madonna di Canipagna built according to Vasari's belief on Bramante's design (Vas. XI. 247.). In the chapel to the left as you enter, the subjects are taken as stated from the life of the Virgin. The nativity is injured by efflorescence, the Epiphany is injured in the lower part and some of the saints in the pilasters are new. The second chapel with scenes from the life of St. Catherine has also suffered somewhat. The altarpiece (cannass, figures of over life size) of the marriage of St. Catherine is dimmed and blackened by time and dirt. In the dispute the man stooping to look out a quotation (l. foreground) is disfigured by the abrasion of the colour of

his tunic and the renewal of his red mantle. In the lunette above the dispute, St. Catherine is decapitated — a well arranged composition of many figures. In the opposite lunette St. Catherine is saved by an angel from the torture of the wheel and led away by another angel. Some of the surrounding figures are prostrate — others are mere spectators. There is much life and movement in the scene. In the cupola are saints and angels, on the pilasters a series of small compositions and eight allegorical figures. In the spandrels of the lunettes are four half lengths of saints and gambols of children or birds and animals or instruments in the borders. The

It seems almost natural to suppose that it was from Piacenza, and at this time that Pordenone went to Genoa on the invitation of Andrea Doria. We cannot judge of his frescos in the gardens of that prince's palace which have been lost, but we know enough of the story of the Palazzo del Principe to determine the period of its adornment. It had belonged to the family of Fregoso and was given to Andrea Doria in 1522. After its restoration by Montorsoli in 1528, Pierino del Vaga was ordered to arrange the interior, and during the performance of this duty, he was spurred to exertion by the competition of Pordenone and Beccafumi. A man of Doria's wealth and station would probably insist on the rapid completion of his palace; and it is not unlikely for that reason that Pierino's labours and those of his rivals should have been at an end towards the close of 1531. We have the positive certainty that Pordenone spent some part of 1532 at Travesio and we know of no subsequent occasion at which it would be likely that he should travel so far west and south as Genoa.¹

Following the master's wanderings as we have done, and resting occasionally to contemplate the fruits of his industry, we have had but little occasion to glance at his private character. We saw that he was twice married, but we learnt nothing of his married life; we have a dim

condition of the drum is bad; and the lower parts of the main sections especially are injured by damp. Parts of the dresses are sealed away, and where efflorescence shows itself the colours are bleached or blackened. The piers alternate with pillars in supporting the entablature and contain figures of saints truly described as by Soiaro, who finished the scenes from the life of the Madonna in the body of the drum. Four Evangelists in the pendentives are by Soiaro. The church of the Madonna di Campagna was erected in 1522. See Gualandi, *Memorie*. Ser. I. 164. Maniago (210) states that there is

a deposition of Christ in the church of Corte Maggiore near Piacenza by Pordenone and an Eternal with the four doctors and Evangelists in the church of the minorites.

¹ Genoa. See Vasari's lives of Pierino del Vaga and Beccafumi IX. 38, X. 161, 186 and 190 and Ridolfi I. 160. See also in all guide books the inscription on the face of the palace, which closes with the words: "instauravit MDXXVIII". Pordenone's frescos represented children unloading a boat and Jason departing in search of the golden Fleece. They were in a garden gallery which no longer exists.

conviction derived from the multiplicity and energetic stamp of his designs that he was a man of impetuous temper and strong passions, but the portrait of himself in the cathedral of Pordenone contradicts rather than confirms the impression produced by his manner. We now enter upon a phase of his existence in which a certain light is thrown upon his inner life; and — curious enough — this is the very time in which he seems to have been least productive.

In 1532 he finished the frescos of San Pietro of Travesio; in 1533, as there is some plausible ground for believing, he painted on one of the gates of Conegliano, but we are unacquainted with his labours in 1534. We know on the other hand from numerous records that he resided during the whole of this period in Friuli.¹

His father Agnolo had made a will in 1527 in which he devised the whole of his property to his three sons, Giovanni Antonio, Bartolommeo and Baldassare. The only condition which he imposed was that Giovanni Antonio should give a picture to the church of San Marco representing the Trinity between St. Bartholomew and St. Paul. — In April 1533, Pordenone married for the third time and took for his wife Elizabeth, sister of Pier' Antonio Frescolini a notary of Pordenone. He went to live with her in the house of his father, where Baldassare seems also to have lodged. Just about this time Agnolo died and it became necessary to break up the

¹ Travesio, March 2. 1533. Receipt of Pordenone, "per conto de la paga di 1532 duc. 25". Maniago p. 310. The arch of the choir is white washed but the soffit and piers still contain fragments of figures and ornament in rounds and a St. Roch and St. Sebastian all but obliterated. Pordenone, March 19. 1533. P. takes possession of a leasehold-feud of the castle of Pordenone (Maniago p. 344). Conegliano, above one of the gates of Conegliano is a winged lion surmounted by a figure of

justice. Beneath the lion is an inscription with the date of 1533. But the painting is so injured that no opinion can be given as to the correctness of the tradition which assigns it to Pordenone. There is a general look of Pordenone in the work as it stands, but the hand might be that of Amalteo or any other follower of Pordenone's school. Pordenone, April 21. 1533. P. appoints his factor Battista Zoppoli his agent. Nov. 30. P. buys a copyhold.

paternal establishment and divide the property. Over this division the two survivors, Giovanni Antonio and Baldassare, quarrelled; — Baldassare pretending by virtue of some document of doubtful validity to be Pordenone's partner and to have a right to remain with him in the house of their father, Pordenone denying the partnership altogether. Both were willing to avoid the scandal of publishing their differences and submitted their claims to arbitration, but before the award was given Pordenone took advantage of Baldassare's absence to leave the house and transport his furniture to the dwelling of his brother in law Frescolini. This roused the anger of Baldassare, and set him athinking how he could return into the joint possession of which he had been deprived. Pordenone and his friends on the other hand meditated transferring all they had to another jurisdiction and for this purpose hired a barge and bargees from Venice. On the 2nd of January 1534 Baldassare appeared before the Podestà and declared that Ser Francesco de' Frescolini had just arrived from Venice in a vessel manned by strangers with the intention of removing the property which his brother had carried away; he begged that steps might be taken for the protection of his person and chattels pending the arbitration. Pordenone and his relations were highly incensed at this proceeding especially as Baldassare, in his statement to the Podestà had charged them with fraud and violence. They shrank however, in view of the publicity which had been given to their plans from committing an open breach of the law. For several days they kept their men in idleness whilst Baldassare prowled in the vicinity. It was a state of things that could scarcely end to the credit of either side. On the 9th of January as Pordenone stood at the door of the Frescolini house with his cousin Ser Francesco, he saw Baldassare coming by. There was a prying look about him which induced Pordenone tartly to inquire what he was looking at. Denying that he was looking at any thing in particular and perhaps dreading a personal encounter Baldassare hastened past, but had not gone many

paces when Frescolini rushed forth and with a drawn sword in his hand challenged him to fight. He also drew and was preparing to defend himself when the bargemen who were loitering about the place came out in arms and almost surrounded him. There was some hustling and thrusting of knives and swords with cries of "ammazza" "ammazza" which sent a chill into Baldassare's bones. He turned from his cowardly pursuers and ran towards the bridge of Pordenone where he too had concealed some trusty followers. The bargemen following in hot pursuit, had hardly reached the bridge when they were met by a discharge of matchlocks under which one of them named Pascalino fell.¹

The people of the town cried shame at this outrage and some of them accused Pordenone of a deliberate intention to assassinate his brother; but the podestà of Pordenone to whom Baldassare had hurried after the event, was disinclined to give credit to his complaint and refused to act without further evidence. It was clear that a man had been murdered but by whom? Neither Pordenone nor the Frescolini were arrested, in consequence of their share in the affray, charges and countercharges were made, Baldassare accusing the bargemen whom he called bravi of an attempt to kill him, the Frescolini singling out a shoemaker named Enrico as the assassin of Pascalino. — The original cause of quarrel was referred anew to arbitration and submitted for that purpose to a lawyer of standing named Gradenigo. On the 17th of January a reference was published declaring Baldassare's claims unfounded,

¹ Two wills of Agnolo exist, the one is dated Pordenone March 20. 1525, in which he leaves all his movables except his silver to his wife Magdalena. He calls himself here "Magister Angelus quondam Bartolommæi de Lodesano districtus Brixia". Maniago p. 303. The other is dated Jan. 6. 1527 and here he calls himself A. q. Bart. de Lodesanis de Corticellis (Maniago 304—5). Of Bartolommeo

who is called in the will "fabrum murarium" we have a record dated March 7. 1524 in which he contracts to build the church of Sant' Andrea of Castions, of which Pordenone afterwards painted the tribune (Ridolfi Marav. I. 152). The church was demolished. We know nothing of Baldassare's profession. Agnolo calls his sons "ejus filios legitimos ac naturales".

ordering the sale and division of the property in dispute and binding all parties to keep the peace under a penalty of 300 ducats. The bargemen disappeared from the scene without being pursued and the shoemaker was never brought to trial. It has been stated that on a subsequent occasion Pordenone and his brother drew upon each other and that the former was wounded in the hand. There is no testimony to confirm the story; but it is pretty obvious that the painter's residence in his native place must now have lost all attraction, and that if he remained it was because he could not make up his mind to what part of Italy he should go.¹

In the meanwhile he married his daughter Graziosa to Pomponio Amalteo and he found leisure to resume his usual labours. In the course of a few months he finished a Trinity for the church of the Santissima Trinità at San Daniele and began a large altarpiece for the cathedral of Pordenone.²

The Trinity is still preserved in the Duomo of San Da-

¹ The earliest record in respect of this quarrel is an unpublished one dated Pordenone Oct. 16. 1533 in which Pordenone and his brother Baldassare appoint referees to settle their differences viz: Signori Pompeo Bicchieri and Ermolao Franceschini. Two other unpublished records are the following: Pordenone January 15. 1534. In consequence of a quarrel and controversy betw. Gio. Ant. pittore and Baldassare his brother, sons q. M^{re} Angelo Sacchiense — quarrels arising out of the succession; and because the said Baldassare pretended that he had a right under a certain deed of partnership to reside in the house of his said brother, refer their claims to the Dottore Girolamo Gradenigo. January 17. 1534. Award of Gradenigo as described in the text. The contract of marriage between Elizabeth Frescolini and Pordenone is in the archive of Udine together with the fore-

going. It states that she is the sister of P. A. Frescolini the notary, that she brings Pordenone a dowry of 200 ducats, viz: 100 in coin, 50 in furniture. 50 are to be paid in three years. The remaining proofs of the narrative will be found in Maniago p. p. 82—4. 325—9.

² Pordenone. June 29. 1534 Contract of marriage betw. Graziosa daughter of Pordenone and Pomponio, with a dowry of 300 ducats besides effects. Aug. 10. Receipt of Pomponio for his wife's dowry (Maniago 347). San Daniele. Jan. 22. 1535. Receipt of Pordenone for the Trinity of the brotherhood of the S. Trinità, witnessed by Pellegrino da S. Daniele, see antea. Pordenone. May 14. 1535. Payments for the unfinished panel of S^t. Mark (Maniago p. 318). Another payment made on the 8th of June is mentioned in Maniago (p. p. 82—4).

niele. It is one of the familiar subjects of the middle ages modernized by the skill of the 16th century — of luscious tone, ably relieved by shadow, powerfully designed and put together and charming in the variety of its details. — We seldom see the Eternal so nobly presented supporting the Saviour on the cross, or angels so lightly poised in air.¹

The glory of S^t. Mark, a large composition of twelve figures represents the saint, attended by acolytes, reading the service from a book held by a bishop, whilst a youth awaiting consecration kneels at his feet. To the right S^t. Jerom reverently advances with a cross in his hand, and S^t. Sebastian stands colossal in a curved posture; to the left S^t. Alexander on horseback sits in armour with an aged S^t. John the Baptist before him, and three seraphs play instruments in the middle of the foreground. Above this scene hovers the form of the Redeemer carried by cherubs, sweeping through space like a passing vision. Had Pordenone completed this picture, it would have been one of the best of his later days, for the exaggeration in the size and movement of the S^t. Sebastian is amply outweighed by the life and feeling in the rest of the dramatic personæ and the majestic ease with which the apparition of Christ is presented. Ridolfi truly remarks that though but a sketch it displayed the mastery of a great talent; but, we ask, why did it remain a sketch?²

Not even the wish to complete so large and important a work as this could, it is evident, counterbalance in Pordenone the desire to leave a place where the quarrel which he had with his brother embittered his existence. He had for some time, we may believe, made up his mind to retire to Venice, the most suitable residence for one

¹ San Daniele Duomo. Canvass. life size. The painting is scaled in places and requires new canvassing.

² Pordenone. Duomo. Arched canvass. 12 figures above life size. The heads in the distance, S^t. Alex-

ander and the two youths behind S^t. Mark are all unfinished; but the figures want the final touches and the draperies are still in the first preparation. The distance is a row of pillars.

of his ability, he was only kept back we should think by a feeling of discomfort that a man of his name and standing should be so much lower in the social scale than Titian. Titian had been knighted; he was the favorite of Charles the Vth and this was gall and wormwood not to be borne. In this emergency assistance came from an old and tried patron for whom Pordenone had designed some of his best frescos.¹ Girolamo Rorario, a notary holding the office of Papal nuntio and connected with the Hungarian court, used his interest with king John who then resided at Warasdin, to persuade him that next to Titian there was no greater artist in the world than Pordenone. It would be a proof of taste, he may have urged, if, vying with Charles the Vth he should raise a man of this mark to the rank of a noble. John listened with favour to Rorario's representations and in April 1535 forwarded to Pordenone a patent of knighthood for himself and his descendants. From that moment Pordenone took the name of Regillo; he could claim to be Titian's rival; he had a right to social distinction as well as celebrity in art; he left the altarpiece of the Duomo unfinished and settled at Venice.²

¹ The frescos of Casa Rorario at Pordenone have perished, with the exception of a figure of Atlas, a colossal fragment of grand style. The house is now called Casa Gasparidi, and the fresco is to be seen by entering the garden of Signor Silvestro Fortunato. "Rural scenes" in the same edifice probably by some assistant, have been taken as fragments to the town hall of Pordenone (see Maniago 189—91).

² Maniago (316—17) gives the patent, dated "Varadini 24. Aprilis 1535". As to remains of frescos at Pordenone it may be as well to record the following stray notes. — Pordenone, San Francesco. — Here Pordenone is said (Ridolfi I. 150. and Maniago 63. 187—8) to have painted a fresco of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata and two pan-

els with the Virgin and Evangelist. — The fresco perished at the demolition of the church. The figures have been cut out with circular saws and preserved in the town hall of Pordenone, they are dimmed by age and ill treatment and seem to have been originally by P.'s assistants. Frescos in Santa Lucia (Ridolfi I. 151) and in San Giuliano (Maniago 192) have perished; the latter falling with the building which contained them; those of the front of the Casa Varaschina (Contrada del Duomo No. 337, Maniago 65) are of Pordenone's school. A picture in Casa Cattanei (Maniago 65) later in Casa Conti a San Quirico has not been seen by the authors. Gone or missing are the following: 1. Christ. 2. A portrait of Charles the Vth in Casa Ravenna

As might have been expected, Venice offered every possible encouragement to that sort of labour which Pordenone was best able to bestow. Large mural designs with which he covered the palaces of Martino d'Anna, the Mocenigos and Morosinis, the brotherhood of San Francesco de' Frari and the cloister of San Stefano were evidence of the eagerness with which his services were sought.¹ In the opinion of contemporaries, the de-

at Pordenone. (Inventory of Casa Ravenna in Udine archiv. dat. 1615.) Belluno, Duomo (Ridolfi I. 153) tavola with the Saviour appearing to the Magdalen. Frescos at Cordenons (Ridolfi I. 146) frescos and altarpiece at Fontanelle — the latter representing S^t. Peter, John and Tiziano bishop of Oderzo (Ridolfi I. 146—7.) Venzona, Sposalizio, Epiphany, and circumcision on the shutters of the parish ch. organ (Ridolfi I. 152). Of the Sposalizio and circumcision there are copies by Pomponio in the Duomo of San Daniele and feeble ones in the Manfrini coll. at Venice. Porzia (Maniago 192) the frescos there are by disciples of Pordenone. At Ceneda there are frescos in the town house assigned by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 148—9) to Pordenone. They are all but obliterated but were painted by Pomponio. The fresco at Avoledo (Maniago 184) representing a S^t. Christopher on the front of the ch. was not seen by the authors. The absence of Pordenone from Pordenone in the years following 1534 is proved by numerous records in the archivio of Udine in which purchases of land are made in his name by Pier Anton. Frescolini i. e. in 1535, 1536 and 1537.

¹ Casa d'Anna, called Casa Viara by Boschini (Miniere Sest. S. S. Marco 96) and afterwards Casa Talenti, contained Curtius leaping into the gulph, an annunciation, Mercury foreshortened, a battle piece and Pluto and Proserpine (Dolce

Dialogo, p. 62). The latter group was all that remained in Boschini's time, but it was seen also by Zanetti, Pitt. Ven. note to 217. (See also Vas. IX. 36, and Sansovino. Ed. Martinioni 212, and Ridolfi Le Marav. I. 153—4, and Doglioni Delle Cose notabili, n. s. p. 34.) There was a print of the Curtius which probably still exists. Casa Mocenigo near the Carità had figures in antique dress, Time and Amor, on its front (Boschini, Le R. M. Sest. d. D. Duro 37). Casa Morosini on the grand Canal — a San Geremia (Vas. IX. 35) was soon injured by time but in the 17th century still showed a Pallas expelling the vices (Boschini, Le R. M. Sest. di C. Reggio p. 67). San Francesco de' Frari; the ceiling of the scuola in nine compartments was painted by Pordenone, with S^t. Francis receiving the Stigmata, the four Evangelists and four Franciscan saints: Buonaventura, Louis, Bernardino and Anthony of Padua in half lengths (Boschini Le R. M. Sest. de S. Polo p. 47. Ridolfi I. 162). In Zanetti's time the pieces were taken down into the body of the building (Pitt. Ven. 219). San Stefano; in the cloisters of the convent Pordenone painted twelve frescos, with subjects taken from the old and new testaments. These still exist but in such condition as to be worthless to art students. The same may be said of a fragment of fresco on the wall of San Stefano facing the Campo of that name.

signs were exceedingly talented; and comparisons were doubtless made in public between the bold and rapid frescante from Friuli and the grand oil-painter from Cadore. Nor is it difficult to conceive that Pordenone, under these circumstances should have fancied that his title, his cleverness as a craftsman, and his popularity as a man of striking presence and good breeding, made him the equal of Titian. But apart altogether from the respective merits of the two men, Pordenone had just grounds for believing that he might be successful against his most powerful competitor. Titian was in the full enjoyment of the favours showered upon him by Charles the Vth, by the Dukes of Urbino, of Mantua, and Ferrara; but he was in disgrace with the rulers of the Venetian state. Years had elapsed since he had given his word to paint the battle of Cadore in the hall of great council; but he had constantly neglected his promise and given precedence to the orders of Charles the Vth. It was no wonder that when the "sages" of the council determined to finish the ceiling of the Library which afterwards became the Sala del Scrutinio, they should look round for an artist from whom they might expect rapid and punctual service. They engaged Pordenone and he justified their confidence by completing the decoration in a comparatively short time. In the summer of 1536, there was not a line of this ceiling drawn; in March 1538, the whole of it was finished. The council was so satisfied that in June 1537 they deprived Titian of his patent in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, on the plea of neglect, and in November 1538, ordered a picture of Pordenone for the hall of great council. We may guess with what irritation and anger all this was regarded by Vecelli. He was so angry that Pordenone thought he might be induced to threaten his life and worked, as rumour told, with his sword by his side, that he might more surely ward off the blows of assassins; and yet there was probably as little ground for Pordenone's apprehensions as for Titian's jealousy, for Titian was really without a rival in talent; and nothing in his character gave ground

for supposing that he could stoop to the baseness of hiring bravi.¹

The frescos of Pordenone at Venice have all perished; and the hall of the Scrutinio was gutted in the fire of 1577, but had all these paintings been preserved they would not exalt Licinio above Titian. In the only field which they jointly occupied, Pordenone strove to equal, but never actually equalled, Titian. At San Giovanni Elemosinario, we have his S^t. Roch comforted by an angel with S^t. Catherine behind him turning her face affectedly towards S^t. Sebastian whose hands are fastened high above his head. The cleverness with which S^t. Roch is foreshortened is indubitable; the drawing has flexibility and correctness; there is Correggiesque rotundity and modelling in flesh and affectation in pose, and the colouring pleases by its warmth and ruddiness; but notwithstanding all this, Pordenone is still below Titian.²

Even the glory of S^t. Lorenzo Giustiniani at the Academy — a picture of a much higher class than that of

¹ See in Lorenzi (Giambattista) *Monumenti per servire alla storia del palazzo ducale di Venezia*. 4^o. Ven. 1869, the following records: June 23, 1537. Decree of council ordering Titian to refund the proceeds of the *Senseria*, for the time that he has not worked at the "bataglia terrestre" in the Sala del Gran consiglio (p. 219). 1536, Febr. 26, July 3, Aug. 18, Oct. 16, Nov. 20; payments for the decoration of the library and amongst them a payment to Pordenone (p. p. 210. 213. 215.) See further. 1537, March 23 and Aug. 30. 1538, March 27 (pages 218. 219. 221) for later payments. See also proofs that the ceiling was all by Pordenone, in records, of April 20 1563 (p. 314), and Dec. 29, 1577 (p. 413). The last record shows how Pordenone's pictures were burnt. Consult also Vas. IX. 36—37, and XIII. 21. Doglioni, *Delle cose notabili* u. s. p. 34, and Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 154—8. What is now shown

in this hall is comparatively modern and was probably done by Giulio del Moro. The order to Pordenone for a picture in the Sala del Gran consiglio is dated Nov. 22. 1538 (Lorenzi u. s. p. 223). He died before carrying it out.

² Venice. San Giovanni di Rialto. Pordenone's altarpiece, an arched canvass with figures of life size on an altar to the left of the entrance was executed according to Vas. (XIII. 30) after the completion of the frescos in the Palace. — It is to be noted that on the outer wall of the chapel which contains this piece there are traces of a medallion with a bishop in it a fresco in Pordenone's manner. We shall also remark that Vasari attributes to Pordenone not only the S^t. Roch and S^t. Sebastian, but also Titian's S^t. John giving alms (IX. 37). On the stone beneath the figure of S^t. Roch are the words: "IO.ANT. POR".

San Giovanni Elemosinario — is not to be put on a level with the great creations of Vecelli. There is no doubt of the beauty of the composition designed for a special place on the Renieri altar at Santa Maria dell' Orto in Venice. We can see that a supreme effort is made to produce a grand impression. Inspired gravity dwells in the ascetic Lorenzo, life and motion in the saints that attend him, precision and finish in the contours and modelling, but there is no life in the holy conversation; the figures are as usual, gigantic and without elevation; and it is a mummery to present such athletes in holy garb. Where Pordenone shows real mastery is in the handling. The warm high lights are contracted to the smallest possible space, so as to cast into a sort of twilight an intermediate surface tone blended with nice gradation into grey half tints and still greyer shadow. In this way a Correggiesque "sfumato" is produced which differs strongly in grain and tinge from the broad and fluid richness of the tinted dresses; but there is a wide chasm between this conventional process and the straightforward manliness of Titian's pastose touch.¹

At his best, Pordenone remains second to Titian. When careless he sinks to a still lower level; and of this we have a striking example in the annunciation of Santa Maria degli Angeli at Murano where indeed we may suppose that the master is in a great measure represented by his journeymen.²

¹ Venice Acad. No. 490. Arched canvass, m. 4. 12 h. by 3. 20, inscribed on the pedestal of the saint's throne: IOANNIS ANTONII PORDYNAENSIS. The figures are larger than life.

As to other pictures assigned to Pordenone in the Academy of Venice, No. 324. Angels on clouds, is by Paris Bordone or some one of his school.

² Murano. S. M. degli Angeli. This large canvass represents the Virgin surprised kneeling at a

desk. The angel flies, is followed by a train of archangels and seraphs, on clouds, and in the upper air is the Eternal. Through an opening one sees a landscape in which the angel leads Tobias. Vasari (XIII. 30), and Ridolfi (I. 158), state that the canvass was done by Pordenone after the nuns of Santa Maria had rejected one by Titian on account of the greatness of its price about 1537. See the engraving in D. Vincenzo Zanetti, *Del Monastero &c. di*

No painter has left us so few easel canvases as Pordenone except perhaps Baldassare Peruzzi, but this is a natural consequence of the peculiarity of his genius. Ridolfi and Sansovino in the 16th century registered a small number of his pictures in palaces and private galleries at Venice, but even at that comparatively early period works of art were often named at random.¹ Of the

S. M. degli Angeli. 8^o. Venice 1863. p. 180. The picture is feeble and much disfigured by repaints.

¹ The list of pictures by Pordenone at Venice is large. There are notices without details as to subjects of his easel pieces in the Palazzo Delfino (Sansovino. Ed. Mart. 375) and the Tassis collection (Ib. 377). But further, the following: Magistrato della Ternaria dell' Oglio. St. Mark, Justice and Temperance (Bosch. Le R. M. Sest. di S. Polo 10). This is by Bernardino Licinio. Palazzo Girolamo e Barbon Pesari, Campo di S. Benedetto. The Samaritan woman at the well? the same picture that we find assigned to Giorgione at the Royal Acad. in London, portrait of Benedetto Pesaro, portrait of Girolamo Pesaro, his son. (Sansov. Ed. Mart. 376). Signor Vincenzo Zeno, nude of a female (Ridolfi I. 168.) Casa Navagero, conversion of St. Paul. (Ib. ib.) Casa Bernardo Giunti (ib. ib.) Signor Jacopo Ponte. Resurrection of Lazarus (ib. ib.) Signor Biagio Lombardo. Drawing of David preparing to engage Goliath (ib. ib. 169). Renier coll. dispersed by lottery in 1666, portrait of a doctor with books (Sansovino. Ed. Mart. 378). Casa Domenico Ruzzini, three heads in one frame (Ridolfi Marav. I. 168). Picture bought at Venice by Basil Fielding "English ambassador". Subject Christ carried to the tomb. Ridolfi I. 168.

The list of lost or missing pictures assigned to Pordenone, outside Venice is also large, viz: Cremona. Conte Triulzi but once in

the ch. of S. Pietro al Pⁱ cartoon of a dead Christ. Maniago p. 271. Piacenza, Signori Chiappini; cartoon of a St. Augustin (Maniago 27.). Mantuan collection — at Mantua. A lady tuning a lute — three portraits in half length. (Invent. of 1627. Darco II. 160.) See this subject assigned to Pordenone, but really by one of his imitators at Hampton Court in notes on Bernardino Licinio. Antwerp, collection d' Uffel. 1. Virgin and ch. adored by St. Joseph and St. Francis, life size. 2. Virgin, ch. and St. Jerom, all but life size. 3. Portrait of B. Pozzo with a cat's fur pelisse and a glove in his hand. 4. A Venetian matron with a jewel at her bosom and a leopard's skin on her shoulder and a book in hand, both half lengths; also 5. another matron with bare neck in rich dress and "testiera di fiori in capo." (Ridolfi I. 168—9.) Verona, Casa Bonduri, half length of St. John in a landscape on copper (del Pozzo. Pitt. Ver. 162. p. 290.). Casa Fattori, a portrait (ib. ib. 291.). Casa del Conte Ercolo Giusti, a portrait of Pordenone (ib. ib. 299.). Casa del Pozzo, a portrait in a pelisse (ib. ib. 308.). Casa de' Signori Cortoni 1. St. John Evangelist, life size; 2. Deposition from the cross with many figures, above life size; 3. Cleopatra dying from the bite of the asp. (Ridolfi Le Marav. II. 304.) Brescia, Casa Barbisoni. (Chizzola Pitt. di Brescia. Brescia 8^o. 1760. p. 163.) Prague, Collection of Rudolf II. Naked female by "Bordanon". L. Urlichs in Zeitschrift der B.

Giorgionesque and Palmesque time we are somewhat dubiously reminded in the sybil of the Munich Gallery whose marble flesh contrasts so strongly with the gorgeousness of her drapery. There is so much of the Giorgionesque in the piece that it is called Giorgione; and numerous replicas of the same kind are classed amongst the works of Barbarella¹. Another excellent specimen is the daughter of Herodias with the head of the Baptist on a plate in the Doria Palace of Rome, a characteristic rendering of robust and portly female nature, with a graceful affectation in the bend of the head and something seductive in the glance of the eye. Of this too there is a good replica in the Baring collection in London, and a modern adaptation once in the Berry (Grimani-Calergi) Palace at Venice². More important in size and one of the few creations of the master in which gentleness and grace are combined is an altarpiece originally in a church at Noale near Treviso but now in the Quirinal, representing St. George and the dragon. It is an arched panel with figures large as life in a landscape done in the manner adopted later by Paris Bordone.³

Kunst. B. V. p. 140. Collection of Charles Ist at Whitehall. "Pordenone by himself, after the life playing upon the lute". (2 f. 9 h. by 3 f. 3.) Bathoe's Cat. 1757. Collection of James the II^d in London. "by Pordenone, his wife and daughter playing on the Virginals". Bathoe's catal. u. s.

Coll. of the Duke of Buckingham (temp. James Ist). 1. Sampson and the Philistines, 20 figures (5 f. h. by 7.) Bathoe's cat. u. s. 2. The return of the prodigal son (5 f. 5. h. by 8 f. 11.)

¹ Munich, Pinakothek, Säle. No. 470. This sybil appears to be the same registered in the Canonici collection at Ferrara (1632) as follows: Half length of a lady by G. A. Pordenone intended for a Prudence, has her r. hand on a

mirror, the left at her side." Campori Racc. di Catal. 108.

² Rome, Palazzo Doria, Braccio II. No. 40. Canvas, half length, life size. To the left a female; picture of a low key a little empty and raw, but this is owing in part to restoring. — Baring collection, 2 f. 4 broad by 2 f. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$. Here the hand of the daughter of Herodias holding the plate with the head in it, is not to be seen. This piece is injured by restoring and retouching. — The Berry copy is modern, it was sold with the collection some years ago. One of these three pieces was in the collection of Queen Christine. (Campori, Racc. di Cataloghi p. 454.)

³ Rome Quirinal — panel. 9 f. high by 6 f. 2. arched; on a scroll to the left: "I. A. REG. PORD. F." probably the same described

Another altarpiece of large dimensions though much injured is the Madonna between S^t. Ilarius and S^t. Paul in the church of Torre in Friuli, a canvass of a broad sketchy character illustrating the Palmesque style of the years 1515—20, remarkable in some of the flesh parts for great blending and a polished enamel surface. Of the same period probably is the Virgin and child between S^t. Anthony, S^t. Leonard, S^t. John the Baptist and S^t. Catherine in the church of Moriago at no great distance from Treviso.¹

On more than one occasion Pordenone's skill was displayed in lifelike and expressive delineations of patrons in altarpieces. Such excellence presupposes more than usual facility in seizing the characteristic features of sitters; and yet there is no painter of whose likenesses so little is recorded. Contemporary chronicles and later historians dwelt enthusiastically upon the salient features of his style; and praised his daring as a draughtsman and

by Maniago at Noale (p. 207.). The picture has been abraded by cleaning and has lost its golden glazes and some of the surface of the *in-pasto*. S^t. George on horseback tilts in the middle of the picture at the dragon with his lance; in the landscape to the right is the female saint kneeling.

¹Torre, ch. of. Monumental altarpiece on canvas (life size) with the Virgin and ch. between S^t. John the Baptist, S^t. Anthony the abbot, S^ts. Ilarius and Titian. The Eternal amidst angels in a half round pinnacle, S^t. Sebastian, the Madonna, S^t. Agatha and another saint in rounds, in a predella. The Virgin is fleshy, the saints reminiscent of Palma and Correggio. Where the colour is preserved, for instance in the Baptist on the right, it is warm, fluid, and highly enamelled. There is a complicated strain in the two children at the foot of the nurse playing viol and tambourine. The sky is all new, the Virgin's blue dress ruined, the arm sealed, the hair and forehead

covered with repaint. The belly of the child is injured and there are spots sealed off in the distance to the left. The profile of S^t. Anthony is repainted, the same may be said of the hand and part of the cheek of S^t. Ilarius to the left and the yellow dress of the angel playing the tambourine. The figures in the predella are ruined. The Eternal is modern probably by Calderari. A record in Maniago (pp. 66, 195, 307—8.) says this altarpiece "fu fatta dal cel. pit. Q. Ant. quondam Angelo l'anno 1520." yet we know that Pordenone only lost his father after 1527.

Moriago, ch. of. Choir. Arched, wood, figures of life size. Virgin and ch. betw. S^ts. John the Bapt., Cath., Leonardo and Anthony the abbot in an arched portico. Two angels play instruments at foot.

The surface is much injured by flaying and repainting. In the Penna Gallery at Perugia a copy of Titian's Persens and Andromeda at Madrid is erroneously assigned to Pordenone.

frescante; they preserved or transmitted but sparing notice of his portraits. Still it is to be presumed that he was at home in this as well as in other branches. Comparatively modern writers have described his "Benedetto and Girolamo Pesaro" in the palace of that family at Venice, and a "man unknown" in the Renier collection; in a Mantuan inventory of 1627 he is bespoken as author of a picture representing a female tuning a lute and three persons in half length at her sides. Ridolfi alludes to his Bernardo Pozzo (of Cremona) and two ladies in the Van Uffel collection at Antwerp; and Chizzola in his Brescian guide mentions a portrait of a friar. None of these pieces have been traced¹. In the public and private galleries of England and the continent there are not a few solitary half lengths or busts catalogued under Pordenone's name. We should expect to find in these something like the talent conspicuous in the master's religious compositions; but this is by no means so; and we perceive that collectors have been deceived by the signature of Bernardino Licinio or have been led into error in assigning to Pordenone what has no affinity to Pordenone in manner. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that genuine portraits are miscalled, and of these we might suggest such a list as the following:

Vienna, Czernin Collection. No. 38. (Canvas 4 f. 8. br. by 3 f. 6.) This is a half length of a doge in state dress. On the upper corner of the warm brown background to the left, but partly concealed by over-painting, are the words: "Andrea Gritti Doge in Venetia"; low down to the r. "Titianus EF." the whole in initials. If these words are forged, the forgery is an old one. Dr. Waagen (*Kunst-Denkäuler in Wien* p. 303) curiously enough states that this is the doge Francesco Venieri (he held the chair from 1554 to 56) and contradicts himself by adding the style is that of Titian in his ninetieth year (1567). He ignores the inscriptions altogether. Be this as it may, the picture exhibits Pordenone's feeling and treatment as contradistinguished from Titian's. To life and animation in the features are superadded that peculiar weight and coarseness, especially in the hands, which distinguish the Friulan. We have also Pordenone's vehement touch, his buff even tone of flesh, his large and resolute sweep of brush, without the broken surface, delicate modelling, glazings, or fine sense of chiaroscuro peculiar to Titian. It is a good portrait for

¹ See note 1, p. 286.

Pordenone but not equal to one by Titian. That Gritti should have sat to the master who in 1536 made such a noise at Venice would seem natural enough.

Paris. Louvre. No. 474. Canvas, half length. M. O. 99. h. by O. 82. br. This also is called Titian, and represents a bearded man in black with one hand on a pier, the other on the hilt of his sword. It was bought of the Marchioness Sanesi by Cardinal Mazarin at Rome. The easy attitude and noble mien of this individual is well rendered with Pordenone's massiveness. The hand again is heavy in flesh and finger, a very marked characteristic of the painter's want of refinement. The drawing is not as simple, the colour not as fresh or as natural as Titian's; it has not his subtle elasticity and relief, but rather a hot sort of evenness which approaches hardness. The portrait is in fact a very fine product of Pordenone's brush.

London. Baring Collection. Canvas. Life size half length of a man with his hand on a table, on which rests an hour-glass and books. In the upper corner to the left: "Est mort. nobis DE COE DEBEC?" to the right below: "a . . . MDXXI". This is assigned to Titian, and is not free from abrasion and retouching but is a fine specimen like the foregoing.

Two half length portraits assigned to Pordenone in the Colonna Palace at Rome are ill named, one is by Morone, the other below even Morone's powers.

Such pictures as are catalogued in the public galleries of Florence, Turin, or Rovigo, are either by Palma Vecchio or Bonifazio or others of less note.¹ At Dresden and Berlin, Pordenone is confounded with his relative Bernardino

¹ Florence Uffizi, No. 619. Wood, oil, bust of Judith with one hand on the hair, another grasping the beard, of Holophernes' head. Judith is bareheaded and bare-necked with flowing locks, her form relieved on a dark ground. The picture has been flayed and stippled and thus greatly damaged. It was once evidently rich in tone and exquisitely carried out, but not in the manner of Pordenone so much as in that of Palma Vecchio to whom it ought probably to be assigned. — Same gall. No. 616. Conversion of St. Paul, canvas oblong of 16 figures half life size, a lively composition in the style of Bonifazio. — No. 585. Canvas, kneepiece — life size — portrait of a man bareheaded with a short black beard,

his r. hand on a book leaning on a table, a handkerchief in his left — distance a wall and sky. This piece is injured, the hands being greatly damaged. The work is that of some follower of Paris Bordone such as Francesco Dominici, Lodovico Fiumicelli or F. Beccaruzzi.

Florence, Pitti. No. 52. "Sacra conversazione" in the style of Giam' Battista Zelotti.

Rovigo Gallery. No. 4. Canvas, figures half life size. St. Agnes enthroned between St. Lucy and St. Catherine. (See Bernardino Licinio.) — No. 156. A female saint in contemplation, a small panel of Giorgionesque manner and time.

Licinio or with the Cremonese Campi. At Munich where one piece, assigned to Giorgione, suggests his name others are improperly catalogued as Pordenone. There is scarcely an authentic canvas in England except that of the Baring collection.¹

¹ Berlin Mus. No. 196. The woman taken in adultery half lengths, canv. 3 f. 2½ h. by 4 f. 6 br., spoiled by old repaints — by an imitator of Pordenone, or one of the Campi. The head of the Saviour and adulteress are almost new. No. 165. Christ washing the feet of the apostles. Canvas in the manner of a follower of Bonifazio, reminiscent of Rocco Marcone, Savoldo, or Beccaruzzi.

Munich, Pinak. Saal No. 482. A concert — nine figures half length singing in chorus. This picture much altered by repainting suggests the name of Florigerio or other Friulans of his stamp; and recalls the Modenese and Ferrarese of the following of Garofalo and the Dossi. Frankfurt, Städel Mus. No. 32. from the Barbini Breganze coll. and formerly belonging to Canova, portrait of Cardinal Bembo. This piece is too much repainted to warrant an opinion. St. Petersburg, Hermitage No. 116. A male and female in converse. This piece is technically below Pordenone's powers, rawish in tone and outline and hard in the transitions. It is well preserved and probably an early Cariani. Nos. 117 and 118. Hercules and the dragon and Theseus and the Centaurs are small pieces in the style of Campi when imitating Pordenone. — London, Stafford house. The woman taken in adultery, nine half lengths of life size, by some late Venetian. National Gall. No. 272. Fragment of a figure, of colossal size, canvas, 4 f. 11 h. by 3 f. 9. originally in a Venetian ch., a heavy and not favorable specimen of the master. Alnwick Castle from the Manfrini coll. Seven portraits of

a painter and his family said to be the likeness of Pordenone and his children — kneepiece, a good specimen of Bernardino Licinio. (See postea.) Burleigh house, seat of the marquis of Exeter. Adoration of the magi, now assigned to Pordenone, formerly and with more correctness to Bassano. (Jacopo da Ponte.) Bassano here shows clearly enough how he adopted Pordenone's manner as he shows it in his Flight into Egypt and other pieces in the Gall. of Bassano. It is the same style as that of the Epiphany. No. 65. in the National Gallery of Scotland, under the name of Titian, or a Christ at Emmaus with the same nomenclature in the sacristy of the church of Cittadella, or a nativity and adoration of the shepherds, No. 467. in Hampton Court Palace, and a similar subject properly called Bassano No. 164. in the Ambrosiana at Milan. By looking at these pieces in succession we see the gradual expansion of Jacopo da Ponte's style before he entered into the later and better known phase of his art. National Gall. of Scotland, No. 131. Christ on the mount — a Lombard picture — Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 4., Marriage of St. Catherine — a poor copy of a picture at Hampton Court attributed to Titian (No. 638.) — In the same collection, Venus and Cupid: very poor and not even by an immediate follower of Pordenone. — Hampton Court No. 30. A portrait-bust of a man in a black cap in long hair and beard, much injured, but still in Pordenone's manner. No. 69. A knight, half length, not genuine. — The same

Pordenone's last and greatest commission was given to him by Ercole the IInd Duke of Ferrara for whom he designed subjects from the *Odyssey* for embroidery in arras. These Ridolfi had the good fortune to see and to describe. At the close of 1538 the Duke expressed a strong desire to speak with Pordenone who was induced with some difficulty to quit Venice. It was fated that he should never see the beautiful city again. He left at the end of December and on his arrival at Ferrara put up at the "Angel" inn, where he was set to work by the Duke's order upon certain large "perspectives"; but he had not been many days employed when he fell sick and died. The progress of his malady was so rapid that there was no time to send for Pordenone's wife or any of his relatives. When Giacomo Tebaldi the Duke's agent at Venice came to bring the widow fifty scudi from his master she fell into a paroxysm of grief; and there is nothing more affecting than Tebaldi's letter telling how bitterly Elizabeth Frescolini complained that she was left alone in the world with a child to come and four to feed. It was an awful source of misery to her to think that her husband had died away from her so suddenly and so suspiciously. Her friends, and perhaps Elizabeth herself,

opinion is to be held of No. 158., a senator, No. 564., Judas betraying Christ, and No. 851., a female in a helmet. No. 152. Family of Pordenone. This as is well known is by Bernardino Licinio, who is also the author of No. 360, a lady playing on the Virginals. No. 466, a Holy Family is by a poor follower of Paris Bordone. Hamilton Palace near Glasgow. Virgin and child; seems copied from that of Antonello (No. 13.) at the Berlin Museum. The name of "Lycinii" in the border is false — a very poor work. Manchester Exhib. No. 217. belonging to F. Perkins portrait of a young man dated 1528. This is by Bernardino (see *postea*). London, Earl Brownlow, Portrait of a man with an open music

book inscribed: MDXXIII Anno ætatis sue LV P. Lycinii. P. not seen. — London, M^r. Cheney. Copy of the Belvedere Apollo. — We omitted to notice this work at M^r. Cheney's. Not seen likewise. Late Bromley coll. Two portraits of men and two of women. (Waagen Treas. III. 378.) Coll. of Alton Towers, death of Peter Martyr ib. (III. 383.). Madrid Museum No. 418. Virgin and child between St. Anthony and St. Roch. This picture seems more in the manner of Francesco Vecelli than of Pordenone to whom it is assigned. Same Gallery. No. 849. Death of Abel assigned to Pordenone and reminiscent of his style; but we should like to see this piece again.

believed that he was poisoned; and historians only repeat the charge which was made at the time, but it was never proved that he perished by foul means. He breathed his last in a room at the Angel inn and was buried without pomp in the church of San Paolo at Ferrara.¹

Pordenone and Pellegrino both had imitators, as men of their fame and popularity needs must — some, disciples in the school, others students of exhibited works — none remarkable. We shall only name a few of them:

Bernardino Licinio is frequently confounded with Pordenone to whom he was distantly related; but he was far behind that master in every branch of his art. The probabilities are that he was born about the beginning of the 16th century, that he was educated in Friuli and afterwards inhabited Venice. He was well acquainted with the men of his craft in North Italy, and once took the likeness of Palladio, and there are traces of his wanderings in the Lombard provinces.² His earliest pictures are dated 1524; his latest 1541; he did not refuse commissions for religious pieces but his strength lay in portrait. He was fond of family groups, putting together round a table, or in appropriate spaces, a painter with his pupils, a father with his wife and children, a mother with her son and attendants, a lady at an instrument with accompanying singers and listeners; he occasionally represented single personages male or female in the fashion of the period. Of these we have examples frequently catalogued under the name of Pordenone, often inscribed with his own. One is an heirloom to which Temanza alludes in his life of Alessandro Vittoria, long preserved in the Manfrini palace at Venice and now at Alnwick; it represents an artist and his pupils at a board. Another, a mother receiving her son in presence of two spectators, is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg; a third with a family of nine or ten persons dated 1524 is in the gallery of Hampton Court, the counterpart of one of

¹ The proofs are in Marchese Campori's "Il Pordenone in Ferrara". Fol. Modena 1866. Baldassare survived his brother Gio. Antonio and we have a record dated 1542. March 18., in Pordenone, in which Baldassare appoints Ascanio Cesarino and Pomponio Amalteo his agents in an action against Prè,

Teofilo Frescolini for recovery of certain parts of the property of Giovanni Antonio. The action was tried by the vicar of the bishop of Concordia.

² Temanza. Vita del Palladio, p. 284—9, and other authorities quoted in Maniago. Belle Arti Friul. 92.

the same kind in the Borghese Palace at Rome. At Alnwick a purple ruddiness overspreads the faces, which are coloured in a comparatively soft rich tone; at St. Petersburg we are reminded of Cariani by the careful smoothness of the handling. The Hampton Court group is flayed and repainted but shows marks of a bold free touch and a more effective treatment than at Rome.¹ The models of Bernardino are not merely those of Pordenone; they are also Painesque and Giorgionesque; and this accounts for the error of collectors who confound his works with those of Pordenone. His flesh is usually of a dull red, and of a raw and shiny evenness in surface. The types are conventional and common, the faces cold and inexpressive, the drawing incorrect, the hands, feet and articulations coarse. The figures are heavy and fleshy. In short the defects of Pordenone and Palma are combined in Bernardino in a very disadvantageous manner.

Of his single portraits, a fine specimen is that which belongs to Mr. Frederick Perkins in London, dated 1528, a young man resting his right arm on a wall and his left hand on his hip, the head in its framing of locks gently inclined. To this Giorgionesque canvas we may add one more reminiscent of Lotto or Cariani — a bust of a youth in a black silk dress in the collection of Signor Felice Schiavoni at Venice. Fair in arrangement and lively in movement is the

¹ Alnwick. Seat of the Duke of Northumberland. The painter (half length) a bearded dark man stands behind the table, a mutilated statuette in his hand; to the left a youth holds up a drawing on which is written: "Vardè si sta ben sto disegno"; to the r. another youth carries a statuette in his r. and points with his l. to a drawing on the table on which is written: "Le deficile sta arte." Three spectators are in rear, one of them smiling. On the table is an ink bottle and carved work in fragments. This piece alluded to by Temanza in his life of Alessandro Vittoria was in the Manfrini coll. and subsequently belonged to Mr. Barker in London.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 120. Wood transferred to canvass 2 f. Rhenish h. by 2 f. 9, half lengths, distance to the left sky. This is also a soft picture of Bernardino, reminiscent of Palma Vecchio. It is here catalogued Pordenone. The white boddice of the lady in the middle of the

picture is repainted. In the same gallery. No. 119. 6 f. 0½ h. by 4 f. 11 Rhenish, adoration of the magi is not by Licinio but is a later copy of Bassano's adoration (No. 65) in the National Gallery of Scotland under the name of Titian. (Compare Waagen, die Gemäldesammlung in der k. Ermitage u. s. p. 67).

Hampton Court. No. 152. Half lengths life size, under the name of Pordenone. There are ten figures about a table, and a little dog. On the upper corner, to the left the date: "MDXXIII". The surface is injured by old cleaning and retouching. The picture was in Charles the 1st coll. at St. James. (See Bathoe's catalogue 1757).

Rome. Galleria Borghese. Stanza XI. No. 33. Canvas, life size, nine figures. On the upper corner to the left: "B. LICINI OPVS". In the same gall. much in the style of Bernardino's school, but of a common class. No. 42. Virgin and child and young Baptist betw. St. Catherine and St. Anne.

lady playing on a spinet at Hampton Court, and turning as she plays to speak with a man behind her; whilst an old lady on the other side listens. Though injured by abrasion the colour is pleasant and shows less uniform ruddiness than usual.¹

As a composer of religious incident we first become acquainted with Licinio in a canvas bearing his signature and the date of 1530, at the Museum of Rovigo — a very poor and spiritless glory of St. Agnes between St. Lucy and St. Catherine.² Better of its kind is the Virgin and child with the kneeling St. Francis in a landscape under the name of Polidoro at the Uffizi (No. 1288) a picture of some attraction in the figures of St. Francis and the Virgin, but vulgar in masks and uniform in the redness of the flesh parts.³ Still more worthy of attention is the Virgin and child with St. Jerom, the Baptist, a female saint, and two patrons, in the collection of Sir Ivor Guest, a series of half lengths, in which the former recall Pordenone, and the latter Pellegrino in the Palmesque style which marks his Madonna of 1529 at Cividale. In spite of neglected drawing and false drapery this picture charms by a certain softness of colour and chiaroscuro. A colder execution distinguishes the Holy Family with St. Anthony of Padua in the Manfrini gallery — one of Bernardino's creations which once adorned the church of the Isola di San Clemente at Venice.⁴ Licinio's masterpiece in religious composition is the Virgin.

¹ London. F. Perkins Esq. No. 217 at Manchester. Canvas, knee piece life size, with brown ground, on the wall, to the l. on which the arm reposes: "STEPHANVS NANI AB AVRO ? XVII. MDXXVIII LICINVS P." The figure is in a dark gabardine with grey fur collar of front; in the r. hand a glove, retouched all over with point stippling.

Venice. Felice Schiavoni. Half length life size on cold dark ground, of a young man, in black silk, bare headed, his face bent to the l., a white chemisette, one hand on his breast, pointing with the forefinger of the r. hand.

Hampton Court. No. 630. Half lengths, the man to the left in a striped cap, the dame to the r. injured in the hair.

² Rovigo. Gall. Com. No. 4. Canvas, figures less than half life size, inscribed: "Joanes Trivisanus abbas S. Cypriani quem genus Muriana colit hoc munus dedit,

MDXXX". To the r.: "LICINI OPVS". Much injured and dimmed by restoring.

³ Uffizi. No. 1288. St. Francis kneels and presents the cross to the child (a very ugly one); distance landscape. The flesh is warm, reddish and uniform.

⁴ England. Collection of Sir Ivor Guest, previously in the Manfrini Gall. at Venice. Wood, half lengths, figures life size. The two patrons, busts on the edge of the picture, are recommended by the Bapt. and a female saint, the patroness richly dressed, distance sky and hills, the clouds retouched. The draperies are very poor. — Manfrini coll. No. 40. fig. under life size, canvas, Virgin and child with the young Baptist, St. Joseph and the kneeling St. Anthony of Padua, in a landscape, recalling the picture at Brescia which we shall notice hereafter (see Bosch. le R. M. Sest. della Croce p. 52 and the later guides up to the close of last century).

and child enthroned amidst saints, a large altarpiece in the Frari at Venice, a composition in the usual form, strongly reminiscent of Friulan school models with something Titianesque in the pose and mien of some of the attendant saints. The broad handling and sombre tone, the free drawing, give an unusual charm to this work which rivals in completeness a similar production of the year 1535 in the church of Saleto near Padua.¹

We revert to Licinio as a portrait painter in a likeness of a lady dated 1533 at the Dresden Museum, a large waisted dame with chestnut hair combed flat under a wide turban, who sits in a slashed red dress and wears green gloves. The pattern on the turban and shoulder-straps is something like a yellow passion flower, the chemisette is white, the neck and bosom are adorned with a collar and chain. The trick of this and other pieces of a similar kind is that the dress is put in with rapid sweep of brush on the coarse grain of the canvas whilst the flesh is pumiced smooth and modelled to a polish; but modern repainting contributes greatly to diminish the value and interest of this production.² In better condition is a knee-piece at the Belvedere of Vienna dated 1541 representing Ottaviano Grimani before he had emerged into full manhood and become procuratore di San Marco. Here the brownish back ground alone is daubed anew, and Licinio's raw shiny sanguineous complexion is seen in all its force.³

Sometimes we find this master confounded with Paris Bordone, as in the portrait of a man at the Venice Academy (No. 428) sometimes with Palma Vecchio, as in the Virgin ch. and Baptist in the Vescovado at Milan and the half length of a lady in the gallery of Augsburg.⁴

¹ Venice Frari, Wood, full lengths life size, at the sides of the throne ten saints, amongst them, St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Andrew and St. Jerom, inscribed: "BERNARDINI LICINI OPUS." Saleto ch. of (canvas; figures life size) Virgin and child on a pedestal between St. Sylvester and St. Lawrence, inser.: "Bernardinus Licinii opus 1535." The child recalls Palma Vecchio, the colour, roseate but dry and flat, is reminiscent of that of Paris Bordone. The drapery is ill cast.

² Dresden Mus. No. 253. assigned to Pordenone, canvas. 3 f. h. by 2 f. 7. restored in 1861. The signature on the niche behind the figure is partly obliterated but reads "P. LICINI F. MDXXXIII." The opening P. is a mutilated B. A

piece has been added to the top and bottom of the picture.

³ Vienna Belvedere. Ground Floor. Room II. No. 155. Knee-piece, canvas. 3 f. 11 h. by 2 f. 11. inscribed on the brown and repainted ground: "OTAVIANVS. GRIMANVS. SEMPTERNA. SOCIETATE. PRIOR. ANNOR. XXIII. MDXLI" and on the stone upon which the figure rests a book: "B. LYCINI. OPVS."

⁴ Venice Acad. No. 428. M. O. 75. h. by O. 58. Bust on light ground of a nun with her l. hand on her bosom, inscribed on the ground and above two escutcheons "F. A. XLVIII A. A. XV." This portrait is Pordenonesque in style, of a raw reddish flesh tone, not without blemishes from restoring. — No. 527 in the same gallery as-

He is constantly taken for Giorgione, for instance in the adoration of the shepherds in the Duomo Vecchio at Brescia; in the daughter of Herodias receiving the head of the Baptist in the Sciarra Palace at Rome, and a replica of the same episode in the Leuchtenberg collection at St. Petersburg; in the Venus, Love, and Mars of the Hausmann collection at Hanover.¹ A portrait ascribed to Giovanni Bellini in the Brignole Palace at Genoa seems to be his.²

signed to Bernardino is as we have seen by Fogolino.

Milan, Gall. of the archiepiscopal Palace. No. 36, assigned to Palma Vecchio. St. John the Bapt., with the lamb in a landscape receiving the blessing from the infant Christ on the Virgin's lap. The composition is an imitation of Palma, the execution and forms are Licinio's. Augsburg Museum. No. 234. Wood. Lady at a parapet with the right hand pressing her bosom, the l. reposing on a book, bare necked; her hair in a white cloth. The figure is that of a young woman almost in full front and little under life size. The surface of the panel is charged with repaints; the flesh reduced to a bricky tone. This is one of Bernardino's pictures in which he comes nearest to Palma Vecchio.

¹ Brescia, Duomo Vecchio, under Giorgione's name. In front of a house, in a landscape, St. Joseph presents one of the shepherds to the infant on the Virgin's knee, another shepherd is in prayer to the left, wood, figures $\frac{3}{4}$ of life size, the panel horizontally split in two places, presented to the ch. by Sign. G. B. Averoldi (see F. Odorici's guida di Brescia an. 1853 p. 28). Here too the composition recalls those of Palma, but the execution is Bernardino's. The figures are paltry and incorrectly drawn and tinged with his red flesh tint.

Rome Galleria Sciarra. Wood, figures under life size. The daughter of Herodias with an affectedly bent head, holds the dish on which the executioner drops the head in presence of a female. It is needless to recapitulate the features

of Licinio's style which mark this piece.

St. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg Collection. No. 38. Wood, figures almost life size, 2 f. $8\frac{3}{4}$ Rhen. h. by 3 f. 7, the same composition as that in the Sciarra palace, but with one figure of a female in addition (l.). This is not so good a specimen of Bernardino as the foregoing; it is hasty, neglected, and probably of his older days (compare Waagen: „Die Gemäldesammlung &a. zu St. Petersburg u. s. p. 375).

Hausmann Collection in Hanover. No. 189. Canvas life size. 4 f. high. by 5 f. $2\frac{1}{12}$. On a red cloth on the ground, Venus (injured) with the winged Cupid playing on his back to the l.; in rear to the r. a knight kneeling in armour, with a dagger in his left and leaning his right on his sword. The distance of landscape has been renewed by a Fleming. The colours and drawing are Bernardino's, the forms weighty and fleshy. This piece has also been assigned to Paris Bordone and Pordenone.

² Genoa. Palazzo Brignole. See antea Vol. I. p. 182.

Of other pictures assigned to Licinio:

Pavia Gall. Portrait, knee piece of a lady with a book in her l. hand standing with her elbow on a pier, brown ground, red dress; on the pier: "1540. DIE 25 FEB." This portrait recalls Licinio and Cariani. The surface is too much altered by repainting to allow of a correct opinion.

Berlin. Mus. No. 158. Canvas. 3 f. $3\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 3 f. 9. from the Solly Coll. A ball player and his pupil,

Of Bernardino's kinsman Giovanni Antonio Licinio, who is said to have died in 1576 at Como we know nothing,¹ of Giulio Licinio, another relative, we learn almost as little. Giulio is said to be the nephew of Pordenone and in the course of his wanderings to have visited Rome. In the church of Roganzuol in Cadore for which Titian painted an altarpiece, the walls and ceiling are filled with frescos assigned to Vecelli and Pomponio Amalteo. On the side against which the altar rests are the miraculous draught of fishes, Christ giving the keys to St. Peter, and fragments of other subjects. Elsewhere we have the fall of Simon Magus, the crucifixion of St. Peter, and a battle scene; in the vaultings, the woman taken in adultery, the death of John the Baptist, and other episodes and single figures. It was perhaps because these frescos bore the school stamp of Pordenone that they were given to Pomponio, they are not in that painter's usual style; but by a disciple of the same school who studied Raphaellesque designs. The battle scene is derived from Sanzio's Attila and the miraculous draught from the cartoons; the colour is more sombre and red in shadow, the contour more incisive and incorrect than Pomponio's. Giulio, if taught by Pordenone, and subsequently a visitor in Rome, might have done such things as these. He is ascertained to have lived in his latter days at Augsburg, and there are vestiges of large distempers representing Pluto, Venus and

— a Venetian or Friulan picture perhaps by Calderari. — Same Gall. No. 170. a man in a black fur pelisse teaching a boy. Canv. 2 f. 9 h. by 3 f. 4. fr. the Solly Coll. This again is different from No. 158. and recalls Cesare Vecellio.

Vienna, Harrach Coll. No. 245. Wood 2 f. 11 h. by 3 f. 11. Virgin and ch. with a female saint in prayer. This may originally have been by Licinio but does not go by his name; it is very much repainted.

London. Right Hon. Mr. Layard. Virgin ch. and St. Joseph, l. a saint with the banner and palm; distance landscape. This is a small original work by Licinio.

Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. State Bedroom. Half length of a female in a yellow turban with a glove in one hand and a book in the other, in front of a red curtain. Canvas, life size. The character of this work points to a Ferrarese, perhaps Dosso Dossi or

Garofalo. Same collection. Virgin, child, St. Joseph and Mary Magdalen, half lengths, in front of a parapet on which is written: "B. LYCINIÛ." A coarse falsification.

Missing. Venice. Procuratie Vecchie. 2 frescos: "Sotto il volto del Portico." Justice and Dignity. School of Pordenone. (Boschini Le R. M. Sest. de St. Marco, p. 79.) Venice: Magistrato della Ternaria all' Oglio, St. Mark betw. Justice and Temperance. (Bosch. Le R. M. Sest. di S. Polo, p. 10.) — Scuola di S. Ambruogio e S. Carlo de' Milanesi alli Frari, St. Ambrose on horseback "del fratello del Pordenone." (Boschini Le R. M. Sest. di S. Polo, p. 46.) Venice, S. M. degli Angeli, tav. Virg. and ch. betw. St. Lawrence and Ursula with Lorenzo Pasqualigo kneeling. Boschini (Le R. M. Sest. della Croce p. 26) assigns this to the school of P. Bordone.

¹ Maniago u. s. I. 91 and 344 and Renaldis u. s. 43.

Janus, in Pordenone's fashion on the face of a house in the Philip-pinewelser Strasse, but there is really nothing authentic preserved except an inscription in Maniago's work, from which we ascertain that the artist was still at Augsburg in 1561. He is supposed to have died there, and it may be assumed that Zanotto errs when he suggests that Giulio is the author of the allegories executed in 1584 in the hall of the library of the Ducal palace at Venice.¹

Giovanni Maria Zaffoni, more generally called Calderari, is one of those who carried the style of Pordenone to the close of the 16th century. He was a bold executant in the fashion of Pomponio Amalteo, Beccaruzzi, or Fiumicelli, and an imitator of Paris Bordone as well as of Pordenone. He is not known out of Friuli, but there he practised from 1534 to 1570. One of his best and earliest works is the well of the font in the cathedral of Pordenone on the four sides of which he painted the birth of John, his sermon and decapitation, and the Baptism of Christ. These are small but lively compositions, thrown off with a rapid hand and without much attention to drawing, and coloured in the red and uniform flesh tints which characterize almost all the followers of Pordenone. They were done in 1534. In 1542 he finished the nativity with various saints and a patron in armour in prayer, a tempera which still exists in the church of Pissincana in Friuli and which Ridolfi took for a Pordenone. His frescos in the cappella Montereale in the Duomo of Pordenone are dated 1555, and he filled the church of the Santissima about the same period with a complete cycle of scenes from the old testament. A later series of the same kind is that in the village church of Montereale, valued posthumously in 1570 by Pomponio Amalteo; but on this occasion Calderari obviously left a great part of his duties to assistants.²

¹ See Zanotto. Guida di Venezia. 8^o. 1863. p. 115, and Maniago u. s. 212, who copies from de Piles' *Abrégé*, an inscription on a house at Augsburg with Giulio's name and the date 1561. The frescos on this house are all new except the much injured ones of Pluto and another deity. The treatment is sharp and incorrect in a low manner imitative of Pordenone and Tintoretto.

² Pordenone, March 15, payment for the Baptism in S. Marco of Pordenone. Maniago u. s. 346. The nativity of Pissincana is mentioned by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 152.). The Virgin adores the ch. and is surrounded by S^t. Gregory, S^t. Michael,

S^t. Francis and S^t. Bernardino; and the piece is inscribed "1542. I. M. P. F." 1555. Pordenone, Duomo. Cap. Montereale. Sides 1. Christ at Emmanus; 2. Christ appears to the Magdalen; 3. Assumption; 4. Visitation; 5. Descent of the Holy Spirit; 6. Christ and the doctors; 7. the Ascension. — Lunettes, 1. Presentation in the temple; 2. Adoration of the shepherds; 3. Adoration of the Magi; 4. obliterated. Ceiling 1. Birth of Christ, 2. Presentation of the Virgin in the temple; 3. Marriage; 4. obliterated. Final payment in 1570 (Maniago u. s. 214. 346.). These frescos are all in very bad condition. Pordenone, ch. of the Santissima, choir and

Of an earlier period than Calderari, but taught in the school of Pellegrino is Luca Monvert who was born at Udine in 1491 and died in 1529. We may believe that he remained a long time in the atelier of his master; for we hear only of a few church banners for which the commissions are preserved; and we have nothing extant except the large altarpiece of the Madonna and saints done in 1522, for Santa Maria delle Grazie at Udine. The figures in this piece are mostly well proportioned. Some are in postures, others in natural attitudes. The child dances on the Virgin's lap like some of Pellegrino's angels. The spare colours and dim red flesh, the careful drawing and unshaded modelling reveal a timid craftsman; and it is difficult to agree with Vasari that Monvert would have been excellent had he not perished early.¹

Sebastiano Florigerio is the same young artist whom we saw Pellegrino attempt to attach to his person by a marriage with his

aisle. Here are from twenty five to thirty frescos from the old testament, and beneath a figure of St. Lucy is the following inscription: "Hipolitus Maroneus formæ hujus templi inventor, hoc sacellum sic ornavi jussit MDLV." (See Maniago u. s. 245.) Montereale ch. of. frescos, in choir with scenes fr. the new testament, partly finished in 1564, valued in 1570 (See Maniago u. s. 92. 213. 347—8.).

¹ Luca Monvert was the son of Bertrando Montvert of Udine. We have records of himself and his family as follows: 1498. Udine, June 28. Francesco de' Ricamatori lets a house in Borgo Gemona of Udine to Bertrando Montvert. — Udine. 1505, April 7. Will of Donna Montvert q. Stefano Polanis furrier of Udine widow of q. M^o. Giacomo de' Caprileis tailor. She leaves to her nephew Luca q. Bertrando, three ducats, and the rest of her property to Leonardo her son. — Udine. Oct. 16, 1515. Grant of leave to the tutors of the minor Luca q. Bertrando Montvert of Borgo Gemona at Udine to sell a field. San Daniele. June 25, 1517. Witnesses to a will, M^o. Bernardino di Maestro Giacomo da Udine, painter, and M^o. Luca q. M^o. Bertrando "el Monver" inhabitant of Udine. The coming of age of Monvert be-

tween 1515 and 1517 makes his birth fall pretty certainly in 1491.

The altarpiece in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Udine represents the Virgin and ch. on a throne, and at foot, St. Roch, St. Gervase, St. Protase and St. Sebastian. At the base of the pillar to which St. Sebastian is bound is the date MDXXII, and on the base of the panel: "Fraternità di S. Gervasio fece fare essendo Cameraro M^o. Clemente et Bernardo Fachin prior." The figures are life size — the panel split horizontally in many places and the figures injured. The worst preserved parts are the Virgin and child, the best St. Protase and Gervase. The whole work is that of a follower of Pellegrino (see Vas. IX. 30—1.). — 1532. Udine. February 18. Luca, contracts for a gonfalone, with St. George and a story from his life, for the brotherhood of San Giorgio of Udine, for 32 ducats. 1524. Udine. January 7. In the shop of Luca, the said L. lets a shop beneath his own in Mercato Vecchio. 1524. Udine. Jan. 15. L. promises to paint a gonfalone with the Madonna for the ch. of Santa Marizza. 1525. Aug. 12. L. sells one of his fields. 1529. L.'s death. Maniago u. s. 181. 299.

daughter Aurelia. It was agreed in 1527 that Florigerio should stay two years with his master before he married; and that his services during that time should be unpaid. It is not certain that the match took place; but Florigerio was still, we may believe, helping Pellegrino when he worked at the altarpiece of Cividale in 1529. Four years earlier he had been allowed to accept an order for an altarpiece in the church of Santa Maria di Villanuova near San Daniele, and subsequently perhaps, he finished for the fraternity of the Calzolari at Udine the "conception" with St. Sebastian and St. Roch which now hangs in the Venice Academy. It is a striking peculiarity of this piece that its treatment recalls both Pellegrino and Luca Monvert. In regularity of proportions and propriety of arrangement the figures might have been put together by Martini, and the character of their form and outline is much akin to that of the altarpiece of 1529 at Cividale, but the posture of St. Sebastian and the excessive uniformity of the flesh tints betray the hand of Sebastiano. In a large canvas representing St. George and the dragon, ordered for San Giorgio of Udine in January 1529, we detect the progress of Florigerio's art. Vasari justly praises the resolute movement of the hero tilting at the monster, the force of action in the damsel, who raises her arms in token of thanks to heaven for succour; he admires the landscape, the Baptist looking up, the choir of angels and the Virgin adoring the child in glory. The pose, foreshortenings and fleshy forms now remind us more of Pordenone and Pomponio Amalteo than of Pellegrino; and something in the weight and strain of the figures suggests reminiscences of the Vercellese school of Lanini or Gandolini; but the flesh tints in their sombre rawness and their cold transition from yellow light to reddish shade, as well as the vestment colours in their depth and harshness are almost as much Veronese as Friulan.

A short time after Florigerio received the commission for this picture he left Udine for Padua, where he lived till 1533. His altarpiece and frescos in San Bovo are destroyed with the exception of a Christ dead on the Virgin's lap and a deposition which have been extensively repainted; his monochromes in the portico of the Palace of the Capitanio (built by Falconetto in 1542) have perished, and there remains but an altarpiece in bad condition at the Venice Academy to illustrate this period of the artist's career.

A tragic incident marked Florigerio's return to Udine. He fought in 1539 with a man named Giovanni Pietro Sarte of Moggio, and had the misfortune to kill him. He fled for refuge to Cividale where he afterwards resided and practised, and the *vendetta* was only compromised in 1543. From that time till his death, the date of which is unknown Florigerio seems to have lived at Udine. Amongst his lost

or missing productions are several portraits, one of them that of Raphael father of a craftsman who deserves to be remembered.¹

Giovanni Battista di Raphael Grassi, to whom we just alluded is described by Vasari as an excellent master, from whom he received most of his notices on Friulan art. His first commission was an altarpiece in San Cristoforo of Udine valued by Francesco Cantinella in 1550. In 1551 he was one of four competitors for a contract for the altarpiece of Santa Lucia of Udine, which was given by ballot to Bernardino Blaceo. His life was long and busily devoted to architecture and painting in all its branches. His will, of which we possess a copy, is dated from a sick bed in Udine in 1578. From such of his works as have been preserved we judge that Grassi was of a lively and impetuous temper, following at first the models of

¹ Florigerio. Vasari says of him that he lived forty years (Vas. IX. 31.). He was alive in 1543. His birth dates for this reason in the first ten years of the century. The earliest date respecting him is unpublished. San Daniele, Aug. 28. 1525. Maestro Sebastiano promises to paint St. John the Baptist and St. Joseph for the brotherhood of S. M. of Villanova. 1527. San Daniele. Nov. 27. Sebastiano di Giacomo di Bologna, da Conegliano, signs a contract of marriage with Aurelia daughter of Pelleg. da S. Daniele. See antea. 1529. Udine. Jan. 26. Contract of Florigerio to paint the altarpiece of S. Giorgio at Udine for 28 ducats. 1533. Frescos at S. Bovo of Padua. (Brandol. Pitt. di Pad. 76. Rossetti, Il Forastiere p. 105.) Monochromes on portal of Palazzo del Capitano at Padua, in which are still fragments of the inscrip.: "„loriger.. MDCCCCXX..\" (Brandol. u. s. p. 176.). Cividale Nov. 1539. Contr. to paint a gonfalone for the brotherhood of S. Spirito. Cividale. July 21. 1542. Power for an arrangement between the relations of Giovanni Pietro Sarte of Moggio and Florigerio. Cividale June 19. 1543. Deed of arrangement by which the relatives of Sarte and Florigerio shake hands and make peace, and Fl. is enabled to return to Udine. Cividale. June 15. 1543. Giovanni da Udine values Fl.'s Virgin and saints

above the portal of the monastery of San Gio. in Valle at Cividale. Of Florigerio's pictures: Venice Acad. No. 556. Wood. M. 2 65 h. by 1.80. Virgin and ch. in the lap of St. Anne — enthroned on a niche, figures life size. — Udine ch. of San Giorgio. Arched canvas — oil, figures life size. Tones a little bleached (see Vas. IX. 31.). — Padua, San Bovo. The guides of Brandolesi and Rossetti (u. s.) notice in San Bovo: Christ dead on the lap of the Virgin, above high altar, still preserved in a bad state; Upper Chapter house, altarpiece with the dead Saviour on the Virgin's lap, with St. Sebastian, St. Roch, St. Anthony of Padua and three other saints, inscribed: "Sebastianns Florigerius faciebat anno Salutis 1533. Martii die VII;" Deposition of Christ, near the altar, fresco, still in existence covered with repaints. — Venice Acad. No. 551, from San Bovo of Padua. M. 0. 92 h. by 1. 76. St. Francis with St. Anthony and St. John Evangelist. Same gall. No. 384, assigned to Florigerio is really by Diana (see antea). Udine, S. Pietro Martire. Christ at Emmaus and Death of Peter Martyr (Vas. IX. 31.), missing. Udine. Canto del Palazzo Marquando, fresco, of St. John (Vas. IX. 31. Ridolfi. Mar. I. 173), missing. — Udine, portrait of Messer Raffaello Belgardo (Vas. IX. 31.), missing.

Pordenone, Pellegrino and Morto, at last those of the Michaelangellesques. The Medusa, Jove and Vulcan which he designed on the front of the Casa Sabbatini at Udine in 1554 are specimens of his earlier style; strong in red flesh tints with dark brown shadows, deep and sharply contrasted in vestment colours, bold in contour and execution. What remains of the compositions from the legend of St. Lucy with which he covered the outer walls of the Hospital of the Pellegrini at Udine in 1567 shows him to have been a clever composer, fairly rendering movement and graceful in thought, but still in the main Friulan. The same might perhaps be said of the frescos in the Castello of Udine which are stated to have been done in 1569, were they not ruined by neglect and repaint. Amongst his subject pieces we still admire the nativity, annunciation, marriage of Cana, and Christ curing a sick man, painted for the new organ of the Duomo at Udine in 1556. They are injured by retouching but they produce much the same impression as the frescos of the Casa Sabbatini and Pellegrini. It is unfortunate that the martyrdom of St. Lawrence at Buia (1558) should be disfigured by abrasion; there is something grand in the arrangement, shape and action of the figures; something Michaelangellesque in their weight and size. Still more in this character are the shutters painted for the old organ at Gemona in 1577 a series comprising the death and assumption of the Virgin, the vision of Ezechiel, and Elijah taken up to Heaven. Pordenone, Vasari, Salviati, are Grassi's sources for these compositions which display a lively fancy and considerable knowledge of architecture and perspective, but at the same time a conventional and flashy imitative power. We have seen that some pictures assignable to Grassi illustrate his imitative faculty, and like Pellegrino and others he is open to the reproach or praise of being confounded with Giorgione.¹

¹ Grassi. — He is noticed in Vasari IX. 31. His name is Giovanni Battista q. Raphaelis Grassi. — Udine. Oct. 23. 1547. Giovanni da Udine values Grassi's altarpiece (missing) in San Cristoforo of Udine (Maniago u. s. 358.) Udine. Sep. 11. 1550. Pictures in San Cristoforo by Grassi, are valued by Francesco Cantonella. Udine. Aug. 2. 1551. Ballot betw. Grassi and others as to who shall paint the altarpiece of S. Lucia of Udine. Oct. 9. Grassi gets tutors appointed to his two brothers. Udine. Jan. 22. 1552. Deed of arrangement between Grassi and the men of Majano; the latter pay him for

painting, 20 ducats a year. 1554. Fresco of Casa Sabbatini. — Udine. 1556. March 27. Grant to Grassi and F. Floreani to paint the well of the organ in the Duomo (Maniago u. s. 237 and 300.). Buia. 1558, Payment to Grassi for altarpiece—285 ducats. 1559. Altarpiece of Grassi (missing) for the church of Segnano. 1563. June 23. Udine. G. buys a house at Udine for 293 ducats. 1567. (Maniago reads erroneously 1557. u. s. 237—8.) Udine. frescos of the Pellegrini. 1569. Frescos in the Castello, but it is remarkable that the same subjects are given by different authors to Grassi and Pomponio (Maniago u.

By far the most important of the second class craftsmen in Friuli is Pomponio Amalteo, the pupil of Pordenone. We have seen that, when in his prime he married Graziosa, Pordenone's daughter. He had previously served apprenticeship with his father-in-law and matriculated as an independent master. He was born in 1505, and is said to have exhibited his maiden powers in the cappella Malchiostro at Treviso; but it has been observed that this is probably an error, and we can find no earlier record of his industry than the date of 1529 assigned — perhaps erroneously — to his ruined frescos in the Hall of the notaries at Belluno. In 1532 he was employed at Udine, in 1533 at San Vito, the place of his habitual residence. In its most favorable aspects Pomponio's style is an echo of that of his teacher to whom some of his productions have been ascribed. He was a spirited artist but without original genius, in treatment and composition, exaggerating rather than correcting the faults of the

s. 224. Ridolfi *Mar. I.* 175. Renaldi. 53.). 1573. June 5. Udine. Will of Donna Corona Vallarossa, Gr.'s second wife in his favour. 1577. July 28. and Oct. 6. Gemona. Organ shutters, and other paintings completed by Grassi (Maniago u. s. 109. 236. and 354. Ridolfi *I.* 175., who misprints — "Genova"). 1578. May 13. Udine. Grassi's will, in which one of the bequests is that of a debt from the church of Turriano for an altarpiece (missing).

Besides the figures in the Casa Sabbatini at Udine, mentioned in the text, the whole house is covered with designs. Under the eaves between the upper windows, parts of a lion and Medusa's head, between these and the next lower windows four medallions with heads and female figures, between the windows of the next lower story: gaubols of children, beneath which traces of a frieze of ornament; on a projecting stone above the first floor windows are the words: "1554. ADI. P^o AGST^o" (Maniago erroneously read 1545. u. s. p. 237.). This description of the decorations will prove that what is now the Casa Sabbatini was in Ridolfi's time Casa Valentini (*Marav. I.* 175.)

Ospitale de' Pellegrini at Udine. Frescos with life size figures. In

the centre is the Madonna, almost obliterated, below which is a fragment of a Saint Agatha in a niche. Between the two is the date "MDLXVII." To the left St. Lucy distributes her possessions to the poor, beneath which St. Lucy is tied to the team of oxen; to the right are mere spots and pieces of St. Lucy refusing to sacrifice, and the executioner sticking his dagger into the saint's breast.

Udine, Castello. What remains of frescos here is so injured as to be worthless.

Udine. Duomo. Of the organ panels — the nativity, circumcision, annunciation, marriage of Cana and Christ curing a sick man, the three last are in the sacristy of the Duomo, a fourth in the "municipio", [the rest in their old places. All are repainted, more or less.

Buja, Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Arched canvas. In the lunette Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist, attended by St. Peter and another saint. Below, the saint on the gridiron and the emperor commanding the execution. This is an unpleasant and damaged production of Grassi.

Gemona. Organ; large canvases with life size figures, described in detail in Maniago u. s. 109.

Friulans of the period. His groups are frequently ill balanced, his figures strained and his drawing incorrect; meaningless drapery and vulgar types of face and form are defects of Pordenone unredeemed by Pordenone's power. As a *frescante* Pomponio is bright and varied in colour; on canvas his tones are dull, blind, and insufficiently shaded; and it is clear that he cares less for easel pieces than large scenic creations.

The votive St. Roch of 1533 with St. Apollonia, St. Sebastian and other saints in the Duomo of San Vito is very broadly treated in a fashion reminiscent of Pordenone and Titian. The judgments of Daniel, Solomon and Trajan, fragments of which are preserved in the loggia of the townhouse at Ceneda — a work of 1534 — are likewise in Pordenone's style as regards the contour, deportment and expression of the figures. They are creations of a man trained to large and sketchy illustrations of incident into which life is introduced by strong action of men and horses and architectural landscape. More important in extent is the series of frescos in the church of the hospital at San Vito, for which Cardinal Maria Grimani — who ordered them — gave the painter a patent of nobility in 1535. The choir is filled in the manner of Pordenone, with scenes from the history of Mary, till her death and assumption. In the cupola the Saviour receives her in heaven and the dove hovers over her at the bidding of the Eternal. In the pendentives are medallions with Daniel in the lion's den, Melchisedek's offering, the flight of Lot from Sodom and the sacrifice of Abraham; elsewhere Evangelists, doctors, prophets, sybils, and, on the face of the choir arch, colossal representations of David and St. Paul. In every personage is life, in every group a bold fancy; in the neglected outlines a frank roughness; characteristic is the warm but sombre richness of the colours, the untransparent darkness of the brown shadows, and the depth of the vestiment tints. In this and in masks and postures we are often reminded of Andrea Schiavone.

On the same large scale, we have the frescos of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Prodolone, with incidents from the lives of Christ and the Virgin ordered in 1538 and finished in 1542; the organ shutters and parapets in the Duomo of Valvasons with episodes from the old and new testament, done between 1542 and 1544; the choir of the church of Baseglia with illustrations from the passion and the legend of the cross executed in 1544—50, the choir of the church of Lestans with compositions from Genesis and the Gospels begun in 1545 and ended in 1548. At Prodolone there is less spirit than at San Vito, at Valvasons a broad treatment without charm of tone, at Baseglia, much to recall Lanino and the school of Vercelli. The cycle at Lestans is much in the mode of Pordenone with the school cast of Bernardino Licinio occasionally preponderant, and may therefore have been designed

simultaneously with that of Baseglia which is close by. In both no doubt assistants found employment.

A long catalogue might be made of Pomponio's labours from this period till his death in 1584. We need only notice the most important, the canvases of the new organ at Udine, large scripture themes thrown off with ease in 1555; the passion of 1572 in the church of Maniago, the entombment of 1576 in the Monte di Pietà at Udine; the organ loft at Oderzo, and the ceiling panels of 1583 in San Francesco of Gemona. Amalteo was a rapid and long lived artist, whose practise was confined to Friuli and the march of Treviso, but who laboured to the last days of his existence. In his later period he showed but slight symptoms of decline and the numberless figures which he painted at Gemona in his 79th year are bold and easy in style and richly blended in tone.¹

¹ Pomponio Amalteo was the son of one Ser Leonardo of La Motta. A calendar of records extending from 1532 to 1581 and a full reprint of the important ones have just been published by Signor Vincenzo Joppi, under the title: "Documenti inediti sulla vita ed opere del Pittore P. Amalteo. 4^o. Udine 1869." To this and to the volume of Maniago, which gives the description of all Pomponio's pictures and frescos, the reader must be referred. His birth in 1505 is proved by an inscription on one of his pictures, the flight into Egypt in the cappella Montereale at Pordenone. He was married first, as we have seen, to Pordenone's daughter: the second time in 1541 to Lucrezia, daughter of Ser Giovanni Niccolò q. Ser Andrea di Madrisio of Udine. He was still alive in 1583. — Treviso. Cappella Malchiostro. On the question whether Pomponio could have painted here see ante in Pordenone. Belluno. Hall of the notaries. The four subjects on the walls of this hall are engraved by M. Toller. They represented in their original condition: The Vestal's trial by water, Catiline's conspiracy, Titus Manlius Torquatus present at the decapitation of his son, Brutus the elder condemning

his children to death. (See also "Di Pomponio Amalteo Elogio by Jacopo Mantonni in *Discorsi le ti nella I. R. Acc. di B. A. in Venice* 8^o. 1835. Venice: p. 41 and 47.), Miari (*Dizionario Stor.*... Bellunese u. s. p. 54.) says the frescos were painted in 1529, but the date is not proved. San Vito, Duomo. S^t. Roch, S^t. Apollonia, S^t. Sebastian and two other saints with an inscription concluding: "Pomponius pinxit MDXXXIII." Canvas, figures of life size. — Ceneda, Town-house Loggia, see the fullest descriptions in Crico (*Lettere sulle B. A. Trivig.* u. s. pp. 240 and folls.). They are frescos in Pordenone's style and taken for works of Pordenone by Ridolfi (*Marav.* I. 148.). Renaldi (u. s. p. 51.) states they were painted in 1534 and this seems true, as they are apparently earlier in date than those of 1535 in the church dell' Ospitale at San Vito; they cannot be called anything more than relics of works of art. San Vito, ch. dell' Ospitale, choir. These frescos are partly mutilated, partly injured by damp and changed by restoring. In the frieze of the cupola: "DEIPARAE VIRGINIS COLLEGIO JVBENTE PICTURA HAEC ROBERTO CORONA RECTORE PRINCIPIVM

IABVIT MDXXXV". In some parts, as in the feeble compositions of the Spozalizio and presentation we may perhaps discern the hand of Pomponio's brother Girolamo, or other assistants. (See for Girolamo, Maniago u. s. 103—4, and Ridolfi Marav. I. 174.) Prodelone near San Vito, choir frescos, assigned by Renaldiis (p. 29.) to Pordenone — not so good as at San Vito, all the blue grounds scraped away and many parts quite dim; some parts by assistants. Valvasons, Duomo. Organ doors — with the gathering of the manna on the outer side, Melchisedek and the sacrifice of Abraham on the inner, large canvases dull in colour. Better preserved are the Marriage of Cuna, the expulsion of the venders from the temple, the miracle of the loaves and fishes and the Magdalen washing the feet of the apostles on the parapet of the organ, Baseglia, choir. Many of the frescos here are gone in part or much injured. Gone is half of the lunette with Christ carrying his cross, and three parts of the lower subject, Christ being nailed to the cross. Dim and spotted is the Redeemer in glory on the cupola. Lost altogether are the miracle of the man cured at the raising of the cross, Heracles carrying the cross and Christ before Pilate. Under a charity in the soffit of the choir arch are the words: **MDL ADI XXIII SOTO L AMINISTRATIO DE PIERO CHIANDON** — On the façade is still a St. Christopher and a festoon of fruit and flowers in Pomponio's style. — Lestans. These frescos are much injured by time and restoring — the latter dating as we observe by an inscription of 1705 from 1548. Udine. Organ shutters, canvas with life size figures — subjects: The Pool of Bethesda, the Raising of Lazarus, the Venders expelled from the temple, the latter inscribed "**POMPONI AMALTEI MDLV APRIL**". The colours have become blind from age. Maniago,

choir. In the ceiling the nativity, passion, resurrection and last judgment and the Evangelists and Doctors. Altarpiece. The Redeemer in glory. Below, the Baptist between St. Peter, John and two others — Predella — scenes from the life of the Baptist. The frescos are damaged, the altarpiece flayed. Udine, Monte di Pietà — the Entombment, inscribed ... **REDEM-TORI... DICATVM. POMPONIVS AMALTEI MDLXXVI**. This composition recalls Schiavone and Paolo Veronese, but wants vigour and liveliness; but this defect may be due to restoring. Oderzo. Duomo organ loft. Birth of John; Sermon, Baptism of Christ, Decapitation of John, Daughter of Herodias with the head of the Baptist. — Organ shutters, Nativity, resurrection and transfiguration — the last inscr.: "**POMPONI AMALTHEI**". These last are more or less covered over with repaint. Gemona. Rounds of prophets now transferred into the Casa Carli.

In addition to these we have the following: S. Vito. Virgin in a house and frescos in Pomponio's own house, now an inn. The Madonna is gone, the frescos are rude and coarse works (Maniago u. s. 29.). Varano, ch. of S. Lorenzo. Arched canvas of poor execution and in bad preservation, Virgin ch. angels; the Evangelist, St. Gregory, St. Joseph and St. Stephen and a male and female congregation dated: "**MDXLII**". — Civile dale Duomo, but originally in the nunnery della Cella. Annunciation, canvas, inscribed: **POMPONIUS AM. PINGEBAT MDXLVI MENSE JVNII** — In a glory in which the Eternal appears we are reminded of Pordenone. — The colour is flat and there is little relief from shadow. The treatment is a cento of styles betw. Pordenone and Paris Bordone. — Valvasons, S. Martino. Christ in glory, S. Martin sharing his cloak and other saints, contracted for in Jan. 31. 1547, and finished in 1549, (Joppi, Docu-

ments u. s. 11. 12. 22.) a fine work of the master recalling the Vercellese school and that of Gaudenzio Ferrari. Same ch. Virgin, ch., S^t. Sebastian, Roch, Francis and two angels — figures life size. This is a poor work of the master. La Motta Duomo. Virgin, ch., S^t. Dominick, Bernardino and an Eternal in glory, inscr.: "POMPONII AMALTHEI MOTHAE CIVIS ET INCOLAE MDLVI JVNII" (see Maniago 229. and Crico u. s. 362.). Same place, ch. of S. Rocco, Christ in glory with the Virgin and Baptist, and below S^t. Anthony, James, two Franciscans and angels inscribed: "POMPONII AMALTHEI MDLXIV". Maniago 230. Treviso Duomo, canvas of S^t. James, S^t. Anthony, S^t. Bernardino and another saint parted by three angels playing instruments, life size — inscribed: "POMPONIVS AMALTHEI MDLXIII". Above is a glory angels about the cross. The tone is dull and thin and the execution feeble. There are also remains of frescos of the same character at the Porta Altina of Treviso. Pordenone. Duomo, Cappella Montereale. Flight into Egypt inscribed: "POMPONII AMALTHEI ANNORVM LX MDLXV", a graceful picture. The Virgin pulls the fruit off a palm; in the distance are numerous animals in a landscape; the surface is darkened by time and varnishes. Udine Castello. The frescos here are gone (see Maniago 224.). San Vito, Duomo. The Samaritan at the well. The Magdalen at the feet of Christ. Christ washing the feet of the apostles; — on this last: "POMPONII AMALTHEI ANNORVM LXI. MDLXVI." These are four canvases with short figures of small size. San Daniele Duomo, canvases. Marriage of the Virgin, inscribed on a pilaster: "POMPONIVS AMALTEVS MDLXIX" and circumcision. The colour is fiery and the treatment pasty. — Osopo, ch. of. Virgin in glory with S^t. Peter and S^t. Roch, a picture so injured

that it cannot be criticised, executed according to Renaldiis (p. 22.) in 1569. San Vito. Duomo. Sacristy. Pietà, inscr.: "POMP AMALT. AN LXXII EX VOTO PINXIT MDLXXII." The resurrection. — The former is so dark that the date is scarcely legible. Udine, Town House. Last supper said to be dated 1574, but too high to be well seen (see Maniago u. s. 224.). Same place, once in Sala del Castello, but now in the Municipio. Christ with the orb, S^t. Mark, Lawrence, Martin and the Luogotenente and deputies, inscribed:

POMPONIVS AMALTHEVS

MDLXXIII" (Maniago 224—5.). Casarsa. Deposition from the cross and a resurrection, the latter inscr.: *Mc. Cristofol d. Cotti liberato dal pericolo et peste l'anno 1576*, much injured. For Pordenone's frescos repaired by P. A. see antea in Pordenone. Udine, San Pietro Martire, originally at San Vito. Martyrdom of S^t. Peter Martyr inscr.: "POM. AMALT. MVNVS MDLXXVIII" — lively composition but dull in tone. There is also at Udine a S^t. Christopher on the Casa Belloni, of which the remains are visible. Portogruaro, Duomo, canvas. S^t. James, S^t. Anthony abbot and James and angels, and above these, the Virgin and child inscr.: "1583. Pomponio Amaltheo in etate de anni 78", a feeble piece. In the organ loft are also three canvases by P. A.

Serravalle. Loggia of town house. Here the Virgin and child, S^t. Catherine (part gone), S^t. Andrew, the lion of S^t. Mark, Justice (rep.) and one of the Virtues (all but gone) are assigned to P. A. but they are not good enough for him. Same place, Duomo. Organ shutters with the annunciation, S^t. Agatha, S^t. Bartholomew, S^t. Peter and S^t. Catherine. These too are assigned to P. A. but are like the work of Francesco da Milano by whom there are other productions in the town. — Claris near Prodolone,

ch. of. On the façade are mere traces of a St. Christopher and fragments of P. A.'s name. Tolmezzo ch. of Santa Caterina. Marriage of St. Catherine, St. Lucy and St. Appollonia. This seems a genuine work injured by retouching, the mantle of the Virgin renewed. Cordovado Arzene, Castions. P. A.'s works here have not been seen by the authors. Udine. S. Francesco. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. Frati della Vigna, Refectory Christ at Emmaus Vas. IX 40. Missing.

CHAPTER VI.

SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO.

Sebastian "del Piombo" would have succeeded to Giorgione's practise at Venice but that he wandered to Rome at an early part of the 16th century. He had been Giorgione's friend and journeyman, had probably sung and played with him in more than one concert, and haunted the same scaffoldings in Venetian palaces; no two artists of that age were more completely similar in feeling; but there was this difference between them, that one was a man of acknowledged repute when the other struggled as a beginner. Sebastian knew that Giorgione held a high position, but he also thought that a man so talented and so young would hold that position long; and this induced him to seek his fortune away from Venice¹.

Sebastian was born in 1485 and was destined by his father Luciani to the profession of music.² In the drawing rooms of the great Venetian families, he probably first met Giorgione who was famous alike for his skill with the lute and the brush. It may have been at Giorgione's instigation that his fondness for playing became second to his passion for painting; and that he felt

¹ This may be considered so probable, when we look closely at Sebastian's early life, that we take it as a certainty.

² We are ignorant of the place of Sebastian's birth but he always signed himself "Venetus." That

his father's name was Luciani we have from one of his own letters. The date of his birth is but approximatively derived from the known date of his decease and Vasari's statement that he was sixty two years old when he died. (Vas. *Σ*. 121. 135.)

the temptation to enter Bellini's atelier. The gossip of the workshops which Vasari collected goes far to show that before Sebastian became Giorgione's assistant he was Giovanni Bellini's disciple.¹ That tradition should have connected his name with Barbarella's "astronomers" at Vienna, and Giorgione's with his majesty of St. John Chrysostom at Venice, is but a symbol of the near relations which were known to exist between the two painters;² but before these relations grew close, we should think that Sebastian's style had its own determined impress; and it is probable that bold and yet not unembarrassed imitations of Bellini's manner which strike us casually in certain pieces are due to his inexperienced daring. In such pictures as the late Lord Northwick's "woman taken in adultery" or the incredulity of St. Thomas in San Niccolò of Treviso, we watch the struggles of a man endeavouring to escape from the trammels of dry Bellinesque form, successful in the correct rendering of anatomical detail but partial to rough and fleshy shapes and heedless of selection in the choice of his masks. We noted elsewhere the mixture of picturesque vulgarity and Bellinesque type which distinguishes the first of these works; the second, more seriously injured by modern daubing, is a later but not less marked example of Bellini's influence on a young and powerful craftsman. In the lower framing of the altarpiece there are six bust portraits of male and female patrons, in the upper, Christ followed by the apostles, guiding the hand of St. Thomas to the lance wound in his side. It is still

¹ Vas. says (X. 121.) that he studied first under Bellini, then under Giorgione.

² See *antea* in Giorgione, and *postea*. In the collection of M^r. Layard, but of old in the Maufriini palace, there is a panel with figures one quarter of the life size, representing half lengths of Christ supported in death by the Virgin, the Marys and other saints. This picture was assigned at Venice to Cima. In the course of cleaning

the following signature was found in a damaged state on a cartellino "Bastian.. Lucia.. fuit discipulus Joannes Belinus." The barbarous form of this signature suggests suspicions which are confirmed by the painting, the treatment being that of a follower of Cima, not that of a follower of Giovanni Bellini; and resembling to some extent that of Girolamo da Udine. In the landscape distance of the picture is Golgotha and Jerusalem

possible to detect under copious repaints a bold system of contour defining extremities and muscular developments, — if not with the fine polish and precision of Bellini — still with unaffected realistic truth. What remains of the original surface shows the thick and oily impast of Sebastian with faces and frames of singular coarseness and want of breed.¹ It is plain that, from the very first, there appeared in Sebastian's pictorial organism a striking defect. Though he struggled with more courage than other Venetians of his time to master the difficulties of design and displayed in this respect a conscientious striving after truth which contrasted with that of his contemporaries; though he had the feeling for harmony of colour which, in music, is the inborn gift of ear; though he had both perseverance and facility; there were qualities — decisive as regards the place he was to hold amongst the men of his age — which it was his misfortune not to possess. He lacked delicacy and elevation, and the higher gift of composition.

The later form of Sebastian's art which completely embodies and illustrates the precepts of Giorgione is found for the first time in the majesty of St. John Chrysostom at San Giovanni Crisostomo of Venice. Seated in front of a palace, the saint, attended by one of the fathers, corrects a book of homilies on his knee. St. Mary Magdalen, St. Catherine and St. Agnes — a beautiful group — at one side, St. John the Baptist and St. Liberale at the other, are a decent and attentive court. There is much to characterize Sebastian in the ideal sensualism and consciously attractive bearing which distinguish the females on the left

¹ See antea in Giorgione and in Bellini I. p. 189. — Treviso. San Niccolò panel with figures $\frac{2}{3}$ of life size. The surface has been so much daubed over as to make a decided opinion dangerous. Not a head remains in its original state and the draperies are all new. The masks are vulgar and broad — the treatment free. The por-

traits in the lower framing are (from l. to r.) a friar, a podesta, a man holding a scroll, and facing them a man in black and two females. Federici (*Memorie Trevig.* 225.) assigns this picture to Giovanni Bellini, and affecting to know that this artist was at Treviso in 1491, he assigns that date to the "Incredulity."

foreground, — the Magdalen with her vase, St. Catherine with her wheel, St. Agnes with the flame. It is in the resistless appeal which a seductive cast of form makes upon the less delicate fibres of the spectator's heart that we detect the painter's lower clay. We see him try to please by swelling charms, voluptuous eyes, and pouting cherry lips, or courtly dress, pretty headgear, and luxuriant locks. Rich apparel becomes richer by gorgeousness of tint, and melody in scales of tone is unbroken by any dissonance; shadow is powerfully used to create effect, and contrasts are cleverly produced by varieties of grain. The men are of a generous and sanguine complexion, the women in exuberant health. Yet with all these elements of brilliance Sebastian does not produce an impress of sparkling brightness. There is power and luscious juice under a deep glowing adumbration; easy movement, frequently combined with appropriate gesture, is marred at times by affectation and posture; the male heads are manly, the females not quite finely feminine; the drapery cast recalls Bellini and Giorgione. The composition, as a whole, wants compactness, it displays the realistic, impetuous, spirit of a man gifted with pictorial fire, but without the exquisite delicacy of Giorgione, the supreme dignity of Titian, or the aristocratic force of Michael Angelo.¹

It is doubtful whether Sebastian executed more than this one altarpiece at Venice before he received overtures to transfer his abode elsewhere; the canvas organ screen with four saints usually assigned to him at San Barto-

¹ Venice, S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Canvas, with figures large as life. The surface is dimmed by varnishes and retouches which extend to the following parts: the profile of St. Catherine, the flesh of the Magdalen, the hand of St. Agnes, and the ground behind them, the face of St. John Chrysostom, and the legs of the Baptist. The distance to the right is a hill crowned with edifices and lighted as at sunset. There is some affectation

in the movement especially of the head of the Baptist, the features of which remind us of one of the astronomers in Giorgione's picture at the Belvedere of Vienna. Sebastian is said by Sansovino to have painted the ceiling of the tribune at S. Gio. Crisostomo, but the work is not in existence. Consult Sansovino Ven. desc. ed. Mart. p. 154. and Boschini Le R. M. Sest. di C. Reggio p. 3.

lommeo, being apparently beneath his powers.¹ The time in which the majesty of St. John Chrysostom was completed may be supposed to precede by a year or more the death of Giorgione; and we can easily believe that had Sebastian been able to divine that his master would have been so suddenly removed, he would have hesitated to quit a field of activity in which his powers were likely to be rapidly recognized. But he probably considered Venice overstocked with artists of skill. Giovanni Bellini, with help from Carpaccio and numerous disciples, held supreme command of the best sources of pictorial profit; Giorgione and Palma were just rising to the highest place, and Titian but slowly feeling his way to fame. Influenced by reasons of this kind, he might indulge a certain sense of pleasure at the prospect of seeing a new world of art; and listen with undoubted favour to the proposals of a wealthy banker who liked both music and painting and offered him a lucrative berth at Rome.

Agostino Chigi, his new patron, was in close connection with the papal court. He had made timely loans to successive pontiffs in return for which he became superintendent of the papal finances and farmer of an alum monopoly. He was treasurer to several religious funds, and was reputed the richest private gentleman in all Italy. — After gaining the confidence of Julius the IInd he had had the tact to preserve it unimpaired, and he was so high in honour with the family of the Rovere that they allowed him to quarter their arms with his own. His taste for letters was well known. Numerous editions of rare Greek

¹ Venice, S. Bartolomméo. Canvas, oil, with four figures of life-size in niches: St. Sebastian, St. Sinibald, St. Bartholomew, and St. Louis. The treatment is bold and rapid, and in so far as we can judge from the badness of the light, less in the manner of Sebastian, than in that of a later artist who may be Rocco Marcone, the drawing being less correct and the touch more neglected than Luciani's. The St. Sebastian and St. Bartholomew are greatly damaged by the restoration of Giambattista Mengardi. See Vas. annot. X. p. 122. and Boschini, *Carta del Navegar* p. 396. and Rieche *Min. Sest. di S. Marco*, p. 109.

authors had been issued from his presses. He showed perspicacity in recommending the profligate but clever Aretino to Leo the Xth and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici; numerous anecdotes illustrate his shrewdness and the splendour of his living; he was a discriminate judge of artistic excellence, having successively recognized the talents of Peruzzi, Raphael, Sebastian, Bazzi, Beccafumi, Giulio Romano and Penni. He had instructed Peruzzi in 1509 to build the palace known at a later period as the Farnesina, and contracted with him for some of its decorations; and Peruzzi had very cleverly answered his expectations without proving able to work with all the speed which seemed desirable; whence the wish on Chigi's part to engage other artists to supplement Peruzzi, and whence as we believe the employment of Sebastian Luciani. The place in which our Venetian was first set to work was the garden lodge in the ceiling of which Peruzzi had designed several most admirable subjects. Beneath this ceiling was a row of nine lunettes into which Sebastian undertook to introduce an equal number of scenes from Ovid's metamorphoses. The space which he had to cover in each of the fields was small, and he filled it either with solitary figures or with groups of two or three personages. We cannot guess at all the subjects, but they comprise the fall of Icarus, Juno on a car drawn by peacocks, the death of Phaeton, Pluto and Proserpine, Boreas and Orythia, and last not least a colossal head respecting which there are tales of legendary interest. Nothing is more striking in these frescos than their want of fitness for the air and latitude of Rome. Everything is sacrificed to a sensuous charm and gaiety of colour. There is none of the stilt, but also none of the classicism of Peruzzi, none of the power which an artist desirous of leaving his mark as a fresco painter must needs display; the compositions lack arrangement, selection, ideal type and precision of drawing; they betray unmistakeable signs of a technical inexperience pardonable perhaps at Venice but not to be overlooked at Rome.

Rome, in the course of centuries, had been a ring in which all the best artists of every nationality fought for fame. Giotto, Cavallini, and Piero della Francesca, had each of them contended in it for celebrity. Ghirlandaio, Botticelli and Filippino, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Fiorenzo and Signorelli had proved the temper of the styles evolved by the schools of Florence and Umbria. But, in all its varieties, art had shown itself serious, classical, and free from modishness. It was hardly to be hoped that the modishness of Sebastian, especially as a *frescante*, should prove altogether satisfactory. Yet in spite of many drawbacks, and perhaps because Sebastian's skill was judged from pictures as well as from mural designs, his works received an uncommon share of attention and from none more than from two of his most celebrated contemporaries, the rugged Michaelangelo and the kindly Raphael. It is reported that, at this time, there were two strong parties at the pontifical court, one of which held that Raphael's style was more in the spirit of true art than that of Michaelangelo, whilst the other maintained that Michaelangelo's was deeper and more firmly based upon the laws of correct design. It was said on the one hand that Raphael's manner was best calculated to please because it displayed the combined charms of composition, colour and expression, whilst it was affirmed on the other that Buonarrotti's was more sublime and grand in conception and execution. It was hinted however that Michaelangelo knowing his own inability to acquire the gifts which distinguished Sanzio, courted Sebastian's friendship in order that, by instilling into him the true precepts of drawing and composition, he might produce a successful rival to Raphael.¹ The tale thus told seems, on the face of it improbable, but there is no doubt that Sebastian became Michaelangelo's friend and Raphael's enemy.

The manner in which these opposite results were attained is not known, but it is not likely that either of

¹ Vas. X. 123.

them were sudden or immediate. Raphael, who frequented the house of Agostino Chigi was certainly influenced by Sebastian when he painted the "viol player" of the Sciarra palace, whilst the influence of Sanzio is clear in Sebastian's earlier portraits.

Michaelangelo's example affected Luciani almost at the outset of his practise in Rome; and we may give an approximate date to the first meeting of the two artists when we take into consideration the tradition according to which the great Florentine visited the garden lodge at the Farnesina, and not finding his friend at work, left a token of his presence in the shape of a colossal head in one of the lunettes.¹ We look at this head without giving entire credence to the story, and yet we find something to confirm it in the fact that Sebastian, in the cycle of the Farnesina, already shows symptoms of a leaning to Michaelangelo's style. In the earliest of the frescos which he painted there, and particularly in those near Raphael's Galatea the sensualism of the Giorgionesques is still sufficiently marked to excite surprise; but in the later ones, especially in that representing, as we may believe, Orythia receiving the blast from the mouth of Boreas, the limbs are drawn and modelled with breadth and muscularity, the hands and articulations are strikingly forcible in bend and powerful in structure; and the draperies appear to have lost to some extent the Venetian form. It may be that Michaelangelo visited Sebastian in the Chigi palace, and drew the colossal head in the last lunette as an illus-

¹ Lanzi I. 148. confounds the Farnese palace with the Farnesina. He also follows Bottari in whose notes to Vasari's life of Michaelangelo, we found the incident of the painting of the head attributed to Buonarroti, when on a visit to Daniel da Volterra. The anonymous life of Raphael annotated by Comolli assigns the head to Michaelangelo and Comolli cites Bottari's view in his notes (Folio, Rome 1791 p. 87.) but he also quotes

d'Argenville's abrégé for the version according to which Michaelangelo's visit at the Farnesina was for the purpose of seeing Raphael. Passavant (Life of Raphael n. s. I. p. 228.) thinks that if the visit took place at all it was made to Sebastian. We should say certainly Sebastian or Peruzzi, the only two artists who worked in the garden lodge at that period and had scaffolding at the spot where the head is found.

tration of some familiar maxim. The very preservation of such a monochrome on the bare plaster of the wall appears consistent with this belief; but whether we accept or reject its authenticity, the impress of Buonarroti's manner on Luciani's work is undeniable; and we should attach the more weight to this as the foreshortened face with its affected bend and copious curly locks seems, now at least, not to display the pure impress of Buonarroti's hand, but rather to exhibit the treatment of Sebastian, as if he should have tried to combine the breadth of Giorgionesque touch with the colossal proportion and mechanism of action familiar to Michaelangelo.

After the lunettes were finished it became a question with Agostino Chigi whether he should employ the same artist to design the frescos on the walls; and the ruined figure of Tityrus or Polyphemus, playing the pipes at the foot of a tree near Raphael's Galatea may be considered as a trial piece submitted to the patron's approval. It was, we may believe, disapproved; and about 1512 the year succeeding Giorgione's death, Sebastian ceased to labour at the Farnesina.¹

¹ The date of Sebastian's labours is fixed by Bosio Palladio's "Suburbanum Augustini Chisii" describing the frescos, on the title page of which we read: "Impressum Romæ per Jacobum Maxodum Romanæ Academicæ Bibliopolam Anno Salutis MDXII die XXVII Januarii." The following is probably the order in which the series was painted. a. facing the colossal head, a composition of three figures (baffling). b. Two females seated let birds fly out of a wicker cage, perhaps the fable of Pandora. c. Icarus falls from heaven and lies helpless on the ground (two figures). d. Juno on her car drives her two peacocks through the sky. e. A female cuts the locks of a recumbent man, perhaps the fable of Admetus and the golden hair. f. Phaeton falls headlong to the earth.

g. A male and female wrapped together in a mantle, perhaps Pluto and Proserpine. h. A female recumbent on the ground sends a blast from her mouth towards a head in the sky from which she receives a counterblast. The figure of the woman is outlined so as distinctly to recall the lessons of Michaelangelo and this is particularly remarkable in the form of the arm and hand. The subject may be Boreas and Orythia. j. Colossal head in monochrome on the bare plaster, seen only to the hollow of the throat, bent to the left and looking down. The Polyphemus to the left of the so-called Galatea is repainted with the exception of a bit of blue drapery on the torso. He sits under a tree with his legs crossed over each other, the Pan's pipes in his right hand, a staff between his legs.

Whilst he was undergoing these changes as a mural decorator Sebastian prepared to surprise or had already surprised Rome with portraits in oil; and these, imbued with the charms of colour and impast derived from Giorgione, and some of the artful simplicity acquired from Raphael, were probably of more influence on contemporary opinion than any other productions of his pencil. It is no secret now that the Fornarina in the tribune of the Uffizi, and the Fornarina of Blenheim — both of them pictures of unusual excellence — were executed by Sebastian, and probably executed at the time when Venetian elements were still preponderant in his manner. It is curious that differing as they do in mask and expression, both these masterpieces should have been attributed to Raphael, and both have been called Raphael's mistress, whilst the real Fornarina, or at least the genuine Raphael of that name, remained forgotten. The two Fornarinas at Florence and Blenheim are ladies of high station dressed with a richness and taste becoming women of rank. Both are handled after a fashion unknown to Raphael. What distinguishes Raphael's portraits is the perfume of purity, gentleness, grace, and high breed, which emanates from them. Sebastian's gifts are softness, flexibility, voluptuousness, and richness of tone. It is easy to detect which of these forms marks the likeness at the Uffizi. We gaze at the face and bust of a lady in the full ripeness of her beauty. Her waving hair is crested with a wreath of gold leaves which looks almost too hard and modern for Sebastian's work. Her throat is disfigured by two straight gilt lines intended by a restorer to represent a chain. A muslin chemisette is drawn together at the bosom and bordered with a charming ornament. Equally chaste is the pattern edging of the blue velvet boddice and shoulder straps. The bare right arm and the hand holding the panther skin collar of a dark green velvet mantle are round and muscular. There is a touch of coarseness in the very exuberance of the flesh; but what most betrays the Northern artist is the pencil stroke which though half lost in pumice

rubblings, superposed colour, and tinted varnish is still to the eye Venetian, and the luscious richness as well as the fashion of the dress which recalls the sensuous ideal of the saints in the majesty of St. John Chrysostom. The date of 1512 on the dark green back-ground, though unusual, affords evidence of the fact that, with all his inclination to adopt Michaelangelo's strong shapes and articulations, Sebastian had not as yet seriously modified his treatment as a colourist.¹

The change which he then hesitated to make was gradually worked out as he proceeded and is plainly apparent in the Fornarina of Blenheim where masculine strength is to some extent combined with the elegance of high nurture. There is more of the figure seen here. The lady sits and is turned to the left, her head almost facing the spectator. The hanging raven hair bound in a mass at the back of the neck is set off by a pretty striped cloth tied over the crown of the head. The low white dress, and pink sleeve show the neck and throat, the right hand supports the fur collar of a bright red mantle, the left grasps the handle of a basket filled with fruit and flowers — all this on a dark ground of wall broken by an opening to the left, beyond which we see the red glow of evening in a clouded sky and ranges of hills dotted with houses. The landscape alone with its Giorgionesque glow betrays the Venetian; but Sebastian's touch is not less clear in every part. He tried to combine with his own style the more delicate setting and carriage of Raphael; but his swelling and substantial shapes still show the baser north Italian alloy. He also exchanged the sweet richness of tone so attractive at San Giovanni Crisostomo for a bolder and more direct mode of balancing

¹ Florence Uffizi No. 1123. Can-vas, life size, since 1589 in possession of the Medici at Florence. (See Vas. annot. VIII. 36.) The straight line of the gold chain, which fails to take into account the flexions of the bust cannot be original. Kugler, Handbook p. 388, favours Misserini's hypothesis that the person represented is Vittoria Colonna! In the Corsini palace at Rome there is a copy of this picture under the name of Giulio Romano. (Room 4. No. 41.)

tints with a slighter application of glazes; but in his efforts he sacrificed melodious harmony and fell into comparative rawness.¹

It was probably about this period also that the portrait known in the Scarpa collection at La Motta as "Tebaldeo" by Raphael was produced, a portrait in which the landscape alone would point to Sebastian's hand.²

Whilst critics of our day fail to discern or refuse to admit the difference between pictures of Raphael and Sebastian, we are bound to pass but a lenient sentence on those of an earlier time who thought that the stuff of which Sanzio was made was to be found also in Luciani. Michaelangelo, who had unsuccessfully tried Granacci and Bugiardini as journeymen, might, after finishing the ceiling of the Sistine without assistance, be justified in believing that Sebastian's rapidity and taste as a colourist would serve him in good stead, if once he were called upon to compete seriously with Raphael and his scholars, who with their frescos at the Camere, were threatening to carry all before them. There were many points in common between Sebastian and Buonarroti; they were both impulsive men, realists, and students of nature; both of them were of muscular build and when they exerted their strength, left-handed. Their ways and opinions were the same, out-door sketching was their favourite pastime, they both hated monks and friars. They now entered we may believe into some sort of partnership.³

The question before Michaelangelo and Sebastian was this. Sebastian had ceased to labour at the Farnesina.

¹ Blenheim. Panel engraved as a Raphael, for Count Valmarana by Jacopo Bernardi, by Thomas Chambers and others, life size. The flesh parts are deprived of their delicate bloom and finishing touches; and the landscape is not free from abrasion.

An inferior replica now in the Casa Persico Cittadella at Verona is probably the copy noticed of

old in the house of the Cavallini Brenzoni. (See Passavant's Raphael u. s. II. 429. and Scanelli Microcosmo u. s. p. 169.)

² La Motta, Galleria Scarpa. The face is that of a young man and we know that Tebaldeo was more than 50 years old in 1516.

³ Journal of Raffaello di Montelupo, in Vasari VIII. 191. Vasari's life of Michael Angelo XII. 279.

Michaelangelo had finished the ceiling of the Sistine; they might hope to get some joint work from Julius the II^d in competition with Raphael and his disciples at the Vatican. There is circumstantial evidence to show that they asked the Pope to give them such work. A quarrel probably ensued between Julius and Michaelangelo which led to the painter's departure for Florence; in Buonarroti's absence Sebastian renewed the application and on the 15th of October 1512, reported to his friend on the result as follows:¹

"Dearest gossip, he writes, with a truly Venetian accent in his spelling, do not be surprised at my delay in answering your last letter. I went several times to the palace to find his Holiness without being able to obtain an audience. At last I was received, and met with so much favour that his Holiness dismissed all in the room but a chamberlain whom I can trust, and then I communicated what I wanted. I was very graciously heard. I offered your services and my own for work of any sort, and only asked for the subject and the measure of the spaces. Bastiano, said His Holiness, Zuan Battista da l'Aquila tells me that there is nothing to be done 'in the hall below' because of the lunettes which spring from a very low part of the wall on which the subjects must be placed; the doors leading to the apartments of the Cardinal de' Medici cut up the surface which might be used for single compositions; and the lunettes, which are from eighteen to twenty palms in breadth, would suit but that the figures in them would be reduced to a size too small for the area of so large a room. In addition to this, the hall is certainly too public. This all comes of Zuan Battista da l'Aquila and others preferring to see me any where else than in this palace. It would seem, my dear gossip, from the way in which I am looked on by some per-

¹ The letter is in Gaye II. 487. It is important to note that G. B. Branconio da l'Aquila, of whom the pope speaks was Raphael's

friend and executor, and of course hostile to Sebastian. See Campori's *Notizie inedite di Raffaello da Urbino* u. s. p. 32.

sons, as if I was Satan in person and were capable of devouring the whole palace, yet thank God I still have friends and could have more, so that all will come right at last. Then said His Holiness, on my conscience Bastiano I do not like what *they* are doing; nor is it approved by any one that has seen it. In four or five days I shall go and look at it and if they do no better than when they began I shall not allow them to proceed, but set them to something else, take down what they have done and give you the hall, because I must have it a fine thing or get it painted in diaper. I replied that with your help I should have courage to perform miracles upon which he answered: "of that I have no doubt. You all learnt from him. . . Look at the works of Raphael who no sooner saw Michaelangelo than he substituted his manner for that of Perugino. But Michaelangelo is an awful man and hard to deal with as you know". I said that your awfulness did no harm to any one, and that you only seemed so from the love of the great work you had in hand. More I said in addition which it is needless to put down. I waited four days before going to inquire whether the Pope had been to see what *they* were doing. I heard that he had done so; and that they told him, nothing could be seen or judged of until certain half-finished figures were ready. Yet the further they go the less is he pleased. Still, to satisfy these youths, he intends to wait fifteen or twenty days longer until the figures are done. And this is all that has happened since I last wrote, and I could not send you the measurements because the Pope had not come to a decision and they are still at work."

This letter not only reveals the plans of Sebastian and Buonarroti; not only embodies their dislike of Raphael; it gives some indication of the quarrel which we suppose the Pope to have had with Michaelangelo. Though trusting and kindly with those whom he admitted to his confidence, Michaelangelo was occasionally stern and irritable, shy of superficial company and fond of solitude. His aversion

to Raphael and his disciples --- to *them*, as Sebastian wrote --- was almost instinctive. Of masculine build, disfigured in face by the flattening of his nose, usually in black; he was, even in externals, the very converse of his rival. He sometimes met the gay and handsome Raphael and his young disciples troup^{ing} up the staircases of the Vatican; and in his gruff way, he would compare the sprightly band to that of the head bailiff and his myrmidons going to capture a prisoner. "I thought it was the bargello", he growled; but Raphael pretended to shrink and cried: "There's the executioner", and thus enraged the rugged artist more.¹ Michaelangelo too hated and resented interference even from Julius the IInd so that more than once there had been angry scenes between them; and the Pope, who brooked more contradiction from him than from any other man alive at last almost despaired of keeping terms with him. But if Julius, in his own mind, had resolved that he would not let Buonarroti paint, and was bent on keeping him at the hammer and chisel till his animosity to Sanzio cooled, it was not his way to say so, and least of all to say so to Sebastian. He temporized, made promises of dubious wording and finally put the matter off indefinitely.

Sebastian may have felt disappointment on this occasion; he does not seem to have lost courage. He dexterously availed himself of Michaelangelo's friendship to compose pictures under his guidance or with his designs; and the fame which he thus acquired fell perhaps but little short of that of which he had been dreaming.

Two works of uncommon beauty were, we should think completed at this juncture --- the Holy Family of the Baring collection and the Pietà of the Hermitage at Petersburg. Even at this time, as we judge from the Baring masterpiece, Venetian elements still outweighed the Florentine in Sebastian's manner. The very form of his composition scents of the Bellinesque. A donor, with his

¹ Lomazzo. *Idea del Tempio* u. s. p. 49.

arms piously crossed over his breast, kneels before the Virgin who kindly rests one hand on his shoulder, whilst, with the other, she guides the stride of the infant Christ upon her lap. To the left the Baptist with his cross contemplates the scene, to the right St. Joseph sleeps, a green curtain hangs behind the group. The donor and the Baptist are most Venetian, the Saviour and St. Joseph most Florentine; but the study of Tuscan art is displayed to a considerable extent in type and movement in the setting of drapery to show the under surfaces, and in a broad general treatment. There is more skill in the composition than Sebastian had hitherto shown, more firmness and decision in outline, and a grander, truer rendering of extremities. The colour is tinged in a slight degree with the leaden shade peculiar to Sebastian's later creations, and the glowing richness of a northern palet is tempered by sober yet admirable chiaroscuro.¹

More important for its size, the *Pietà* at the Hermitage, is one of the best that Luciani finished under the early influences which reacted upon his style at Rome, having all the charm of Venetian tone, yet much of the power and classic grandeur derived from Buonarroti. There is no picture of Venetian make in which the energy of passion is more nobly and more vigorously presented; there is none in which potent effects of grey and strongly balanced lights and shadows are more suited to the melancholy nature of the subject. Sebastian certainly never attained to a finer combination of graduations and luscious depth. We seldom find his solid impast blended with more cleverness, or broken with more subtlety by scumbles and glazes; the momentary action of the figures is rendered with classic propriety and unusual power. Without being hardened into the Michaelangelesque Sebastian's acquired style sits freely and loosely upon him, and he works of his own will with a happy, racy, boldness. Christ

¹ London. Baring Collection | somewhat darkened by time. — The
and previously at Stratton. Wood | donor recalls Palma Vecchio.
3 f. 2 h. by 3 f. 6. The panel is |

outstretched on the grave clothes, is partly raised on the right elbow, — his drooping head, one of the best-moulded types that Sebastian ever brought out — his frame of select proportion, dead yet solemn and calm in death. Behind the body to the left the Virgin sinks into the arms of Nicodemus and one of the Marys. Near them, Joseph points to the tomb from which the slab is being raised. In the faint and foreshortening of the Virgin, in her strength and fullness, there is a grand commingling of the Roman and Venetian; we can scarcely imagine a more resolute movement or more beautiful flexibility. The vehemence with which the Magdalen at Christ's feet looks down and wrings her hands is most energetic and telling. Buonarroti's spirit predominates in the man raising the cover of the sepulchre with a lever and his companion who answers the shout of Joseph. In contrast with all this, we have the calm sweet landscape of simple line with its details of house and church and farm, and a hot sunset horizon full of air and mystery.¹

In the same manner and doubtless completed about this time, the dead Christ with the wailing Virgin in San Francesco of Viterbo is deeply impressed with the feeling of Michaelangelo — a picture of two figures only yet full of mastery, representing Christ at full length in his winding sheet serenely reposing whilst his mother sits and grieves behind his corpse. We may imagine a higher ideal of form, but we look in vain for faults of proportion, awkwardness of position or want of chiaroscuro. All that we see is natural and truthful; and there is speaking evidence of the working of Michaelangelo's mind and council on Sebastian in the purity of the drawing of

¹ St. Petersburg. Hermitage No. 18. Canvas 8 f. 5³/₄ h. by 6 f. 6 from the collection of William the II^d king of Holland inscribed: SEBASTIANVS VENETVS FACIEBAT. The impact is substantial, and layers of thick scumble are finished with glazes. The surface — especially of the sky — is darkened

by time. Of the subject of the Entombment, we have a specimen No. 31, in the Bridgewater coll. from the Orleans and Holford galleries. The composition is in Sebastian's spirit, yet so smeared with new paint that we no longer discern Sebastian's hand.

limb, hand, foot, and muscle. The same tendency is marked, but marked with greater force, in the masculine strength of the Virgin whose action as she sits with cramped hands looking up, fills us with admiration of the artist's power without conveying to us any of the feelings of melancholy or compassion that ought to rise in the breast of the spectator of such a scene. The pleasant back ground of broken country completes an *ensemble* of which Vasari says with truth that it is full of forcible gloom.¹

Remarkable as illustrating the manner of Sebastian, these pictures do not tell us the whole truth as to the efforts which he was making to form a style, potent, severe and, if possible, original. Devoted as he was to Buonarroti, he still turned at times to steal a glance at the great and genial rival; and, just as Raphael strove to improve by absorbing and assimilating elements strong in the Florentines, Sebastian endeavoured to acquire those which delighted him in the gentler nature of Sanzio.

There is a Madonna in the Museum of Naples which curiously exemplifies this tendency; it remained unfinished yet so near completion that it seemed purposely left so to whet the fancy of the spectator. The boy Christ, reclining with his head on his arms, has just been lulled to sleep. The Virgin behind the bed, daintily raises a muslin coverlet with both hands and prepares to lay it on the recumbent child. Her look still lingers fondly, even sentimentally on her charge. St. Joseph to the left is attentive and full of life, the youthful Baptist to the right wrapt in adoration. To the usual difficulties of the craft are here superadded those of oil medium on a porous and absorbent slate. Executed with all the care of which the master was capable — polished and blended in parts with admirable precision, this noble composition is but a sketch as regards the feet and hands and dress of the Virgin and the flesh of the Baptist. The hair and beard

¹ Viterbo, S. Francesco. Wood; figures large as life.

of Joseph are so light that they seem to float in the air. The Virgin's high-waisted boddice, her turbaned kerchief, bound round a knot of hair, her large grave features, her portly but masculine form, all remind us of Michaelangelo; and yet there is something voluptuous in the shape that betrays the Venetian and recalls the earlier portraits at the Uffizi and Blenheim. The subject and the incident are those which became so celebrated in Raphael's Virgin of Loretto, or his Virgin of the Diadem at the Louvre; and it is impossible to avoid remarking that Sebastian's version, though it embodies Tuscan principles is mainly an adaptation of Raphael's conception.¹ We may take it that Sebastian, more than once attempted to sail in the waters of his young and able rival. We have note of a S^t. Michael standing on the dragon which, when finished, was to have been sent to the king of France; and we remember that the same subject, composed by Sanzio was actually taken to Paris in 1518. Like the Holy Family at Naples Sebastian's S^t. Michael remained incomplete and has since unfortunately been lost.²

With the capacity to produce such works as we have now been dwelling on, and with a talent which began to be acknowledged as second only to that of the two greatest masters on the whole European continent, it was not to be supposed that Sebastian would languish for want of patronage; but he laboured under a positive disadvantage from his known antagonism to Raphael and the admitted fact that he borrowed Michaelangelo's drawings. Aretino, who had made his acquaintance at Rome in 1517 probably but echoed the sentiments of many persons at the papal

¹ Naples Museum. Correggio's saloon. No. 2. on slate; figures of life size seen to the knees. This is probably the picture alluded to by Vasari, as having been in possession of Cardinal Farnese (X. 128.) It afterwards formed part of a collection at Parma. (Campori. *Raccolta de' Cataloghi* p. 218.) A replica with some slight

variations, is, we are informed in London in the hands of Signor Pinti. It is a panel with a cartello on wh. are the words: "SE-BAST..... FACIEBAT."

² Vas. X. 128. Campori. *Notizie ined. di Raffaello da Urbino*, u. s. p. 10. It is curious that all that Sebastian did in imitation of Raphael remained unfinished.

court when he said that Ariosto committed a grave error in judgment in placing Sebastian on a level with Raphael and Titian; for, had Sebastian's talents been ever so great, the fact of his "wearing other men's plumes" would have been fatal to him. Nor was Raphael slow to perceive the profit which he derived from this circumstance, as he was heard to express his gratitude that Michaelangelo, by lending Sebastian his sketches had proved to the world that Raphael was superior to both.¹ Still there were men willing to concede that Sebastian was a worthy competitor to Sanzio, and amongst these the chief was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici who whilst he ordered of Raphael the celebrated transfiguration also ordered of Luciani his almost equally renowned raising of Lazarus. It is not improbable that Sebastian, at a given moment thought of competing with Sanzio in the most direct manner by designing a transfiguration; for we possess a small example of the subject in the shape of a sketch dated 1518 in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton. But we shall not lay too much stress on this coincidence as the sketch at Hamilton Palace is too injured to be accepted as beyond suspicion.² Sebastian's raising of Lazarus was conceived and carried out, if we believe Vasari, under the superintendence, and with the designs, of Michaelangelo; and there can be no doubt that though absent from Rome when the altarpiece was finished, Buonarroto gave drawings for some of the figures; but of the superintendence we have not only no proof but rather disproof. There are few compositions embodying so many incidents of the episode requiring illustration. Mary has fallen at the feet of Christ saying "Lord if thou hadst been here my brother had not died."

¹ Dolce, Dialogo p. p. 7, 8.

² Hamilton Palace near Glasgow. Small panel, unfinished, dim and almost lost in old varnishes. In three lozenge shaped framings on the left foreground are a small profile of a man, an escutcheon with the Imperial arms and an inscription as follows:

EX GISVLFORVM
FAMILIA. EGO I. PAVLVS GL-
SOLFVS PER M. Æ CAROLI V.
R. T. CANCELLARIE ITALIE
TABVLAM HANC PRO ME ET
MEIS PINGERE FECI ANNO
REPARATE SALVTIS VMANE
MDVXIII.

Christ, "with a loud voice" and with gesture of command cries: "Lazarus come forth"; but Lazarus already lives and leans against the edge of the sepulchre, struggling with help out of the grave clothes. Martha and her women in rear are offended in their nostrils and cover their faces with veil and handkerchief. "The jews" at Jesus' feet fall on their knees and believe; the apostles behind witness the scene, and further back are those "who were troubled and went their way to the Pharisees." The valley, the hills, the river and the village of Bethany are an imaginative and very picturesque rendering of the principal features of a Tiberine landscape. The houses are those of the Trastevere suburb; and the ruin to the left is a reminiscence of the wondrous basilica of Constantine. — Large, colossal, and covering a surprising space, this fine work has been justly looked upon as one of the most important creations of the 16th century. It gives more accurately than any other the measure of the change which had been wrought in a Venetian painter by ten years residence at Rome. Except in the sombre depth of the distance, in which the feeling of the Bellinesques and Giorgionesques survives, there is little or nothing left to remind us of the author of the majesty of St. John Chrysostom. Feminine beauty and sensuous grace, colour of luscious sweetness make place for scientific drawing, strained muscular action, marked anatomy and realistic study of natural phenomena. An art the charm of which is in the sex is exchanged for one regardless of the sex. Drapery is not thought of as covering and concealing form, but serves with studied and specious skill to define it. Melodious harmony of tints is sacrificed to powerful balance of light and shade, deep, decisive keys of tone and a smooth modelling fused and polished to a faultless enamel. Most imposing and of powerful effect is the composition which embodies the sterner rules of a school older and better trained than the Venetian. In the very spirit, and perhaps on the cartoon of Buonarrotti, Lazarus winds his limbs out of

the ceremonies. The Saviour is formed and moves after the fashion of Michaelangelo; the females are grandly shaped and the kneeling Mary surprisingly foreshortened. Not one of these impersonations but strikes us by its force and solidity. Instantaneous action is rendered with lively realism, individuality, character, and expression, mark the masks, the features and gestures. The science displayed is admirable, the labour bestowed, immense; but the inward charm of Raphael, the feeling which animates all his productions are absolutely wanting. The public, when admitted to see this masterpiece in the winter of 1519 at the Vatican, was obliged to confess that Sebastian now had a serious claim to rank amongst the best painters of his time. Cardinal de' Medici had to choose which of Sebastian's Lazarus or Raphael's transfiguration he should keep in Rome, and which he should send to the distant seat of his French bishoprick. The Lazarus was taken by his orders to Narbonne, but he preserved a lively remembrance of Sebastian's skill; and on his subsequent elevation to the papacy, he promoted the painter to a sinecure with large emoluments.¹

Michaelangelo's presence at Rome when the raising of Lazarus was begun, and at Florence when it was finished is historical. In a letter addressed to Buonarroti at Florence on the 26th of December 1519 Sebastian, after thanking his friend for standing godfather to his child whom he had called, after his own parent, Luciani, writes: "I have finished the tavola and taken it to the palace where it was seen with pleasure by all except those who usually are displeased, but who now are at a loss what to say. It is enough for me that his Eminence (Cardinal de' Me-

¹ London, Nat. Gall. No. 1. Wood transferred to canvas — 12 f. 6 h. by 9 f. 5.; from the Orleans and Angerstein galleries. The surface of the picture is dark and sombre and not free from retouching, especially in the figure of Lazarus. Dull varnishes cover the deep and de-

cisive tones throughout (see Vas. X. 125. 126. and VIII. 50.). Two sketches for the Lazarus under the name of Michaelangelo were bought for the nation at the sale of the Lawrence collection in 1860 and are in the British Museum.

dici) should have told me he was more satisfied than he expected, and I believe my tavola is better drawn than the arras stuff that has come from Flanders. Now that I have done my duty, I have to claim the final payment due to me; and his Eminence said he wished you to value the work as previously arranged between us and Messer Domenico. Though for the sake of time, I was willing to leave the matter in his Reverence's hands and showed him the account, he would not hear of anything but that you should see the items, which I accordingly send. I beg you to be kind enough, if you would do me a pleasure, to act in this business without reserve, because his Rev. and I have freely agreed to leave it to you. You saw the piece begun, and it numbers forty figures in all without those in the landscape. Besides, there is the picture of Cardinal Rangone which goes into the account; and that has been seen by Domenico who knows of what size it is. I need add no more. I beg of you, dear gossip, to send back (the account) immediately, so that it may reach this before his Rev. leaves Rome, for, to tell you the truth, I am dry. The Lord keep you in health, remember me to Messer Domenico and many regards to yourself from your faithful gossip Sebastian, painter in Rome."¹

The "picture of Cardinal Rangone" to which this letter alludes is that which hangs in the gallery of the Pitti and represents the martyrdom of St. Agatha. The saint is stripped to the waist, and in the act of moving forward, whilst, at the order of a judge on the left, two grim executioners are preparing to apply their pincers to the breasts of their victim. Three heads of soldiers are seen in rear to the left; a green curtain hangs as a foil behind the full fair form of the martyr whose head is cleverly thrown back and foreshortened. To the right, the smoke of a fire is seen through an arch; and porters carry wood

¹ The letter is in Biagi, *Memorie storiche critiche di F. Sebastiano Luciani*, folio; Ven., 1826. p. 37. 8. but the real date, falsely given there, is that in the text. (See Waagen; *Treasures*, I. 320.)

to a stake. Compared with the "raising of Lazarus", the martyrdom of St. Agatha is perhaps more emphatically Michaelangellesque; it startles by the bold freedom and scientific correctness of its drawing, the finish of its modelling and the smoothness of its surface; but it is more masculine and herculean than anything that Sebastian had previously done; and displays a more open neglect of the charms attainable by richness of contrasted tones.¹

It was no small benefit to Sebastian that, during the papacy of Leo the Xth who never had a kind word for him, and never gave him a single chance, he should have had countenance and support from such men as the Cardinal de' Medici and Cardinal Rangone, the prelates who lived in Leo's intimacy and shared with Cibo the direction of the pope's orgies and theatricals. It was of equal, and perhaps of greater, moment that just as the struggle for pictorial supremacy in Rome had been decided against him, Sebastian should have been suddenly freed from his most dangerous rival by the unhappy accident of Raphael's death. The loss to art which this death involved was felt throughout Italy as irreparable, but there were persons in Rome, and amongst them we may count Sebastian, who thought of themselves more than of art, and these hailed the news with a chuckle of pleasure. It is true that Leo the Xth was not induced even then to employ Luciani, and that Sanzio's disciples preserved a great and, to a certain extent, undeserved influence; but from that time forward, Sebastian never languished for want of commissions.

There is much obscurity still as to when and under what circumstances the chapels of the Chigi at Santa Maria del Popolo, of the Sergardi at Santa Maria della Pace, or of Pier' Francesco Borgherini at San Pietro in

¹ Florence, Pitti, No. 79. Wood; the foregoing letter, for Cardinal half length figures largens life, inser: Rangone who was cardinal deacon of St. Agatha. (Consult Vas. X. "SEBASTIANVS VENETVS FACIEBAT ROME MDXX." painted 133., Biagi 39., and Campori, Gli Artisti pp. 299. 300.) according to Vasari for "Cardinal d'Aragona", but as we learn from

Montorio were undertaken by Sebastian. The two churches of the Pace and Popolo, originally founded by Sixtus the IVth had been greatly favoured by Julius the IInd, and as a natural consequence by Agostino Chigi who knew Julius' devotion to all buildings that Sixtus had planned. When Chigi began the chapels in these churches, he thought that Raphael would decorate them, but Raphael, in 1519, had only finished the Pace; and he probably held out no hope that he would be able to finish the Popolo the mosaics of which had been executed from his cartoons in 1516. Agostino, it is said, just before his death ordered Sebastian to take the frescos of the Popolo which the painter accepted. But he met with impediments or felt no heart for the work, and left it a fragment.¹ The same mishap occurred in respect of the choir of the Pace which was entrusted to Sebastian by the papal chamberlain Filippo Sergardi, whilst the cycle which was to complete the decoration of an oratory begun by Raphael for Agostino Chigi at the Pace was never even commenced.

Pier' Francesco Borgherini to whom Sebastian had been recommended by Michaelangelo was more fortunate, and though Sebastian spent six years in the chapel at San Pietro in Montorio, he brought his labours there successfully to perfection.

The surface which the painter had here to cover is a niche sunk into the curve of a circular room, and the space immediately above it. The upper part is in fresco, the lower in oil. In the spandrels above the niche are two grand figures, to the left, a prophet recumbent with one hand on a book, looking round at an angel in flight touching him on the shoulder, to the right, a sybil with a scroll attended by a seraph — both full of life, and the sybil, of striking dignity in mien. It is clear that the idea of these stern and powerful impersonations was taken from the ceiling of the Sistine. In the semidome,

¹ Vas. VIII. note p. 47.

Christ transfigured with his arms outstretched rests lightly on the crest of a mound between the floating shapes of Moses and Elias, and the startled ones of the apostles. To compare this semi-Florentine conception with the lunettes of the Farnesina is instructive. Sebastian now thinks more of bold action, drawing, modelling, and light and shade than of colouring. His attention is absorbed in precise and clean reproduction of form; the style of his draperies is very nearly faultless; but polished hardness is substituted for Venetian richness and glow. Northern realism only breaks out occasionally and betrays itself in vulgar masks, open mouths or unideal play of features. In the curve below the semidome, Christ, bound to the pillar writhes under the blows of four scourgers and startles us by the agonized force concentrated in every fibre of his frame. An action so natural, yet so strong, a muscular strain so energetic yet so real can only have been imagined by Michaelangelo; and the marked superiority of this one figure over others powerful indeed, but not free from conventionalism might prove that Sebastian had direct assistance from Buonarroti. St. Francis to the right, is less common in mask than we might expect. St. Peter to the left resting his head on one hand is grandiose. Nowhere does Vasari's observation appear more just than here that Sebastian laboured and lacked the ease which comes of deep study from nature and habitual skill. The very choice of oil as a medium in the larger and more important sections of the chapel confirms the theory that it was Sebastian's purpose to gain time for filing and finishing as well as for enjoying the facilities more particularly known to the Venetians. It was essential to him, being less acquainted than his Florentine rivals with the science of distribution, drawing, and chiaroscuro, to secure means for giving to his composition something like the proper shape and to his outlines something of the necessary correctness without suffering impediments in the act of laying in the impast and working out the tone after the complex fashion of the Venetian panel and canvas painters. Though

now, in consequence of accidents which could scarcely have been foreseen, the walls of San Pietro have assumed a blue dun colour from the effects of absorption, eruption and superposition, they doubtless shone originally with greater radiance and freshness, and had more of the Northern richness, than we now discern.¹ It may be matter of reproach to Sebastian that he should not have considered that fresco is the only medium in which clearness and light can always be preserved; but, not being bred a Florentine frescante and not having the Tuscan ease of hand which combined rapidity with correct execution, and still being ambitious of acquiring the force of Michaelangelo, he is to be pardoned for preferring the only method that gave him command of time and exceptional technical advantages. Inevitable as a consequence of his system was the lack of that spontaneous and genuine boldness which distinguish Buonarroti, and the absence of the charming colour which ennobles Titian; and though it would no doubt be true to say that occasionally he produced, in the wake of Michaelangelo, designs more scientific than those of Raphael, he was not the less, in the main, subordinate to that great and genial artist, in originality of thought, in composition, and above all in the feeling which fascinates and wins. We cannot define the interval which elapsed between the completion of the Transfiguration and that of the flagellation but we may presume that the latter, being a novelty, attracted a considerable share of attention and contributed not a little to raise the master in public estimation. The flagellation was much admired and frequently copied; and numerous repetitions of it exist in churches and galleries.²

¹ Rome, S. Pietro in Montorio. The figures are above life size; the frescos damaged by the retouching of the ground, the parts done in oil injured and blinded by time and varnishes. (Consult Vas. X. 124—5 127. and 132.)

² Varieties of the Flagellation at San Pietro in Montorio may be

noticed as follows: Viterbo, ch. dell' Osservanza del Paradiso. Here the number of executioners is reduced to two, but the Christ is in the same movement as at Rome. This is an altarpiece, on panel, with figures large as life ruined by abrasion and probably an adaptation executed by assistants of Sebastian.

At Santa Maria del Popolo, Sebastian furnishes but a new example of his peculiar system of painting in oil on the wall, and though injured more than any other by time and restoring the Chigi chapel still offers strong evidence of an enthusiastic clinging to the maxims of Michaelangelo. The vision of the Eternal in the midst of innumerable saints and angels seems to have been executed, not only from the designs, but with the cartoons, of Buonarroti, so completely is the action and the shape cast in his mould. The birth of the Virgin, a large panel on the altar, displays more conventionalism, and exhibits a feebler power, and yet the monumental grandeur of the scene is striking, and the humble episode of Mary's nativity was never imagined so splendid or so varied. To the left, under a dais, St. Anne accepts refreshment from a young dame; in front, a group of women watched by a boy carry or receive supplies of linen. In the distance to the right, females dry napkins at the fire and put them carefully aside; in the middle of the foreground, a nurse holds the child whilst another feels the temperature of the bath, and a third gracefully pours out the water. There is a curious mixture, in all the personages, of sculptural pose, masculine shape, and dainty affectation. The distance, in which a couple of men appear at an opening, is grand and simple. Vasari says that these compositions were undertaken by Sebastian shortly after the death of Raphael. They were not exhibited till Salviati completed the chapel in 1554.¹

Rome, Palazzo Borghese. Room III. No. 48. In this picture on panel we have a mere copy or reduction of the original at Rome, by a painter of a later time.

England, Rev^d John, Sandford. In the hands of this gentleman, and exhibited at the British Institution in 1853., under No. 64., was another old copy of Sebastian's original at S. Pietro in Montorio. Blaise Castle, seat of the Harfords. Here is a third version of the

subject on a small canvas, inscr.: MA. VENV. 1552. AP. S. VEN. (Marcelli Vennusti after Seb. Vennetus.)

¹ Rome, S. M. del Popolo. The Eternal and other colossal figures are in oil on the wall. The altar-piece of the nativity is much changed by restoring and stippling (1859). By a slip of the pen Vasari (X. 126.) assigns it to Salviati. See also Vas. X. 127. and XII. 71.

The visitation and nativity half finished in the choir of the Pace were removed by Bernini when he built the marble monument of the Chigi. The fragments came into the Fesch collection and are now at Alnwick. One represents the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary with a couple of handsome women in rear of the principal group; another, a bevy of damsels, one of whom carries a basket on her head; a third a man in thought with one hand raised to his chin. Time and abrasion have had their usual way, but no amount of ill treatment can deprive the pieces of their grand, imposing, character and there is no reason to doubt that the compositions of which they were a part were of the best that Sebastian produced.¹

It has been said that so long as Sebastian had to earn his bread like every other painter, by the sweat of his brow, and especially during his active competition with Raphael he was an industrious and indefatigable craftsman; whereas when he was appointed to a sinecure he preferred sauntering and dinners to hard work.² This statement may contain a grain of truth mingled with a peck of exaggeration, but there is reason for thinking that Sebastian's irregularities and delays in carrying out monumental designs were complained of before he got the seals of the "Piombo". These complaints we need make no doubt, were due to causes not unknown to other artists of the time. When the Duke of Ferrara inveighed against the dilatoriness or ill faith of Raphael who fed him for years with a delusive promise of a picture; when the court of Urbino stormed against Michaelangelo because he did not finish the tomb of Julius the IInd, the Chigis and Sergardis lamented with equal bitterness over Sebastian's procrastinations. At Rome, where families were subject to the strangest vicissitudes according to their

¹ Alnwick Castle. Large figures in oil on the wall from the Pace at Rome, darkened by time and worn and abraded by various accidents. (Vas. X. 127, and notes to VIII. 47.) The visitation was engraved by Jerom Cock. (Vas. IX. 283.) The fragments were in the Bromley collection before being purchased for Alnwick.

² Vas. X. 130—1.

position in relation to different popes, it was sometimes difficult, and perhaps often impossible, for painters to keep their word, because they were always liable to interference on the part of those whose orders were not to be gainsaid. The Chigi, who were influential under the Rovere and Medici, might find it hard at times to keep to their contracts such artists as Julius, or Leo, or Clement wished to employ. How much more difficult would their task have been in the reign of Paul the III^d, who was chief of the hostile clan of Farnese! Men who achieved fame became the slaves of that fame, powerless to object when challenged to break the most solemn contracts, open to punishment for the breach, when the persons under whose constraint they had acted were removed from office. Sebastian only left so many of his undertakings incomplete because he was forced to interrupt his labours at the bidding of authorities whose commands he dared not disobey; and it is not unlikely that to one of these interruptions we owe the Visitation which was sent to Francis the Ist of France in 1521. It is a picture with two grand solitary figures of considerable depth in tone, spirited in movement, masculine in types, and masterly in touch, reminiscent of the wall paintings at the Pace and Popolo in this that effect by colour is sacrificed to effect by modelling, studied drawing, and balanced light and shade. It is most striking for the large proportions of the frames, the sculptural cast of the draperies, and the leaden tinge that pervades the flesh.¹

Shortly after the despatch of this panel to France Leo the Xth died. The Romans who disliked his spendthrift habits could not forgive this pope for slipping out of the world without the sacraments. They insulted his

¹ Louvre No. 239. Wood transferred to canvas. M. 1, 68. h. by 1. 32. figures seen to the knees; from the chateaux of Fontainebleau and Versailles. The panel was allowed to split and scale and was at last put together on canvass; it is now very sombre and not free from retouching. An inscription runs as follows: SEBASTIANVS VENETVS FACIEBAT ROMÆ M.D.XXI. In the distance a man announces to Zacharias the coming of the Virgin.

body as it was taken to burial, but artists mourned his loss with all but complete unanimity. A lively sketch of the panic which seized the latter when Adrian the VIth succeeded to the papal chair is contained in Vasari's life of Giulio Romano. Adrian abhorred the classic heathenism then in vogue. He was so shocked by the nudes in the ceiling of the Sixtine that he threatened to take them down.¹ He cared so little for the adornments of the Vatican palace that he dismissed the painters at the Hall of Constantine, and all the disciples of Raphael, Giulio, Penni, Giovanni da Udine, and Pierino, were reduced to temporary straits; but he liked portraits; and Sebastian who found grace in his eyes, received an order for the pope's likeness and that of his *datario* Cardinal Enckenvoort.² Twice, he performed this duty, first representing the Pope alone in his chair as we see him in the Museum of Naples, then with attendants in the noble panel of the Labouchere collection. It was probably because of the dislike to pagan art which Adrian felt that it came to be supposed that he despised all art, and his name ceased to be preserved in connection with Sebastian's masterpieces. His portrait at Naples is still called Alexander the VIth and Lord Taunton's panel is supposed to illustrate a scene in the life of Amerigo Vespucci. In both pictures the face of the pontiff appears the same, at Naples seen to the knees, seated, in red rochet and skull-cap, his face turned to the left, one arm on the edge of his chair, and a letter in his hand. The large, imposing frame is treated with broad and massive touch on the scale of leaden hues now peculiar to Sebastian.³ In the second and more complicated piece the pontiff's position is the same but he rests his left hand on a table, whilst his right holds a handkerchief. Within reach is the never failing bell, to the right behind the table, a prelate in black with

¹ Ranke's Popes, I. 70. Vasari, and 127.

X. 8. and 91. Dolce, Dialogo, p. 48.

² Vasari VIII. 222. and X. 91.

³ Naples Museum, grand Saloon, No. 55. Canvas, life size.

whom a red-caped dignitary is talking, and behind the chair to the left, a chamberlain. Here again, the execution is reminiscent of Raphael and Michaelangelo; and there is much life in the gestures and faces. The hand of the master is certified by the remnant of his signature.¹ It was Cardinal Enckenvoort's intention to employ Sebastian in the decoration of his chapel at Santa Maria dell' Anima, but he was soon disgusted with delays and excuses and gave the commission to Michael Coxie.²

The death of Adrian in 1523 and the accession of Giulio de' Medici under the name of Clement the VIIth brought back the pupils of Raphael to the Vatican; and, as Vasari says, ushered in afresh "all the virtues and all the arts of design". Schio, bishop of Vaison was sent to assure Sebastian of the pope's special protection; and the lucky painter panted for joy at the prospect of new distinctions.³ The reality was far from corresponding with the hopes of artists. Clement's attention was exclusively directed to politics and he failed to signalize the first years of his reign by any great or important pictorial undertakings at Rome. Michaelangelo was left in Florence to work at San Lorenzo, Giulio Romano, with Penni's help, was allowed to finish the hall of Constantine, but he was afterwards dismissed, and left to compose at his leisure obscene prints for which Aretino wrote obscene sonnets. It was a troubled and miserable time during which Sebastian, buoyed up by the pope's promises, contented himself with accepting orders for portraits. Of these Vasari mentions several, including two of the pope, "without a beard" and others of persons of high name.⁴ Few of them can now be identified, but the noblest certainly is that of a man at the Pitti seen to the breast

¹ London, Labouchere collection; in tone from various causes; the wood, with half lengths large as life. On a cartello lying on the table cloth to the r. are the words: "SEB..... FACIEBAT." The panel has been injured by abrasion, and is dimmed or altered

in tone from various causes; the pope's head especially is damaged.

² Vas. X. 127.

³ Vas. X. 91. and 128.

⁴ Vas. X. 127. 128. 129. Lomazzo. Trattato. 231.

heavily bearded, with a black cap on his head, a spotted fur pelisse, a damask coat and red sleeves. Sebastian never more happily united the majestic elevation of the Florentine to the richness of Venetian colour and impast. The face, of a grave, stern cast, is ennobled in its portraiture; it is that of a man formed in a grand mould, beginning to age, with a suggestive wrinkle here and there, and dress of wonderful sit. The drawing is admirable; the modelling masterly; and the subdivisions of light and shade beyond measure effective. The shape of the right hand holding a glove, its long branching fingers and peculiar articulations, are very characteristic of the painter's individuality. The grained substance of the flesh tinged with dun is delicately broken with cool transitions from a rich dusky light to a dark shade of astonishing depth. The touch is resolute and pastose; yet, in the midst of this pastosity, there are surprising finesses showing the countless hairs and floating mass of the beard and the fuz or bristle of fur minute as Weenix and massive as Titian.¹

The Marquis of Pescara with Vittoria Colonna at his side in the Palazzo Santangelo at Naples, if there be no mistake as to the persons portrayed, is another example of this time. D' Avalos sits in a chair and rests his hand in that of his wife, she leaning her elbow the while on his shoulder, and looking at him with melancholy tenderness. Her form is slender and tall, his, short and sturdy. The treatment is facile and able; but, for feeling and power, this is not one of the happiest efforts of its kind.²

It may have been gratifying to Sebastian, in this period of spasmodic labour and deferred hope to be asked to paint for the Marquis of Mantua. The Marquis in 1524 had instructed his agent without any previous solicitation to order a picture of "Sebastianello Veneziano" which

¹ Florence, Pitti. No. 409.; on slate, life size. M. 0. 78 h. by 0. 66. The dull olive tone of the surface is doubtless partly due to old var-

nishes.

² Naples, Casa Santangelo; wood, half lengths large as life. See Vas. X. 127.

should not to be a religious piece (*"cose de sancti"*) — but something pretty and pleasant to look at. To work for so distinguished a patron would naturally tickle the artist's pride, and he probably did his best; but we neither know the subject nor the time of its completion; and can only guess that Sebastian gave satisfaction as in later years he still had interest at the Mantuan court.¹ According to most biographers Sebastian often accepted offers for altarpieces from the most distant and diverse quarters. In 1520, it is said, he composed the great Madonna with saints in San Niccolò of Treviso, in 1525, the visitation with S^t. Joseph and S^t. Zachariah for San Biagio of Lendinara. We shall have occasion to show that the Madonna of Treviso was done by Savoldo.² The visitation at Lendinara, bears the signature, but hardly displays the hand, of Sebastian.³

In the meanwhile the policy of Clement which, for so many years, favoured the Spaniards at the expense of France had begun to bear its fruits. Charles the Vth had become so completely master of the peninsula that he

¹ Gaye, Carteggio II. 179. In the catalogue of the collection of Charles the 1st we find a "judgment of Paris" by Sebastian. This might be the picture we are in search of. See Bathoe's Catalogue p. 23.

² See postea.

³ Lendinara. S. Biagio; wood, life size, inscr.: "Sebastianus pictor faciebat MDXXV." The tradition is that Sebastian painted this piece on his way to Rome; and the story is told in an Ms. record of somewhat modern air in San Biagio; but the Conti family to whom the chapel and picture belong possess no contemporary records proving Sebastian's authorship, nor is there any thing but the landscape, which is Venetian, to remind us of Luciani. The figure of S^t. Elizabeth, though fair in head, is ill drawn, especially as regards the extremities. The Virgin is in the style of a Ferrarese and recalls Garofalo or the Dossi.

The S^t. Joseph suggests similar remarks. We miss altogether the Michaelangelesque spirit which must necessarily characterize a picture by Sebastian in 1525, we do observe an echo of the Raphaelesque. The colours, originally raw and heavy, are rendered more so by repaints. The sky, the Virgin's dress, and other parts, are heavily smeared.

In the church of the Misericordia at Lendinara is a S^t. Peter in the same style as the visitation, companion to a S^t. Paul, lately taken to Rovigo and numbered 147 in the public gallery of that town. In the manuscript catalogue of the gallery, the S^t. Paul is assigned to "Sebastian or Dosso Dossi". Both panels at Rovigo and Lendinara are injured by restoring. No. 143. in the gallery of Rovigo, a portrait half length of a man, assigned to Sebastian is far below his powers.

threatened seriously to undermine the power of the papacy. — Clement found it necessary to plan some scheme for restoring the balance which he had contributed to destroy. He turned in 1526 against the Emperor, miscalculated the forces with which he had to contend, and in spring of 1527, witnessed the storm of his capital. In the moment of his danger he fled through the secret passages from the Vatican to the Castle of S^t. Angelo, and strove with small success to save some remnant of his power and his wealth. When forced to compound at last for his safety, he is said to have regretted the absence of Aretino; and two notes exist in the published correspondence of that worthy purporting to have been written by Sebastian to that effect. The pope, says the painter, had been heard to exclaim that he wished he had secured the services of Aretino, as none of his secretaries had been able to write the despatch he wished to send to the Emperor. It may be true that Sebastian remained in correspondence with Aretino after his ignominious flight from the dagger of a rival in Rome, but it is curious that these letters should lack the character which marks Sebastian's effusions, and present that which appertains to Aretino's style.¹

Shortly after this, Sebastian gave up his residence at Rome, wandered to the north and after an absence of nearly twenty years found himself anew in his old haunts at Venice. Here he renewed his intimacy with Aretino.² Through Aretino, he entered into new engagements with the Gonzagas, and in return he painted the celebrated portrait of "the scourge of princes" which was sent with much ostentation to the townsfolk of Arezzo. In Vasari's

¹ Sebastian to Aretino, from Rome. May 15, 1527. in Biagi u. s. 30. and Bottari Raccolta u. s. III. p. 188.

² This journey has been passed over by all biographers of Sebastian; yet Aretino writing from Venice to the Marquis of Mantua on the 6th of August 1527 says: "*Ho detto a Sebastiano pittor miracoloso che il desiderio vostro è che vi faccia un quadro della invenzione che li piace; egli ha giurato....*" See Aretino, *Lettere* I. p. 13. and Bottari, *Raccolta* I. 534.

time, the likeness of Aretino was exhibited in the public palace, a true emblem of the degenerate spirit which tolerated the worship of a man whose literary fame was obscured by the most hideous vices. He was represented standing at an opening, in a black cap, black cape and cloak, black vest and white sleeves, his raven beard falling bushy to his breast; in his hand a branch of arbutus and a scroll with the name of Clement the VIIth. On a projection of the opening hung two grotesque masks of Virtue and Vice with the motto: "In utrumque paratus". In a band running round the picture were the proud words: "PETRVS ARETINVS ACERRIMVS VIRTVTVM DEMONSTRATOR". But with the lapse of years vanished the fame and the fear of Aretino. No one cared for him, and fewer cared for his features which were left to fade in a passage. What we now observe is a wreck of bleach and repaint with nothing to remind us of the man and little to recall the talents of his limner. Originally thrown with broad and masterly touch upon one of the rough twilled canvases peculiar to Venice the piece was celebrated for the diversity of blacks in the velvet, satin, damask, and plain cloth of the dress which contrasted with the blackness of the beard. But of all this splendour not a trace remains.¹

Sebastian, at Venice, cultivated the acquaintance of Titian and Sansovino with whom he afterwards corresponded. He found a congenial spirit in Pordenone, who in 1528 designed his grand cycle of frescos in San Rocco, and he wielded a certain influence upon the further expansion of Pordenone's style as displayed at Piacenza, but as to labours to which he may have devoted time during those years history is altogether silent. We may believe

¹ Arezzo. Town hall, in a passage; canvas, life size. This portrait, says Marcolini (Marcolini to daroba at Florence, and Salviati's which was sent to France. (See also Vas. X. 129.) The name of Aretino fr. Venice Sep. 15. 1551. Clement on the scroll is gone, and in Bottari, Raccolta, I. 522.), was where the surface is not repainted, one of three celebrated ones; the it is all faded and eaten away. others being Titian's in the guar-

that Sebastian was one of those who received from Andrea Doria, the judicious encourager of del Vaga, Beccafumi, Pennacchi and Pordenone some distinct and honourable employment; we may, at all events attribute to this period the figure of that crafty politician which is now so nobly enshrined in the palace of his family at Rome. We may pass in review all the portraits which issued from Sebastian's atelier without finding one more grandiose, more striking, or more admirable as workmanship than this one. It unites all Michaelangelo's maxims with dignity of movement, propriety of gesture and severe gravity of mien, accurate drawing, instant action, and sweeping touch, smooth blending and marvellous gradations of light and shade. There is something darkling and sour in the gloom of the look which sets us athinking of the man and his deeds. He was deep and subtle after the fashion of those days; he trimmed to catch the current; and we see commingled with his earnestness something that tells of planning and scheming; but it is the planning and scheming of a man accustomed to command, with a lurking sense of superior power. In keeping with the sombre look is the duskiness of Sebastian's grey-olive tone, that of broad shadows thrown from a cap of wonderful picturesqueness over the forehead, or projected from the frame upon the wall. The hand, with its downward pointing and rubbed reflections just issues from the darkness cast over the retreating portions of a dress a shade more warm than the brown of the background. The beard is grey and not too copious; there is little trace of hair which, it may be, was sparse and thin. On the stone sill of the opening at which Doria stands is a couple of galleys, symbol of the admiral's rank and profession.¹

To these days of Spanish preponderance in Italy, we may assign the large picture of Christ at the Limbus and Christ on the road to Golgotha in the Museum of Madrid two canvases injured by accidents and repaints, but most

¹ Rome, Palazzo Doria, Wood, a little above life size. (Vas. X. 129.)

important as specimens of Sebastian's handling at the period immediately preceding his appointment to the Piombo. Christ at the Limbus holds a banner and is attended by two men one of whom bears a cross. He stands at the edge of a low terrace at the foot of which Adam and Eve are kneeling. Where the drawing maintains its original purity, great truth and power may be found; scientific rules receive their application in the setting of the composition. Light and shade are well poised; and Christ's form is as fine and select as we can expect from a man of Sebastian's realism. The introduction of a broken pillar as emblem of the fall of the gates of Hell is more curious than appropriate.¹

Equally grand and more powerfully wrought is the Christ carrying his cross with a soldier and Simon of Cyrene. It is only in pictures of the 16th century that we can expect so much freedom of movement and at the same time, so much accuracy of drawing in momentary action as there is in the figure of Simon; nor do we find that Sebastian, though he might be tempted by his habits to exceed in representing strength with muscularity and strain, goes in any degree beyond the limits of nature. A melancholy expression of grief marks the features of the helmeted soldier in rear; and a striking effect is produced by the shadow thrown from the vizor on the forehead. The Saviour stooping forward under the weight of the cross, would be in better keeping were there more idealism in the mask; but the draperies are cast with very happy art and the tones appear to reveal an accession of strength to Sebastian's form as a colourist during his short stay at Venice. The landscape too is Venetian whilst the outlines preserve the purity and force of the Roman time.²

¹ Madrid Mus. No. 759, from the Escorial. Canvas, 8 f. 1 h. by 4 f. 3. This fine picture has suffered in two ways, by abrasion, from which several parts have suffered: ex gr. the golden light of the head and r. arm of Christ, and the dress of the man holding the cross; by repaints — i. e. in the right leg of Christ and the hand of the man with the cross. The two figures of Adam and Eve are also much damaged.

² Madrid Museum. No. 779; can-

Sebastian's connection with Bembo and Grimani, his relations with the Mantuan court in the years of his stay in the north are divulged in contemporary diaries; a letter from Isabel d' Este dated in the first days of March 1529 acquaints us with the painter's intention to return to Rome; another from the marquis to Isabel in May announces his arrival in the capital.¹

Rome had partially recovered from the sack; artists were flocking thither and the Pope was trying to make them forget the perils they had undergone and the sufferings they had endured. It was not long before Clement set Sebastian to work at his favourite task of portrait painting and ordered several repetitions of his own likeness. In easy and paying labours of this kind, Sebastian spent his time both pleasantly and lazily, varying the monotony of his occupations by collecting medals for the Gonzaga, or making experiments of a new process of oil medium on marble. An 'image of Christ', completed in this new fashion was noticed in one of Soranzo's letters to Pietro Bembo in 1530, where the mention of the artist's name as 'Sebastianello nostro' proves the existence of something more than the ties of a superficial acquaintance.² Sebastian indeed now appears to have forced his way into the higher circles of the literary caste of his day. He was often to be found in the rooms of the Pope's chamberlain Gaddi at Montecavallo, where Giovanni Greco, Lodovico da Fano, Antonio Allegretti, Annibal Caro, and other accomplished penmen congregated, and where Benvenuto Cellini also was a guest.³ He was still on friendly terms with Baccio Valori, who had been his sitter, and with Schio the bishop of Vaison through whom

vas; 4 f. 4 h. by 3 f. 7. from the Escorial. The figures are all half lengths injured by abrasion and flaying, and thrown, from this cause, out of harmony. The head of Simon especially is in a bad condition. There are touches of restoring here and there.

¹ Lettere a Pietro Bembo. Venez. Sansovino, 1560 p. 110 cit. in Biagi p. 42. Gaye, Carteggio II. 178. Anon., ed. Morelli p. 18.

² Lett. a P. Bembo p. 110.

³ Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, ed. B. Bianchi. 8°. Flor. 1852. p. p. 104-5 and 176.

he kept up communication with the pope. He was earning — more perhaps from lay patrons than from the Pontiff — but still earning; and sufficiently at ease, not only to live free from cares with his wife and child, but occasionally to indulge in revelry and boon companionship. He was however less productive than he had been, and probably now began to deserve the reproach of sloth. The portraits of Clement which are supposed to date from these and subsequent years are less numerous than has been alleged; and many of them are without warranty of genuineness. Of those that justly claim to be originals, the best and most lifelike is that of the Naples Museum a mere profile of the pope's head, partially finished, but freely thrown upon the dull grey ground of slate and executed with surprising cleverness. The long gaunt face with its pointed beard showing but a portion of the left eye is full of character and expression.¹ Baccio Valori had been asked in 1531 to beg from Sebastian a likeness of the Pope which Bugiardini required for a copy in which he was to introduce Schomberg archbishop of Capua in attendance. It is very likely that the Naples profile was sent to Florence at Valori's request.² Another version on slate in which Clement is seen to the waist giving the benediction in company of a chamberlain is in the Museum of Parma, unfinished as far as the chamberlain is concerned but perfect as regards the pontiff.³ A full length of later date in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton near Glasgow represents Clement turned to the right, in his chair giving the blessing. It is a work of

¹ Naples Museum. Venetian School. No. 8. "Head of a monk", on slate. This life size head is not known here as Clement's portrait. The beard is barely indicated.

² Gio. Batt. Mini to B^o. Valori, Flor., October 8. 1531, in Gaye, Carteggio II. 31. See also Vas. X. 133 and 350. Battista Franco co-

piet Sebastian's portrait of Clement. (Vas. XI. 320.)

³ Parma Mus. Half lengths of life size on slate, the ground unpainted; the head of the chamberlain — a young man — barely sketched in. The pope stands at a parapet on which he rests the left hand holding a handkerchief. The movements are natural and full of ease.

patient execution without the power or freedom of an original.¹

In November 1531 intelligence was received at Rome that Fra Mariano Fetti buffoon to Leo the Xth but a fine connoisseur of art was dead and had left the office of the *Piombo* vacant.² The duties of the office were merely formal, and the number of persons who stood for it was large. Three serious candidates had a chance of appointment. These were Benvenuto Cellini, Giovanni da Udine, and Sebastian Luciani. Cellini was the first in the field. He was well known to Clement the VIIth as a singer in his choir, a clever carver and chiseller and a smart duellist. He claimed to be chief of the Florentine faction at Rome, boasted that he had shot the constable of Bourbon at the assault of Campo Santo and wounded the Prince of Orange from the tower of Sant' Angelo. He had recently been employed by the pope in most important works, was sergeant at arms in the Vatican, and maker of medals and dyes to the papal mint. In the palmy days of Raphael's disciples, he had been a leading spirit at their dinners and parties. His interest now was much the same as Sebastian's. He went boldly to the Vatican and asked for the vacant berth. On being introduced to the presence he was at once met by the objection that the income of the place, being worth eight hundred scudi per annum, would be far beyond his wants and lead infallibly to habits of idleness. "You will sit all day scratching yourself", said Clement, "instead of attending to your duties." „Sleek cats, replied Benvenuto readily, are cleverer at birds than starved ones. Men of skill do better when they have plenty than when penurious, but since your Holiness refuses to give me the office, I hope your Holiness will find some person to give it to who shall not be a fool, and not addicted to the habit

¹ Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. Wood. Behind the chair is a greenish yellow curtain. The figure is not as large as life, handled with patient care in the manner of a

Florentine; ? by Bugiardini.

² See Sebastian del *Piombo* to Michaelangelo. Nov. 1531. Ms. in the British Museum.

of scratching himself." With this he left the room in a frenzy of rage. At this opportune moment Schio, bishop of Vaison interposed with a plea for Sebastian, urging that Benvenuto was young and fitted for arms rather than the cowl. The pope turned to Baccio Valori who stood by him and said: „When you meet Benvenuto, tell him he is the cause of Bastiano's getting the Piombo.”¹

Sebastian did not receive the full emoluments of the place, three hundred scudi being reserved as a pension for Giovanni da Udine; but he was not the less overjoyed at his good fortune and wrote off at once to Aretino to tell him of his luck remarking with a joke that it was more profitable to angle for „piombi“ at Rome than for eels at Venice.² In a letter to his old friend and medical adviser Ersigli, whose portrait he had painted at Rome, but who now lived in the fever-nest of Sinigaglia, he warned him against believing that the cowl of a friar would change his habits or opinions and — strange from the mouth of a clerk — sent the compliments of his wife Maria. He looked upon his new dignity as one really unconnected with religion and one in which he might indulge as of old his deep-rooted hatred of priests and monks.³ With his first earnings he bought some land on which he built a house near Santa Maria del Popolo, where he frequently entertained poets and men of letters.⁴ He had never, in his best days, been one of those who produced largely, because in the first place he was slow and in the second he disdained to pay assistants; but he now affected to despise those who could do in two months what he had been accustomed to take two years to accomplish, and he was heard to remark that he was sure there would soon be not a spot

¹ Vas. X. 129—30. XI. 309. Cellini's autobiography u. s. p. p. 48—9. Gualandi, Memorie, S. I. p. 64. Vas. X. 135. XII. 279.

² Ib. ib. and Sebastian to Aretino from Rome Dec. 4. 1531 in Bottari, Raccolta u. s. I. 521, 2.

³ Gualandi Nuova Raccolta di Lettere. 8°. Bologna 1844. I. p. 36.

⁴ Vas. X. 133—4, and Campori, Atti e Memorie della Deputazione per gli studi di Storia patria delle provincie di Modena e Parma. Folio. Modena II. 6. and Biagi u. s. p. p. 36. 42—7.

in the whole city that had not been painted on.¹ Determined, evidently, to consult nothing but his leisure in future he seemed on the point of doing what Clement the VIIth thought Benvenuto would be but too likely to do — “sit scratching himself all day”; but though he certainly took things easier than of old and assumed the rubicund colour and fullness of a good eater and drinker he was not a man to neglect work altogether and be brought slowly to completion such portraits and pictures as he was able to labour at in the comfort of his own rooms.²

One inducement, it would seem, and one alone, might have induced him to contemplate the execution of large mural decorations. Could he but join Michaelangelo in some great pictorial undertaking, he would have thought this the proudest moment of his life. Nor was it altogether visionary to suppose that such a moment would come. In the days of Buonarroti's absence from Rome, Sebastian had never ceased to correspond with him, and Buonarroti never forgot Sebastian. The friendship of the two men was so firmly knit and so well known that when the Duke of Urbino renewed negotiations for the completion of the tomb of Julius the II^d his agent Staccoli first applied to Luciani to intercede. The very letter in which Sebastian told the sculptor of his appointment to the Piombo (Nov. 1531) was that in which he reported Staccoli's proposals; it concluded with a promise to go down to Michaelangelo at Florence in the following summer. Michaelangelo's reply was kind, and, as regards Staccoli's proposals, satisfactory. He saved Sebastian the trouble of a journey by coming up to Rome.³

Twice or three times between 1532 and 1534 Buonarrotti repeated his visit. Each time the pope — we may believe at Sebastian's instigation — suggested the painting of the last judgment in the Sixtine chapel. It is even said that Michaelangelo completed the sketch for that gi-

¹ Vas. X. 134.

² See his portrait in Vasari, X. Nov. 1531. MS. in the British Museum. Buonarroti to Sebastian,

³ Sebastian to Michaelangelo, undated, in Gaye. Carteggio III. 573.

gantic subject in 1533; and Sebastian, who was to have a share in the undertaking, was entrusted with the melancholy duty of taking down Perugino's masterpieces, the assumption, the nativity, and the finding of Moses.¹ When the wall was laid bare and re-set after del Piombo's method, Michaelangelo interfered and, exclaiming that oil medium was only fitted for women, ordered the surface to be prepared afresh for fresco. With this order he severed all the hopes that Sebastian might have entertained of cooperating with his friend, and a marked coolness succeeded to the old cordiality of the two painters.²

We cannot desire a stronger proof of the charge of idleness brought against Sebastian in his later years than the paucity of his labours.³ We saw that in a letter to Bembo, Vettor Soranzo, in 1530, alluded to an "image of Christ" executed in oil on marble. What became of this "image" is unknown. Vasari describes a half length of Christ carrying his cross ordered after Sebastian's appointment to the Piombo, for the patriarch of Aquileia; he also tells how Sebastian half finished a likeness of Catherine de' Medici when she came for a few days to visit her uncle Clement the VIIth, and how Giulia Gonzaga, of whom Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici became enamoured, was divinely portrayed by the same hand.⁴ Small as the number of these masterpieces appears to be, we can scarcely point to a single one of them as existing at the present day; and it is but a guess when we assume that the Christ carrying his cross which was ordered for the patriarch of Aquileia is that which hangs in the museum of Madrid. It is characteristic of this small but important piece, that it marks a very strong reaction in

¹ Consult Grimm's *Michaelangelo*, and the chronology of the annotators to Vas. XII. 384. In September 1533, Buonarroti borrowed a horse from Sebastian to ride to San Miniato al Tedesco where he went to visit Clement the VIIth.

² Vasari X. 135.

³ In a letter of August 23. 1543.

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Claudio Tolomei writes to Sebastian thanking him for the wish he had expressed to paint his portrait, but hinting that the deed would be better than the promise (see *Lettere di Claudio Tolomei Ven.* 1553, p. 98.).

⁴ *Ib.* ib. 131.

favour of exaggerated Michaelangesque form. The head and shoulders and one arm of the Redeemer is all that we see, but the convulsed movement of the frame, the powerful strain in the muscles of the arm, and the sculptural make of the hands, all reveal the tendency to imitate Buonarroti's concentrated force and scientific anatomy. There is more bone and sinew in the face than we are accustomed to find in Sebastian; and the breadth of the planes into which the mask is broken betrays a plastic model. But all this is in keeping with the powerful expression of woe which lies in the features. The shadows are suffused with Sebastian's peculiar leaden tint, and are worked into warm lights with transitions of great delicacy and finish.¹ That this interesting example was produced about the time of Sebastian's getting the *Piombo* is confirmed by comparison with a quasi-replica of the same subject in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg of which we know that it was designed in 1536 for Don Fernando Silva, Count of Cifuentes, then ambassador for Charles the Vth in Italy, the only difference apparent in this version being a coarser realism and an excess of the anatomical searching which is already so marked at Madrid.² We saw Sebastian competing with Raphael in 1519, and pitting his Lazarus against the Transfiguration. We now compare his Christ at Madrid with that of Raphael in the *Spasimo di Sicilia*; and we note how persistently he descends into the slough of conventionalism.

The real portrait of Giulia Gonzaga is supposed to exist in two different collections. In the National Gallery, we have the likeness of a lady in the character of St. Agatha, as symbolized by a nimbus and pincers. Natural

¹ Madrid. Mus. No. 689, on stone. 1 f. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 1 f. 1 $\frac{5}{8}$. The beard and hair are painted with great mastery. The forehead is soiled by repaints, the colour of the cross altered by flaying. The hand has lost its glazes (Consult Vas. X. 131).

² St. Petersburg. Hermitage,

No. 17, on slate, 3 f. 6 h. by 2 f. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. Rhenish, inser. on the cross: "D. FERN. S. COMITE CIF. ORAT . . . F SEB. F". The ground is a dark brownish green. (Consult Vas. X. 132, and Campori *Atti e Memorie* u. s. II. p. 7 8.) The picture was bought at the sale of the Soult collection.

pose and gesture and dignified mien indicate rank, the treatment is free and bold, but the colours are not blended with the care which Sebastian would surely have bestowed in such a case.¹ In the Stædel Museum at Frankfort, the person represented is of a noble and elegant carriage, seated, in rich attire, and holding a fan made of feathers. A pretty landscape is seen through an opening; and a rich green hanging falls behind the figure. The handling curiously reminds us of Bronzino.² It is well known that the likeness of Giulia was sent to Francis the 1st in Paris and was registered in Lepicié's catalogue. The canvas of the National Gallery was purchased from the Borghese palace, the panel at Frankfort from the heirlooms of the late king of Holland. A third female portrait by del Piombo deserves to be recorded in connection with this inquiry; — that of Lord Radnor at Longford Castle in which a lady with a crimson mantle and pearl head-dress stands in profile resting her hands on the back of a chair. On a shawl which falls from the chair, we read "*Sunt laquei veneris cavē.*" The shape is slender as that of Vittoria Colonna in the Santangelo palace at Naples, but the colour is too brown in light and too red in shadow to yield a pleasing effect, and were it proved that this is really Giulia Gonzaga, the picture would not deserve Vasari's eulogy.³

The very best illustration of Sebastian's careless independence in later life is that which characterized his relations with Don Ferrante Gonzaga, viceroy of Sicily and prince of Gnastalla. Don Ferrante was the son of Francis the IVth, Marquis of Mantua, born in 1507 and employed early by Charles the Vth to found Spanish rule in Italy. He had been

¹ London. National Gallery. No. 24. Canvas, 3 f. h. by 2 f. 6., inscr.: "F. SEBASTIANVS. VEN. FACIEBAT. ROMÆ." (See Vas. X. 131.)

² Frankfort Stædel. No. 22. Wood, 3 f. 5 h. by 2 f. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. The surface is damaged by restoring

The panel was bought at the Hague for 3800 Dutch florins.

³ Longford Castle. Wood, knee piece, on a dark ground partly intercepted by a green hanging. The figure is large as life, clad in a pinky cloak with a fur collar. The sleeve is yellow.

one of Sebastian's sitters at Rome, either at the close of the pontificate of Clement the VIIth or at the beginning of that of Paul the III^d. About 1533, being anxious to win the favour of Covos, commander of Castile and favourite secretary to Charles the Vth, he formed the resolution of giving him a picture by a first rate master and ordered his agent Sernini to sound Sebastian as to his willingness to paint for him. Sebastian received Sernini's overtures but coldly, yet consented after some hesitation to design a "dead Christ in the arms of the Virgin Mary." It is not stated at what price he promised to deliver the piece, but when it was exhibited four years later without its framing of coloured marbles in the rooms of Cardinal Cesi he asked for it no less than a thousand scudi. Sernini was instructed to pay 400 scudi and offer in addition a pension or a benefice for Sebastian's son. The way in which del Piombo haggled is not altogether to his credit, but we smile when we read the argument used to persuade Sernini, and especially when we find the painter saying that the higher price was the most advantageous to Don Ferrante because Covos would value the present more in proportion to its cost. It was almost in vain that Cardinal Farnese and Molza, who with Berni, Porcini and other poetasters, formed part of Sebastian's usual circle interfered to bring about an arrangement. It was settled at last, but not before October 1538 that Don Ferrante should pay 500 scudi; and the long expected work was shipped to Ostia by way of the Tiber, being too heavy and liable to fracture to be carried by land.¹

Almost a solitary memento of Sebastian's skill in the pontificate of Paul the III^d (1535-49) is the portrait of Cardinal Pole in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, a magnificent canvas, long assigned to Raphael, in which the great English churchman is seen sitting with his hands on the arms of a chair in a red toque and cape and white stole.

¹ See Campori's "Sebastiano del | atti e memorie u. s. The picture Piombo e Ferrante Gonzaga", in | is missing.

The deep sunken eyes, the bony face and large brown beard spread over the breast, give a strong character to this admirable likeness. It is rapidly executed, somewhat raw in tone, but grandiose and admirably drawn.¹ Another creation of del Piombo's later period — surprising alike for its colossal proportions and the massive stroke of brush by which it is distinguished is that of the Berlin Museum, in which the dead Christ is raised by Joseph of Arimathea and bewailed by the Magdalen, a fragment on stone, in which the consummate skill of a practised hand is counterbalanced by absence of feeling and selection.² Better and perhaps of this time is the fine but greatly injured full length of St. Bernard in the Quirinal at Rome.³

Though Sebastian took the likeness of Paul the III⁴ and began that of his son the Duke of Castro, though he presented his own portrait to Ranuccio Farnese, he had not the same interest with this potent family as he had enjoyed under the papacies of the Rovere and Medici; and this want of influence nearly cost him the Piombo.¹ The gift to Bembo of a cardinal's hat in 1539 had been the signal for pushing Titian's fortunes at the papal court. Aretino who saw some prospect of promotion to high ecclesiastical dignities, if he could get to Rome in Titian's company tried hard to obtain for his friend an invitation from the Pope. When Ranuccio Farnese, then 11 years of age, was sent to Venice in 1541 to be installed as prior of the knights of St. John, Bembo caused him to give sittings to Titian. Leoni the sculptor, the patriarch of Aquileia, and the bishop of Brescia were bid to report

¹ St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 19. Canvas. M. 1. 1. h. by 0. 94., knee piece above life size on a dark red ground. The flesh was all laid in with a warm local tone above which the lights and brown shadows were superposed. The treatment is a mixture of the Michaelangesque and Raphaellesque of the third period.

² Berlin. Museum. No. 237, on slate, 5 f. 0¹/₄ h. by 3 f. 7¹/₂, half length of proportions far above those of life.

³ Rome. Quirinal. Panel with the life size St. Bernard with a crook and the imp at his feet. The sky is seen through a colonnade.

⁴ Vas. X. 133. Campori, Raccolta de' Cataloghi u. s. 53

on the result, and a consequence of their mission was a request to Titian from Cardinal Farnese to visit Rome and a promise of a benefice for Titian's son Pomponio. In autumn 1542 Titian half assented to the proposal, dallying with it cunningly till he could discern a real chance of the benefice; but in the midst of this dalliance Paul was induced to leave Rome and come to Busseto where, in 1543, he had long interviews with Charles the Vth. Titian was in the Emperor's suite at the time, Paul sat to him and offered him the Piombo. To the painter's honour, it must be told, he refused an office which he could only accept by throwing two brother painters into most painful straits, and this not only damaged his own prospects but those of his son. Bembo was foiled but not discouraged. He thought that if once Titian could be brought to Rome, all minor obstacles would soon be overcome. He caused a new invitation to be made in 1545, and had the satisfaction of receiving a note of acceptance. Titian came to Rome, and renewed his endeavours to obtain a benefice. He strove to attain his end by interest, by flattery, and a judicious use of his art; but the papal treasury was empty; the canvases which he produced for various members of the Farnese family were received with pleasure and admired with rapture but they were paid for in "caresses". It was clear that the patronage of the papal Court was of less value than the favour of Charles the Vth, and Titian went home rich in experience if not in money and resumed his old avocations at Venice.¹ During his stay at Rome he had constant intercourse with Sebastian del Piombo and Vasari in whose company he saw the most celebrated edifices and galleries. Wandering through the Camere and admiring the works of Raphael, he ventured to inquire of Sebastian who it was that had had the presumption to daub the frescos of so great a master. To his great surprise no doubt it appeared that the culprit was del Piombo, whose

¹ Consult Vasari, *Life of Titian*. Other sources will be quoted hereafter.

style Aretino, but a few weeks before had invited Titian carefully to study.¹

For two years after this, Sebastian lived his old life of idleness at Rome. In June 1547 he was seized with fever which quickly carried him off. He was buried with due honour in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo.²

Amongst the genuine works of Sebastian which have not found a place in the narrative we should notice the following:

St. Petersburg. Collection of Mr. Bikoff. Bust of a young lady in a dark yellow cap and yellow mantle, the face turned three quarters to the right, of life size on stone. This piece has been injured by retouching in the eyes, nose, forehead and dress. It is of a glowing ruddy tone.

Berlin Mus. No. 234. Wood, 2 f. $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 f. $8\frac{1}{2}$ purchase of Baron von Rumohr. This portrait supposed — erroneously, we think — to represent Aretino in a black toque and black dress, is a noble likeness, very finely handled and with more feeling than we commonly find in similar works of Sebastian. — There is an unfortunate vertical split right down the face.

St. Petersburg, Leuchtemberg Collection. Portrait of a bearded man in a rich dress. Through an opening to the l. is a view of a house with a female at the window, — on a slip of paper on a table we read: MDXXVII. AN. ETATIS XXXI. This portrait is assigned to Moretto, recalls Sebastian del Piombo but still leaves us in doubt whether it may not be by Savoldo. (Wood, life size.)

A certain number of works unworthy of the name of Sebastian yet classed as such may be noted at random as follows:

England. Blaise Castle. Round panel with Christ, whose arms are supported by two angels, bewailed by the Virgin, from the Barberini collection at Rome. The heads of Christ and of the Virgin — the best here — are said to be by Michaelangelo whilst the rest remains assigned to Sebastian. It is not possible conscientiously to admit the truth of these statements. No doubt two hands are apparent, but they are the hands of Marcello Venusti and others of the following of del Piombo and Buonarroti. Same gallery, from the Braschi palace at Rome. Holy Family with the infant Christ asleep on the Virgin's lap, the young Baptist and St. Joseph, of a lower form than the foregoing but composed after the fashion of Michael Angelo.

¹ Aretino to Titian, Venice, Jan. 1546, in Bottari, *Raccolta*, 3. 146, have occasion to revert to this subject.
147. Dolce, *Dialogo* p. 9. We may ² Vas. X. 135

Florence, Galleria Corsini. Christ carrying his cross, the Virgin and one of the thieves with his arms bound behind his back; wood, life-size half-lengths. This is a careful, finished and blended panel without the spirit or power of Sebastian as a draughtsman and colourist. The feeblest figure is that of Christ which faintly recalls Michaelangelo. The painter may be Marcello Venusti or one of his class.

London, National Gallery. No. 20. "Portraits of Sebastian del Piombo and Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici," from the Palazzo Borghese, half lengths of life size. This panel is altered and dimmed by time, varnishes and restoring; it suggests in some measure the name of Sebastian; yet it might be by some follower of his manner who also preserves some reminiscences of the style of Raphael.

Longford Castle. St. Sebastian. This imitation of one of Michaelangelo's impersonations at the Sixtine chapel is unlike anything that del Piombo ever did and was probably painted by a Fleming or a German.

St. Petersburg. Collection of Count Paul Stroganoff. Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul in three arched panels; full lengths under the natural size. This is the work of a painter more modern than Sebastian.

St. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg collection. No. 47. Wood, 2 f. $5\frac{3}{4}$ h. by 3 f. $3\frac{3}{4}$; half lengths of the Virgin and child attended by St. John, St. James and St. Zacharias. This is a Venetian panel reminiscent of the Palmesque, of a rosy red tone and somewhat empty surface, possibly by Rocco Marccone.

Palermo. Chiesa dell' Ospitale dei Sacerdoti. Canvas with two life size figures. — Christ half supported by the Virgin who looks down at him and stretches out her arms in grief. The distance is sky and landscape. This finely composed subject — much injured by repaints — may be by Marcello Venusti, Rosso Fiorentino or some other follower of Michaelangelo.

London. Lady Malmesbury. Round — so-called portrait of Titian — a poor repetition by an unknown hand of the familiar face of Titian.

Hampton Court. No. 141. "A spanish lady". Spurious.

Bowood. Portrait of a man in grey holding a death's head; in the Bolognese manner.

Edinburgh Gallery. No. 71. Bacchus and Ariadne, a poor production by an artist of the close of the 16th century.

Munich Pinakothek. No. 579. Saal. St. Nicholas between St. John the Baptist and St. Philip, inser.: MDXXX FRA SEBASTIAM F. PER AGOSTINO GHIGI. This large picture by a Venetian of the class of Rocco Marccone, bears a forged inscription.

Berlin Museum. No. 235. Male portrait by Francia Bigio.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 627. Canvas, life size; bust of a bearded man seen against the sky in a toque, skirt, red sleeves and cuirass. His r. hand grasps the handle of a sword. This spirited figure looks at first sight as if it might be by Sebastian but the treatment is careless and free and on close examination unlike that of del Piombo. It may be by Schidone.

Vienna. Belvedere. First Floor. Room 7. No. 30. Bust of a man showing his back and the profile of his head. By a Modenese of the following of Mazzuola.

Perugia. S. Agostino, Nativity; spurious. S. M. Nuova, S. Sebastian, S^t. Roch and three children; by one of the Alfani.

The following pictures are missing or were not seen by the authors, and first as to the latter:

Nantes Museum. Christ carrying his cross. London, Lord Breadalbane. Male portrait. Holford Collection. D^o. Landsdowne House. D^o. Duke of Bedford. D^o. Claverton, M^r. Vivian. Portrait of Michael Angelo. Wimpole. Lord Hardwicke, portrait of a man. Broom Hall. Lord Elgin. Female portrait. Locko Park. M^r. Drury Lowe, profile of Andrea Doria. Corsham. Lord Methuen. Portrait. Gatton Park. D^o. — Missing. Rome. Portrait of Anton. Francesco degli Albizzi (Vas. IX. 128—9.), of Piero Gonzaga (Ib. ib. 113.), "an armed captain" (ib. ib. 128.) of Signor F. Bozzolo (Ib. ib. ib.), of Marcantonio Colonna (Ib. ib. 127. and Lomazzo, Trattato 230.). Florence. Casa Luca Torrigiani, portrait of a female (Vas. X. 128.), P. B. Cavalcanti, an unfinished head (Ib. ib. ib.). Padua. Casa Pietro Bembo. Portrait of Sannazaro (Anon. ed. Morelli p. 18.). Ferrara. Casa Roberto Canonici, a bust of a female, with a white veil and a string of pearls round her neck (Campori Raccolta de' Cataloghi p. 108.). Verona. Muselli coll. A shepherd playing the flute (Ib. 188.). Verona. Curtoni coll. Virgin and ch. and S^t. Joseph (Ib. 198.). Parma. Palazzo del Giardino. Portrait of Alexander the VI? (Ib. 213. and see Naples Museum antea.) Same coll. Half length of the Virgin with the child standing before her and S^t. Joseph in rear (Ib. 218.). Gallery of the Duke of Parma. '(1708.)' A Christ in white carrying his cross (Ib. 478.). Modena. Collection of Prince Cesare Ignazio d'Este. Portrait of a bald man (Ib. 313.). Portraits of a man and his wife (Ib. 321.).

CHAPTER VII.

THE BRESCIANS.

We saw how Paduan art was introduced into Lombardy spreading to the North and East as far as Venice and Treviso, to the South beyond Ferrara, and Westward to Verona and Milan. Towards the close of the century a revulsion occurred throughout the whole of North Italy; and the school of Venice with its branches in Friuli and the Bergamasque province extended its sway to all parts of the country north of the Po.

Brescia which first gave employment to disciples of Mantegna, in the person of the elder Foppa and his subordinates¹ afterwards fostered the more attractive

¹ A very low form of art moulded on that of Foppa is to be found in frescos in the choir of San Rocco of Bagolino in the district of Brescia. They cover the triangular sections of a vaulting, with the Evangelists about the centre, the Latin Doctors at the basement angles and rounds with subjects in monochrome. In the soffit of the entrance arch are half lengths of sybils, under one of which:

“QV HOC OPVS PINXIT GEM-
GENA FVIT.” and in the centre,

of the arching is the date 1486. This is rude work injured by abrasion and repainting. The style best represented in the sybils, may be characterized thus: no light and shade — wiry outline, raw colour, drawing incorrect, form coarse and paltry. Something on the whole reminds us of the frescos of the ex-church of San Barnaba at Brescia. (See antea.) In the same place and similar in style — panels (tempera) representing severally, St. Francis, the Baptist, a bishop and other half lengths.

Venetian style of Romanino, Moretto, and Savoldo, and during a short period of transition nurtured Floriano Ferramola.

Ferramola was an artist of a calm and resolute temper of whom it is related that when Brescia was sacked in 1512 by Gaston de Foix, he remained heedless of the assault and was surprised at his easel by a gang of plunderers claiming ransom. At this moment of danger, he preserved the calm of his usual demeanour and signed to the intruders to help themselves. They did so with accustomed skill and speed and left his shop a wreck. It was the intention of Gaston de Foix in the first passion of anger to raze the walls of Brescia and reduce the town to ruins. He was dissuaded from this extreme measure by the patrician Pietro Porcellaga who, for this and other services done to his native city, was afterwards represented in state dress on one of the walls of the church of San Pietro del Duomo. The painter employed on the occasion was Ferramola; and it was perhaps on Porcellaga's intercession that Gaston de Foix gave compensation for the injuries Ferramola had sustained and an order for a portrait of himself.¹ Ferramola was educated under the

Less disagreeable but with the same general aspect are frescos in the vaulting of the choir of Sant' Antonio at Breno a village at the head of the lake of Isco. The subjects are the doctors, Evangelists and prophets, painted in a way reminiscent of Foppa and Civerchio. The same subjects in the choir of the church of the Madonna at Bieno (village near Breno) are only part of a larger scheme of decoration comprising scenes from the life of Christ and single figures. These are all common productions and apparently of the close of the 15th century as the date 1493 appears in one of them. In a similar way we have Christ in glory amidst saints in the vaulting, and scenes from the old testament or hagio-

logy in the walls, of the church of the Madonna at Esine (between Pisogne and Breno), a series of common frescos executed (the date is inscribed amongst some prophets on the wall of the organ loft) in 1493, faded fragments of a dance of death on the front of the church of the Madonna annex to the suppressed convent "degli Agostiniani" outside Pisogne, and Christ dead on the Virgin's lap, a fresco of life size in the manner of old Foppa's school in the cathedral of Lovere.

¹ Ottavio Rossi. *Elogi historici di Bresciani illustri*. Teatro di o. R. 4^o. Brescia MDCXX. p. p. 236-8. and 506. The portrait of Gaston de Foix which Rossi de-

influence of the schools of Foppa, Costa, and Francia; and in practise was a decorator rather than an easel painter. Shortly after the sack of Brescia he was commissioned to design the Virgin and child between St. Faustinus and St. Giovita on a house in the Via de' Pregnacchi; and the spirited author of the Brescian Eulogies who was a conspicuous member of the Rossi family to whom the house belonged, declares that there was no finer or better kept fresco of the master, though it had stood for more than a century on a front facing the north.¹ Copious as Ferramola's productions of this kind appear to have been in Brescia, very few of them are extant; and the large cycle of subjects which once adorned the walls of the Casa Borgondio-Vergini is only represented by fragments. Very characteristic specimens of his skill are preserved in frescos bearing the date of 1514 at Santa Maria of Lovere where the twelve apostles are drawn in half length on the spandrels of the arches of the nave beneath a border interspersed with medallions containing saints. Equally interesting are parts of an organ screen executed in 1518 for San Faustino of Brescia but now in Santa Maria of Lovere.

In 1516 Ferramola contracted to paint the organ shutters, in 1527 to decorate the chapel of the cross, in the old Duomo of Brescia, but he died, before completing the last of these commissions, on the 3^d of July 1528.²

Of the numerous subjects which formed the total of

scribes as having been painted by Ferramola is not known to exist; but Mündler (*Analyse* u. s. p. 199.) suggests that a copy of it has been preserved ex. gr. a canvas in the Salle des Maréchaux at Versailles assigned to Philippe de Champagne representing a captain in armour and mail full length with a lance in his left hand. The name Gaston de Foix is written in gold letters with the following distych above it: "Morte tua egregium corrumpis, Gasto, triumphum: Gallia si vic-

trix se superasse dolet." San Pietro del Duomo — a church in the present Piazza del Duomo — was razed in the 17th century (*Odorici Guida di Brescia* p. 11.).

¹ Rossi, u. s. p. 506., says the fresco: "Sij dipinta già sono più di cêto e sette anni."

² The authorities are in Zamboni *Memorie intorno alle pubbliche fabbriche &c.* di Brescia, Brescia 1778. p. 108.; both frescos and screen are lost.

the master's works in the Casa Borgondio Vergini but few, we have said, were saved. Figures of men and women, single or in couples, and incidents of the hunting field filled the smaller spaces in the principal room. On larger planes were designed: the birth of Adonis, the death of Iphigenia and a passage of arms on the old piazza of Brescia. The latter, sold some years ago to an Englishman, probably adorns some British collection under the name of Pinturicchio or Costa. The birth of Adonis, a large fragment, — remains at Brescia, a poor example of straggling and ill conceived composition. At one side of the picture a female kneels near a tree and takes the babe from a hollow in the trunk, to the left a female in a white boddice sits singly and alone; a nurse in the centre, gives the breast to the child. The chief peculiarities here are leanness of shape, affectation of posture, angular drapery, and hard drawing. Warm flesh with silver grey shadow contrasts with deep harsh vestment tints.¹ The Bolognese characteristics which cling to these and many other of Ferramola's works, are found commingled with Mantegnesque features in a Christ carrying his cross in the Tosi collection at Brescia. — The Saviour whose oblong face is spasmodically contracted into angles is seen in half length with the cross on his shoulder and his neck surrounded by the rope. There is no want of power in expression nor is there lack of poportion in the parts, but the broken outlines, the absence of transitions from brown flesh light to olive shadow, and the positive tints of the vestments betray the dependence of a sixteenth century craftsman on fifteenth century practise.²

¹ Brescia, Casa Borgondio. Besides the frescos described in the text there are four fragments 1. a young captain, called Gaston de Foix, 2. a young man on horseback with a falcon on his wrist, 3. two half lengths, meeting of a young man and woman and suite of three females. Ferramola here is on a

lower level than Francia and Costa, but somewhat related to them in style, his flesh is warm — his figures under life size.

² Brescia, Tosi coll. arched panel on a dark ground, life size, — the flesh injured by retouching, the blue mantle damaged, the hair re-

The Lovere frescos are seriously injured by scaling and repainting but display a discreet use of scientific perspective in their setting. They tell of the master's progress and are free from some of the dryness and abruptness of previous creations; they are not without gradations of light and shade or transparency of tone.¹

The annuntiate angel and Virgin on the organ screen at Lovere are the latest work assignable to the painter and yet they hardly suggest a contemporary of the great moderns, Palma, Titian, and Pordenone. The scene is laid in a rotunda where the Virgin kneels at a desk, and Gabriel strides in with the lily. The messenger is stilted and strangely muffled in broken folds of changing drapery. The Virgin is more attractive but there is some thing singularly repellent still in the dusky red flesh, in the flare of shot dresses and the leaden tinge of an airless distance. — We turn the screen and find on the back of it a frieze of boy angels in a simulated cornice beneath which, in the mouth of two triumphal arches ride St. Faustinus and St. Giovita. Both saints are in the undress of modern knights and ride barded steeds; man and horse designed with ease in the full and graceful forms of the 16th century. Plump shapes of soft and fleshy curve distinguish the boy angels in the frieze. In this delicate display of a young art we hail the rising talent of Moretto who, as Ferramola's companion, in 1518, and at the very time when the screen before us was executed, painted the organ shutters of the Brescia Duomo.²

newed — Palmezzano here is Ferramola's prototype.

¹ Lovere, Santa Maria. An apostle half length at a circular opening seen in perspective, is the ornament of each spandrel, the surrounding ornament is on red ground. Smaller rounds in an upper border of ornament on blue ground contain figures of the Doctors and other saints. Beneath the round

in which St. Mathew is depicted with a book in one hand, we read the following: "S. MATHEVS VITAM ETERNAM AMEN. 1514.

OPVS FLORIAL FERAMLÆ CI. BRIXE." The apostles are life size, the upper saints smaller. All are much injured by fading, abrasion and repaint.

² Lovere, S. Maria, from S. Faustino of Brescia. Canvases with

But one fresco of those which Ferramola finished in Brescia remains in its original place. It is a lunette containing the annunciation; but here at last are signs of change and some sacrifice to the liberty of more modern painting. There are angels in the air who greet the bringing of the message, there are friars and a patroness on the foreground. The gentleness which still recalls the schools of Francia and Costa is accompanied by better drawing and drapery of a looser and more natural cast.¹

Ferramola was soon thrown into the shade at Brescia by Girolamo Romanino, a Bergamasque, who represented a genuine if not an elevated form of north Italian art. He was born about 1485 at Rumano on the Serio and learnt the elements, it is said, from Stefano Rizzi; but

figures of life size in tempera. The shutters when closed represent the annunciation (arched) with two medallions in the upper corners, representing each a bishop (that to the l. renewed). In the rotunda are two monochrome medallions. In one of them a canonized saint, in the other a pope, on cartellos fastened to the pillars right and left we read: "1518." and "DIE 15. AV." on the bench of the Virgin's "prie Dieu" AG. P. D. T." "Avegratia" &c. The saints on the other side are also of life size and effectively brought out by mass of chiaroscuro and varied projection of shadow.

¹ Brescia, Carmine, Lunette fresco. Two friars kneel to the l., a dame to the r.; in the air are two angels.

The Brescian guide notices several works under Ferramola's name, some of which are missing, ex gr. Santa Caterina, Virgin del Rosario with the kneeling St. Dominick, Vincent, Ferrerius, Catherine of Sienna and Agnes — missing. (Chiz-

zola, *Pitture di Brescia*. 8°. Brescia 1760. p. 39.) Santa Croce. A St. John Evangelist, missing (Ib. ib. 82.). San Gio. Evangelista. Baptistry; extant, St. Blaise, St. Barbara and other saints (Ib. ib. 49. and Odorici Guida di Brescia p. 145.). San Giuseppe, Flagellation and an altarpiece at the 15th altar, both missing (Chizzola, pp. 21. 12.). S. M. delle Grazie. Virgin, ch., St. Jerom and other saints, extant assigned by some (Lauzi II. 122. and Chizzola p. 41.) to Ferramola; by others (Odorici p. 148.) to young Foppa, see antea in Foppa the younger. Sant' Urbano above entrance to portico, dead Saviour on the lap of the Virgin adored by St. Urban (Chizzola p. 140.). Venice academy. No. 427. Virgin, ch., St. Daniel, Catherine of Alexandria, Jerom, a bearded saint and a kneeling patron and his wife, half lengths in a landscape. This picture illustrates the style of the school of the Santa Croce or of Pellegrino in his early time.

he probably studied for a time under one of the Friulan masters¹ and thus acquired the trick of Venetian painting. Free of the guild at Brescia before 1510, at which time he was fully imbued with characteristic mannerisms he had Pellegrino's contempt for select nature, his fondness for the plainness of rustic impersonations, and his rough way of imitating the human shape in its varieties. He slurred over the real difficulties of anatomy and design and trusted to outweigh his neglect of the subtleties of drawing by richness and sweetness of colouring. The fleshy mould and contour of his figures, their fluid touch and glowing tone, their deep sparse shadow and shallow drapery were prominently Palmesque and Giorgionesque.

The darkness which covers Romanino's youth coincides with that which obscures a certain period of Friulan art. Between 1507 and 1512 most of the hill masters retired to the Lowlands, Pordenone to Venice and Pellegrino to Ferrara. It is still a question whether Pellegrino tarried at Bergamo or Brescia, but there is nothing improbable in the fact; and a Brescian student might have made his acquaintance at either place before 1510. In 1510 Romanino's practise at Brescia assumed important dimensions and we find him then a skilled, if not a finished, artist in the manner of the Palmesques and Pellegrino.

The first church in which Romanino exhibited was San

¹ Three of Romanino's returns to the income tax are preserved for transcripts of which we acknowledge ourselves indebted to the Signori Gabriele Rosa, Don Stefano Fenaroli and Pietro da Ponte of Brescia. The first, in which the painter calls himself Hieronymo de Rumano aged 33, is dated 1517. The second in which he calls himself Hieronimo Romani aged 47 is dated 1534. The third in which he gives his age as 62, is dated 1548. The years 1484-7 are those within which his birth,

according to these statements must fall. Romano is a village on the Serio between Treviglio and Coccaglio. — Chizzola (*Pitture di Brescia* p. 20.) and Odorici (*Guida* p. 125.) speak of Stefano Rizzi Bresciano, as "the master of Romanino" and assign to him a fresco of Christ carrying his cross to the r. of the portal in San Giuseppe of Brescia. But this fresco is by a follower of Romanino and Moretto. Lanzi (*II. 183.*) copies the Brescian guides as to Rizzi without inquiry.

Lorenzo of Brescia, the subject of his picture was the *Pietà* and the period of its execution 1510. In this great altarpiece which is well known to the frequenters of the Manfrini collection, there is a freedom of hand which bespeaks experience, travel, and a perceptible disregard of all lessons familiar to the higher schools of Tuscany. John Evangelist, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea and the Marys, in touching concert, pour out their grief as Christ sits lifeless on the cover of his tomb. But Christ himself disfigured and lamed by the ordeal of the cross creates a discord in the harmony. Instead of showing the pain and inevitable wanness of suffering he bears the tangible marks of physical torture. Figures of rustic mould and sober shape are skilfully distributed round the dead Redeemer and coloured with tints of Ferrarese depth and fluidity; but the drapery is poorly set and rectilinear in fold.¹

Ottavio Rossi, in one of his eulogies, declares that it was Romanino's misfortune to have lived in a country town where talent led but slowly to fame.² Yet Romanino, after he had fairly started found numerous supporters and his first altarpiece was quickly followed by others of which many found their way into modern galleries.

The Madonna with saints and angels in the museum of Berlin, commissioned for San Francesco of Brescia is one of that class of pictures with which North Italy abounds. It represents two winged cherubs supporting a green carpet behind a throne at the foot of which an angel sings to the sound of a mandolin. The infant Christ lies on the Virgin's lap, who sits on a throne attended by St. Roch with his dog and a canonized abbot. Though full of dash and tone and markedly deficient in drawing as well as

¹ England. Sir Ivor Guest Wood, previously No. 74. in the Manfrini coll. at Venice; figures under life size, in a landscape, with Calvary in the distance to the l. On a shield or tablet in the foreground to the l.: "Hieronimi Romani Brixiani opus MDX mense

decembris." The red dress of the Evangelist, who supports the l. arm of Christ is injured. Compare Antonio Averoldo (Scelte pitt. di Brescia. 8º. Brescia 1700.) p. 135. Chizzola p. 94. and Selvatico Guida di Ven. p. 298.

² O. Rossi Elogi p. 503.

strained in action, this large panel is, for Romanino, very carefully wrought. A pleasing tenderness dwells in the face and glance of the Virgin; and the cherubs who flutter in the air are full of freshness; but the angel below is remarkable for the round head, puffy shape, and small unmeaning extremities which mark Romanino's late creations. Though warm and highly coloured, the flesh is light and the vestment tints are full of depth. What most suggests haste and want of thought is styleless drapery cast in narrow and multiplied folds.¹

Another of Romanino's early compositions in the same collection is the half length of Judith with her slave and the sleeping guard a striking example of the steadiness with which Romanino kept in the current of the *Palmesques*. The soldier in armour, the maid in profile looking on, the Jewish heroine sentimentally bending her head whilst she holds the dish containing *Holophernes'* head, these three figures in a dark landscape in front of a green curtain, make up the modern conventionalism called *Giorgionesque*. With an art consummate in its way, the Venetians of this age succeeded in concealing the repulsive nature of the subject in affected grace of movement, in rich varieties of dress and tricks of colouring. Romanino, following their example, bathes the flesh in warm light and dark shadow of lustrous surface, finishing the chord with rich deep drapery tone. He composes harmonies in the lower keys and sheds a vague *Leonardesque* twilight upon his picture, concealing in this twilight his neglect of drawing and finish.²

The most celebrated and most *Palmesque* work of Romanino at this time is the altarpiece of San Francesco at

¹ Berlin Mus. No. 157. Wood, 5 f. 5 h. by 3 f. 11. from the Solly coll. but originally in S. Francesco of Brescia (Vasari XI. 263. and Chiz. 68.). Strain is particularly remarkable in the figure of the abbot. The panel is well preserved.

² Berlin Mus. No. 155. Wood, 2 f. 9½ h. by 2 f. 3¼ from the

Solly coll. The bloom is off the surface of the panel. This may be the picture described as the daughter of Herodias with the head of the Baptist by Chizzola (n. s. p. 47.), yet Chizzola in this instance says the picture was on canvas, in the orchestra of the organ at San Gio. Evangelista of Brescia.

Brescia in which the Virgin on her throne receives the homage of six canonized Franciscans. It was ordered by the executors of Fra Sansone who died general of the Franciscan order in 1499, and was completed as we judge from its style, before the painter's journey to Padua about 1512. When first placed on the high altar of San Francesco it was the centre of a vast triptych on the doors of which there were four compositions taken from the life of St. Francis. In the genuine fashion of the Venetians and Bergamasques, the scene of homage is laid in an open archway, in which the Virgin sits with the babe on her knee, the sky being intercepted by a green cloth the upper corners of which are held by two dancing cherubs. On the throne plinth at the Virgin's sides, St. Francis and St. Anthony stand in extatic posture, and in the foreground, — grand in contrast of cowl and frock and brocade pivial, but still more grand in contrast of look and expression — kneel four saints, amongst whom are St. Bernardino, St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Bonaventura. A beautiful damask carpet falling over the throne plinth adds to the general gorgeousness of the harmony. With an elevation seldom found in Romanino's later impersonations, the Virgin combines regular proportion and an attractive face with plump flesh and clear complexion; and the child, bending its head towards the kneeling friars is full and chubby. St. Francis and St. Anthony stand out in half shade against the sky. A masterly projection of shadow is produced by side light, and correct balance of rich tints and chiaroscuro, by bold and skilful means. Drapery, so often neglected by Romanino, is appropriately cast; and the lines of architecture suit the rich framing which surrounds the panel.¹

¹ Brescia, S. Francesco. Arched panel on the high altar, in a triumphal arch framing, on the basement of which a medallion contains the following: "F. FRANCISCV SANSON DE BRIX. M. M.

GENERALIS AERE SVO MDII."

We might be led, as many have been led before, to assume that the picture was finished in 1501, but this would be a mistake, as Romanino's style was not so ex-

With the production of this noble and now unhappily injured altarpiece Romanino's practise at Brescia came for a time to an end. He had hitherto lived on the patronage of a city second in opulence only to Milan, he had risen to a position in which he naturally received the support of the wealthy and educated class, by a freak of fortune not uncommon in the 16th century he was quickly and effectually deprived of the usual market for his pictures. Brescia in 1511 was subjected to all the misfortunes incidental to a siege. It was taken and lost for the Venetians and plundered after a storm by the French in 1512. We can only compare the effects of the sack to those produced at Rome under similar circumstances in 1527. Ferramola and doubtless others remained to appeal to the pity and purse of the conquerors, Romanino, and it may be Moretto retired in time to a place of safety.

Padua, though it languished during the wars of France and Austria had been spared the trials inflicted on Brescia. No longer mistress of a school dictating laws to North Italy it still employed some of the very best masters of the Venetian states, and amongst these, Titian, who was just finishing his celebrated frescos in the Scuola del Santo. Romanino attracted to Padua by the fame of Titian's works, or sure of labour for his facile pencil sought and found a home amongst the Benedictines of Santa Giustina, whose convent church was still in course of erection.¹ The Benedictines had prepared a handsome

panded as this in 1510. and he could not have painted such an important work before he was 17 years old. It is more reasonable to assume that 1502 is the date of the deposit of Fra Sansone's legacy and the commission for the altarpiece. The figures are life size, the Virgin's head and that of the friar in the foreground to the l injured; the dresses in many parts repainted. The subjects on the doors were distemper: a. St. Francis espouses poverty; b. the

bishop of Assisi presents the indulgence of the Madonna degli angeli; c. the saint with the sleeping Pontiff; d. the saint casting out devils at Arezzo (Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 350). Rossi, *Elogi* 503., and all Brescian writers, agree that this is Romanino's masterpiece.

¹ Santa Giustina, the church of the monastery of that name in Padua was taken down in 1502 and rebuilt on the plan of a Brescian, Padre Don Girolamo. The work of rebuilding was interrupted

framing for a Madonna to be placed on the high altar of the church which they hoped to finish at no distant date; they wished to adorn their refectory with a picture of the last supper and proposed to deck their organ with a canvass screen; but a painter worthy of such large commissions had not as yet been selected. Romanino being a guest of the monastery and not without friends amongst its inmates offered his services which were willingly accepted and the conditions upon which he consented to labour are embodied in an extant agreement which bears the date of April 30. 1513.¹

The altarpiece which Romanino executed with care and skill was fitted to a setting not unlike that of San Francesco at Brescia. It had been arranged that the Virgin and child should be seated on a throne under an archway attended by S^t. Benedict and S^t. Justina, S^t. Monica and S^t. Prosdocimo. Christ "*passo*" was to be placed in an oval pinnacle, S^t. Mathew and S^t. Luke in medallions in the spandrels. Five rounds were to be let into the plinth. At the master's own pleasure he added two charming seraphs in dancing attitudes on the arms of the throne suspending the crown of glory over the Virgin's head, and an angel in red and white garments sounding a tambourine on the step; in the centre of the altar skirting he introduced two busts of saints and the three murdered innocents, whose bodies were said to have been brought from the Holy Land by S^t. Julian and enshrined in one of the convent reliquaries.² The architecture of the picture was adapted in form and perspective to that of the framing and the space was cleverly adapted to the composition. S^t. Benedict in rich episcopals holds the pastoral crozier

by the wars of the league of Cambray and were seriously resumed under the charge of Andrea Briosco in 1516 (Brandoleso, Pitt. di Padova, p. 86.).

¹ 1513. "Adi 30 April in Padua. Havendo deliberato li padri del Monasterio de S. Justina de Padua de far la palla del altar grande de

la sua chiesa et ritrovandossi M^o. hieronymo da bressa depentor qui nel monasterio predicto se ha offerto &c".... The whole record (too long to print) is in the papers of the Archivio di S. Giustina, in the Archivio Municipale at Padua.
² Brandolesi, Pitt. di Padova, p. 91.

whilst St. Justina at his side grasps a book and palm, the symbol of her martyrdom, the two edged dagger being plunged in her breast. St. Monica with the book and lily in her hands and a white dove on her shoulder looks down with melancholy air, and St. Prosdocimo stands in profile behind her, with the vase and crook. Of broader cast than of old these figures are frequently pleasing in mask and elevated in mien, St. Benedict dignified, St. Justina graceful and feminine. The contrast between healthy robust complexion in the Virgin and smallness in the size of the infant Christ is one which frequently appears in the creations of Palma and Pordenone and has its counterpart here in the lithe shape and merry action of the seraphs as compared with the corpulence of the angel on the step. Ample drapery covers form with due attention to lie and projection of the under parts. Massive lights balanced by spacious darks, a fine use of projected shadow, golden brown flesh of unbroken glowing surface and luscious vestment tints enhance the general beauty of the whole.¹

Romanino may have thought that this grand picture with its life sized figures was alone worth the ducats for which he had bargained. He painted the last supper on canvas for the refectory with much less thought and care, and he probably bestowed still less labour and consideration on the organ screen which subsequently perished. Round about a winged table sit the apostles in huddled groups and strained attitudes, with masks and shapes of the coarsest and most unselect mould. Incorrect drawing, superficial zigzags of light suggesting drapery, and dabs

¹ Padua, Gallery; from S. Giustina. Wood, figures above life size. The Virgin sits on a marble throne the sides of which are faced with pilasters in which simulated bas-reliefs of children are introduced. St. Benedict's mitre lies on the ground at his feet and two birds drink out of a cup on the parti-coloured floor. The bloom has been removed from the picture by cleaning; there are touches of new colour here and there in flesh and dresses, on the border of the throne plinth: "HIERONYMI RVMANI DE BRIXIA OPVS." The ornaments in dresses and architecture are heightened in many parts with gold.

of colour in cheek and lip all prove carelessness and haste, but sweep of brush and broad shadow tell of energy and power.¹ The safe custody and preservation of pictures requires that they should be removed from churches to the security of galleries. These masterpieces of Romanino are transferred to the Museum at Padua, but the absence of the massive and gorgeous frames is a serious disadvantage.

If Romanino laboured at first with the view of enticing patrons to give him commissions, he could not have pointed to a better or more successful production than that which was to adorn the high altar of Santa Giustina. The clever boldness of the canvas for the refectory proves that he was reaping the fruit of earlier and more conscientious labours. There are several pictures and frescos of this period at Padua which suggest the name or betray the influence of Romanino. The Paduan gallery contains a large canvas in which the Virgin with the child sits enthroned between St. Benedict and St. Justina, a boy angel reading a book on the marble step at the Virgin's feet; to the right the bright red hanging of the throne breaks sharply on a semicircular screen of stone in cold grey shadow; to the left is a landscape with a clear sky over which warm clouds are scudding. The general character of the figures is slender and regular but not without occasional awkwardness and mistaken drawing. The Virgin's action indicated rather than fully carried out is partly lost in drapery ignoring curve and substratum of form; the infant Christ is defective in shape. Cold brown flesh tints and discordant shades of dress are

¹ Padua, Gallery; from the refectory of S. Giustina. Canvas with life size figures round a winged table in front of an arched alcove in which a lamp is hanging. On the chequered floor a dog and a cat. The forms of the heads are characteristic of Romanino and in a mould quite usual with him, i. e. large heads with high and widely parted cheek bones and fleshy projections. The eyes are distant — small and black and deep set under the brows. The noses are short and splayed, the mouths small with tumid lips. — The hands and feet are bony and of working size, with protuberant articulations and large nails.

treated with the parsimonious texture of Moretto's earlier handling yet the altarpiece was ordered for Santa Giustina and bears as a signature: "Romanin 1521."¹

A prettier but smaller canvas in the Casa Poldi at Milan by the same hand represents the Virgin and child with two angels in flight holding the crown above the throne and a little cherub writing on the step. The infant Saviour turns to bless a kneeling saint introduced by a Dominican bishop. A sunny landscape broken by hills and rocks and interspersed with streams and houses enlivened with figures and animals gives a pleasing variety to the scene. There is no difference in handling, and in some respects — as in the seraph on the throne step — no difference of shape, between this charming piece and that of 1521 at Padua, though here the name assigned is Moretto's.² We might infer that Romanino in carrying out his resolve to abandon Brescia took Moretto, his junior by more than ten years, as an apprentice to Padua, and that Moretto in this capacity executed the picture under Romanino's directions; but this view cannot be accepted without further study.

The composite style of Moretto and Romanino of which these two pieces are an illustration reappears in certain frescos, traditionally ascribed to "Girolamo Padovano" in Santa Giustina of Padua. Above the entrance to the old playroom of the novices is a faded half length fresco of Christ as the "man of sorrows". On one of the walls of the playroom itself a descent from the cross in a recess ornamented in framing, side, and soffit, with saints and prophets. Two ladders are set against the cross from which Nicodemus and Joseph are lowering the dead body of the

¹ Padua, Gallery; from S. Giustina, where in modern times the picture hung in the rooms of the abbot (Brandolesi, *Pitt. di Padova* 184.). The signature thus: "ROMANIN. 1511." on the base of a pillar to the l. is not coeval with the picture. The work is on canvas — the figures are large as life.

² Milan Casa Poldi. Canvas, with small figures. In the middle distance to the l. St. Jeron, before the cross to the r. another saint naked, on the foreground of grasses are two rabbits — further off two men, a deer and a dog.

Redeemer. The Virgin swoons in the arms of her companions, the Magdalen grasps the foot of the beam and St. John wrings his hands as he looks up. There is much contempt of drawing in all parts of this composition. The drapery is broken and ill cast; but these are defects not uncommon in Romanino. The mould of form, the masks and attitudes, the warm-toned flesh and deep-tinted dresses are all in Romanino's style in contrast with which some of the angels in a glory above the cross are more foreign to his manner. The spirit of the art displayed is Brescian but the execution is rough, unequal, and second rate.¹

On the same level and altogether similar in treatment are remnants of wall distempers at Santa Maria in Vanzo of Padua — the Eternal and symbols of the Evangelists in the ceiling, and six half length prophets in the lunettes of the apsis, and a coronation of the Virgin with numerous saints in the semidome.² The characteristic in-

¹ Padua Santa Giustina. "Sotto portico della Recreazione de' Novizi," now mortuary chapel of the Hospital. The Ecce Homo is seen to the hips, under life size, faded in part and retouched (ex. gr. in flesh and hip cloth), the red ground now visible being probably the preparation for a blue. The chapel itself once contained frescos assigned to Domenico Campagnola, which are now obliterated. The descent from the cross is assigned to Girolamo Padovano. (Brandolesi, Pitt. di Padova 98. Moschini [Giannantonio] Guida per la Città di Padova. 8^o. 1817. 133.) In the upper part of the frescos, the Eternal appears in a glory of angels. In the framing which surrounds the fresco are two standing figures in niches, to the r. a female with a crown and palm in her hand, very like the St. Giustina in the altarpiece signed "Romanin 1521," at Padua, to the l. a male saint greatly injured, above these in circular framings, prophets, amongst whom we distinguish Habakkuk, Ezechiel, Malachi; in the recess slant, in rounds,

St. Scolastica, Placidus, Benedict, Prodocimus, Felicity and Maurus; in the corners of the rectangle circumscribing the whole, the four symbols of the Evangelists. The lower part of the fresco is discoloured.

² Padua, S. M. in Vanzo, choir and apsis. These frescos are assigned to Bartolommeo Montagna (Brandolesi u. s. 73. and Moschini 145.). The two principal figures in the coronation are rubbed down to the preparation and most of the blues in every part are scraped away. To the left of the throne we notice amongst the saints; Jerom, Eugenius, Peter, to the r. Lorenzo Giustiniani, Louis. The ceiling is whitewashed leaving bare Christ in a triangular nimbus in the centre, and the four symbols of the Evangelists. Amongst the half lengths of prophets in lunettes at the sides of the choir we distinguish David, Malachi, Daniel, all much damaged. The execution here is coarse. In the style of these frescos and those in the mortuary chapel at Santa Giu-

dividuality of Brescian painting which appears in these works might, it is certain, have been transmitted by Romanino to local Paduan craftsmen. The tendency of the age was so clearly a tendency to imitation and especially to superficial imitation of pictorial tricks; it was so easy to acquire these tricks that we should be surprised not to find men of second or third rate power successful in learning them.

Amongst Paduan artists of this age and precisely amongst those who lived at Padua at the time of Romanino's stay was Girolamo Sordo, more commonly known as Girolamo Padovano or del Santo. He was employed in 1518 in the church of the Santo where he completed an unfinished altarpiece in the chapel of San Sebastiano, and he was chosen by Alvise Cornaro in 1524 to decorate the front of the palace built for him by Falconetto. About the same period he is said to have composed a series of frescos in a chapel at San Francesco of Padua. During five consecutive years 1541—6 he laboured at a large cycle of subjects from the life of St. Benedict which Parentino had partly carried out in the cloisters of Santa Giustina. After his election to the rank of first *Gastoldo* in the painter's guild of Padua (1546) he was constantly engaged at the Santo, in the vicinity of which he usually resided, and he died in the latter half of the century, after an interval of inactivity caused by blindness.¹ It is most

stina is a canvas — descent from the cross assigned to Domenico Campagnola in the Gallery of Padua, a paltry work injured by repaint.

¹ Compare Pietrucci (Napoleone) *Biografia degli artisti padovani*. 8°. Pad. 1858, p. 76. Anonimo ed. Morelli, p. p. 11, 12. Gonzati, *la Basilica* n. s. I. p. p. XLI. 57 and 295. Brandolesi *Pitt. di Padova*, p. p. 100, 246, 281. Della Valle *Pitt. del Chiostro di S. Giustina* Lettera al Principe Ghigi n. s. p. 3. — Statutes and regulations of the

guild or Fraglia of Padua, Ms. in the city Library at Padua, where it is clear that Girolamo del Santo, "primo Gastaldo" on the 17th of June 1546, is identical with "Hieronymus Sardus de contracta Sancti Antonii confessoris" — Moschini. Giannantonio (*Vicende* n. s. p. 83) who turns the name Sordi into Sardi, and the same (p. 61) who cites a record of Sept. 1530 in which appears as a witness: "Mag. Hieronimo pittore q. Ser Andrea de Surdis habitator in burgo Campionis".

unfortunate that a large proportion of the works of this prolific artist should have decayed, and that what remains should be disfigured by so-called restoring. The frescos of the Cornaro palace and most of those in the Santo have disappeared; whilst those of the cloisters of Santa Giustina were broken into fragments, but something is left of a crucifixion with saints and a tree of the prophets, on a canvas in the Santo and the frescos of San Francesco are still extant. The subjects depicted at San Francesco are chiefly taken from the history of the Madonna. To the right and left as we enter the chapel are double courses of episodes — the nativity, presentation in the temple, marriage and annunciation, — on the altar face the Eternal with allegorical figures of faith and charity; above and below, busts of prophets. The sections of the ceiling in the aisle before the chapel contain the Evangelists and in the archings are between sixty and seventy busts of prophets and sybils. All this is much damaged by repaint. The style is similar in most respects to that which distinguishes the frescos in the playroom of the novices at Santa Giustina. In the scenes from the life of the Madonna, in the Eternal and some rounds of prophets especially this similarity is striking. The broad treatment simulating that of Romanino and Moretto when imitating Pordenone, the strained affectation of grace which is often a blemish in Moretto, also recur; Moretto's forms of expression and movement repeat themselves in the Evangelists of the ceilings; whilst peculiarities of one or other of the Brescian masters alternate in the sybils and prophets of the archings.¹ The same remarks apply

¹ Padua. San Francesco. 2nd chapel to the right as you enter the portal. Of the frescos in this chapel, the anonimo (ed. Morelli, p. 12) says: "fu de mano de Gerónimo Padoano che ora vive e ha dipinto ancora la facciata della Casa de M. Alvise Cornaro". Other authorities cited by Moschini (Guida per la città di Padova, 107) and

Rossetti (Il forastiero illuminato, p. 162), ascribe the paintings to one Franceschetto da Poreigia, to Domenico Campagnola and Dosso Dossi. They were repainted by Francesco Zanoni (Brandol. 246), and thus almost deprived of their original character. In the vaulting of the aisle are numberless prophets in the archings and the

in their utmost comprehension to the crucifixion and tree of the prophets at the Santo of which it is said that they were ordered of Girolamo del Santo in 1518.¹

It may be that Girolamo Sordo came in contact with Romanino and Moretto at Padua or in some other city of north Italy, and having been Romanino's journeyman, afterwards formed a style based on the reminiscences of his youth. He might in this way have produced the Virgin and child with the forged signature of Romanino and the date of 1521 in the Paduan Gallery, the Madonna of Casa Poldi, and the numerous frescos of Paduan convents. In some of these creations he was perhaps but an executant of Romanino's designs. There is so much obscurity upon all these points, that it is hopeless with our present materials to dispel it. But there are other considerations connected with the subject which invite attention. On the 2nd of December 1511 Titian signed a receipt for the balance due to him for frescos done in the Scuola del Santo at Padua. On the 8th of the same month "Maistro Jeronimo" gave a discharge of a similar tenor for a composition of the same series.² The surname of Jeronimo and the subject of his picture are unfortunately omitted but it has been assumed that he painted the fresco representing the death of St. Anthony in the Scuola del Santo. The scene in this fresco is cleverly arranged. The saint's bed in the middle of a ruined cloister, with

four Evangelists in the ceiling. In the chapel itself are the subjects enumerated in the text. Decidedly in Romanino's Pordenonesque style are the subject frescos, the Eternal, the prophets in rounds in the three lunettes, and those in the skirtings below. In the mixed character of Romanino and Moretto are the allegorical figures on the wall against which the altar rests, the Evangelists in the aisle ceiling which recall those of Moretto at San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia and the saints, prophets and sybils in the archings.

¹ Padua. Santo, canvas on a pilaster. See *antea*, Vol. I. p. 365. In the branchings of the tree cross in this canvass are rounds of prophets very like those in the mortuary chapel at Santa Giustina.

To the same hand might also be assigned some of the more modern fragments of the frescos saved from the cloisters of Santa Giustina. (See *antea*, Vol. I. p. 360).

² The original receipts are in Gonzati. *La Basilica* I. CXLIII, and in facsimile at the end of the same volume.

a view towards Padua is guarded by a mendicant and a cripple. A friar prays over the dead body whilst brethren of the order stand around in various attitudes. In the middle ground to the left, an old man goes weeping away and two naked boys hold a scroll on which is written: "Le morto il santo". There is a very obvious coincidence of style between this work and the Madonnas of Padua and Casa Poldi. A common mould of form and contour, vulgarity of shape and neglected drawing mark them all. The naked boys, the distant landscape, the drapery and colouring are alike. But the painter of the fresco is the painter of other numbers of the same cycle and certainly the author of the neighbouring fresco, the "conversion of Aleardino the heretic".¹

Are these wall paintings by "Maistro Jeronimo"? Is "Maistro Jeronimo" the composer and designer of the canvases and frescos we have considered? Is he Romanino or Sordo? These are questions which remain for the present in suspense. Two or three facts are positively known. Romanino's presence at Padua on or before April 1513, his stay at Santa Giustina and his commission for two extant pictures are certain. His retirement from Padua in 1516-17 is perfectly authenticated. In 1516 Brescia was recovered by the Venetians. In 1517 Romanino was resident there, and in 1521, the alleged date of the Madonna at Padua, he signed a contract by which in company with Moretto he consented to paint the chapel of the sacrament in San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia.²

A clear proof of Romanino's residence at Brescia in 1517 is his return to the income tax, a paper from which we learn that he was at that time thirty three years old,

¹ Padua. Scuola del Santo. The first and only writer who suggests that Girolamo del Santo is the same person as "maistro Jeronimo" whose name appears in the receipt of 1511, and that the death of St. Anthony in the Scuola was executed by this painter is Gonzatti (*La Basilica I* p. 289). The fresco

is painted with substantial colours and shows a rough surface, the flesh is brownish and raw, with cold shadows, and the general tone is cool and bright. The execution is however less rude than that of the conversion of the heretic.

² See postea, Romanino and Moretto

single, living with his mother Madonna Margareta and his famulus Girolamo aged 19.¹

But previous to settling at Brescia, Romanino was invited to Cremona to value the frescos which Altobello Melone had executed in the Duomo, and during the performance of that duty in October 1517 he probably recommended himself to the Cremonese authorities as a fit person to compete with Melone. Between 1519 and 1520 he composed in the choir of the Duomo no less than four subjects, Christ before Pilate, the flagellation, the crowning with thorns and Christ delivered to the people, and at no period of his life did he paint more effectively. A competent rival to Boccaccino, Bembo and Melone, he had neither the daring nor the power of Pordenone, but his art was still very remarkable as intermediate between that of the Friulans and Cremonese. As a composer he kept to the modern and monumental style, setting his groups in large spaces, and dressing his figures in the slashed tights and plumes familiar to the Giorgionesques. As a painter of expression, he succeeded more than once — for instance in the Christ brought before Pilate, or the crowning of thorns — in giving life to animated action and groups; but his incidents and even his attitudes were not always free from triviality and strain. The senatorial dignity of some personages contrasts with the vulgarity and Herculean coarseness of others in which the finer shades of thought necessarily fail; and it is peculiarly unfortunate that the strongest realism and the commonest form of movement should occur precisely where selection is most to be desired. The drapery is no longer curveless; it has more of the swell of lined stuff and less of the break of stiffened cloth. In tone there is too much and too harsh an uniformity; and the dark strips of shadow which cut upon the sombre flesh or strong vestment

¹ Polizza d' Estimo. No. 38. An. M^{ra} Margarita m. m. . . . 60. &c. 1517, VI^a (?) Faustini. Hieronymo [copy of record in the Brescian de Romano depentor d' anni 33. archives]. (See ante).

tints is too abrupt; but the resulting effect is not without vigour.¹

On Romanino's settling at Brescia he found himself the friendly rival of Moretto with whom he shared almost all the patronage of the place. It is not easy to distinguish amongst his numerous works those which particu-

*¹ Cremona. Duomo. Romanino's valuation of Melone's two frescos, the flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents is dated Oct. 1. 1517. There are payments in 1519 and on the 26th of Aug. 1520 for Romanino's frescos in the nave, and on the 25th of Sept. 1520, the balance of the whole sum bargained for (625 lire) was handed over. *Abecedario biografico dei Pittori &c.* Cremonesi del Ragionere Collegiato Giuseppe Grasselli. 8^o. Milan 1827, .p. 40 and 170. The frescos of Romanino, four in number, are on the r. side of the nave between those of Altobello and Pordenone. They bear no dates, and two of them are assigned, to Cristoforo Moretti, erroneously, as we observe by comparing their treatment with that of the two others acknowledged as genuine Romaninos. No. 1. Christ brought before Pilate, is surrounded by guards, in half armour, slashed hose and plumed hats. Pilate wears a strange conical cap of red wool, he stands on a throne raised three steps above the ground on which the group before him is placed. On a still lower floor, to the l. are spectators, one of them standing pensively, with a very fine gravity of pose and expression. At an opening on the l. through which a park is seen sit a man and a woman; at right angles to this an archway opening into the town is decorated with two recumbent statues. An outline of this fresco is in Rosini's atlas, the flesh is a little brown and heavy and the tones in general are somewhat raw and uniform. — Here and there we may notice retouching. 2^o. The

Flagellation. Christ is bound to the pillar of a colonnade forming the basement of a house; to the right, under the colonnade and before it, soldiers and an executioner preparing to strike; to the left a second executioner striking and a third stooping to tie a bundle of rods. To the left spectators, and the captain of the party sitting with one hand on the pommel of his sword, the other hand on his thigh, looking over a wall, in the distance, people in various costume. The colour in this fresco though it is altered by time and repaints is strong and rich. There is also appropriate chiaroscuro; but the figures are in many cases immoderately common, herculean and square, the head of Christ is ferociously threatening. 3. Christ bound, sits in the middle of the foreground, in a court round which a renaissance colonnade runs. He is surrounded by the scoffers and people, there is more atmosphere in this than in the other frescos, and the background in shadow is particularly good. 4. Christ is shown to the people by two guards. He stands holding a reed at the opening of a balcony to which there is an ascent by steps. Below at each side are groups of people, and on the steps a boy playing with a dog. Beneath the feet of Christ are the words: "HYER. ROMAN. BRIX". This fresco is the most injured and repainted of the four. The figure of Christ is paltry, and unpleasantly realistic. There is no atmosphere in the picture. Compare Zaist. *Notizie Istoriche* I. 24. 25.

larly belong to this period; but there is such a striking resemblance between the large canvas of the marriage of the Virgin at San Giovanni Evangelista and the frescos at Cremona, that we should place it here. A peculiar breadth and fullness in the shape of figures united into a typical composition indicate ripeness of power and a large command of means.¹

In 1521 he joined Moretto as we saw in a contract to paint the chapel of Corpus Christi at San Giovanni, and for his part he executed frescos of the adoration of the Eucharist, two Evangelists and prophets, and canvases representing the resurrection of Lazarus and the Magdalen anointing Christ's feet in the house of the Pharisee. Though greatly disfigured by time and restoring it is apparent from the heavy shape and coarse drawing of the dramatis personæ and the careless casting of the drapery that the master did not bestow upon them that care and attention of which he was sometimes capable, though his treatment generally bespeaks facility of hand and conscious skill.²

¹ Brescia. San Giovanni Evangelista. Canvas, life size. The high priest joins the pair in the presence of spectators in front of an open archway. At Joseph's feet is a dog. The picture is very freely handled but almost ruined by grime and repaint.

² Brescia. S. Gio. Evangelista. Cappella del Sacramento or Corpus Domini. The agreement for these frescos, and canvases has been kindly communicated to us by Don Stefano Fenaroli one of the present Fabricieri of San Giovanni. It runs: 1521, 21 Martii. "In Jesu Christi nomine anno a nat. ejusdem millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo indictione nona die vigesima prima mensis Martii, in Sacrestia posita apud Ecc. S. Joannis . . . Brixie . . . presentibus D. Fratre Faustino de Brixia &c. Ibi R'ds

D^{ns} Pater prior monasterii S. Joannes, D. Joannes T . . . de Ocanonibus &c. &c. dederunt . . . capellam et quadros . . . partim a mane et partim a sera Altaris ipsius capelle ad pingendum Magistris Magro Hieronimo de Romanis sive de Romani et Magistro Alexandro de Bonvisinis, pictoribus civibus et habitatoribus Brixie, ibi presentibus &c. &c.". "Cum infrascriptis pactis &c. . . videlicet quod predicti pictores . . . obligati sunt ipsam capellam et quadros quolibet pro dimidia et de quadro in quadrum . . . depingere &c. . . in termino annorum trium . . . ad complendum dictum totum opus". The canvases are much injured, above them in the lunette is the fresco of the Eucharist, at the sides the two evangelists, and on the arching the half lengths of prophets. These also are faded

In many other religious edifices besides San Giovanni Romanino proved his talent as a fresco painter. In San Domenico he finished episodes from the legend of St. Dominick; in the town hall subjects of which fragments are preserved; and in the church of San Salvatore a faded and injured cycle.¹ The finest remains of this kind are the supper at Emmaus and the Magdalen in the house of Simon transferred from the village church of Rodengo to the Tosi collection at Brescia. The bold free handling of figures larger than life and the coloured

and injured. There is much in all this to remind us of the hasty work of the last supper at Padua.

Between the date of this agreement and its completion, Romanino painted a presentation in the Temple, inscribed with the words "Hieronymo Brix 1522". This picture was once in the Avveroldi coll. but now belongs to Signor Antonio Bruccello at Brescia (not seen). Compare Odorici Guida p. 174.

¹ Brescia, San Domenico. Ridolfi mentions the frescos in the cloisters of this convent (Marav. I. 351), they were part of a series in which one of the Bembo's had a share (O. Rossi Elogi n. s. p. 191). But besides these Romanino painted a coronation of the Virgin (our notes mislaid), and an organ screen with scenes from the life of St. Dominick (Rid. Mar. I. 351).

Brescia. Town hall. Romanino here painted much and variously, ex. gr. two choirs of angels at the sides of the North window (Chizzola, Guida 14, and Odorici Guida p. 121), and other subjects. Fragments of a large fresco, from this hall are in the Tosi collection. They represent two saints with crosses kneeling on clouds, of life size; and beneath them other figures. In the "Salotto del Capitano" Romanino painted subjects from the fable of Hercules (Ri-

dolfi Marav. I. 352.) now missing.

Brescia. S. Salvatore. In the crypt of this church is still to be seen a headless figure of St. Ippomenens, by Romanino; and in a chapel, fragments of compositions illustrating the life of St. Obicinus. On one face, Christ in glory; beneath, St. Obicinus in the dress of a knight with pieces of armour at his feet, a kneeling youth and traces of other personages (? women and children) — distance, sky and landscape. On the wall to the right of the entrance the Virgin and child in glory, and beneath, a dame with a child, kneeling presented by a saint (? Obicinus) and a girl also kneeling with her hands joined in prayer; above a window on the left side, a saint wafted in air and an angel carrying a nail, and in the slant of the window the portrait of the knight repeated, some figures of nuns and a male personage. These are fragmentary and injured frescos with many of the prominent faults of Romanino, but originally executed in the broad manner of his fine period. On the outer face of the chapel is a figure of a saint with a sword on a basement supported by three angels; in a lunette, the knight again on horseback and traces of other figures. On the painted cornices are remains of an inscription of which we can read: "OBICIN...."

warmth of the flesh give a good idea of the original effectiveness of these pieces.¹

Various forms of the painter's golden style are to be found in altarpieces belonging to Brescian and continental galleries. Sentimental grace and an unusually small mould of form characterize an altarpiece in the Erizzo-Maffei mansion at Brescia, where the Virgin, on a square podium, holds the child who turns with an elastic spring to bless a kneeling donor presented by St. Francis, whilst St. Anthony of Padua stands devotionally in attendance.² The Berlin Museum contains Palma Giovine's favourite amongst Romanino's pictures, the dead Saviour bewailed by the Marys, John Evangelist, and apostles, a large panel originally at San Faustino of Brescia, of highly coloured tone and rapid tricky execution but not without genuine expressiveness and passion. There are few of the master's compositions in which nature is better or more resolutely reproduced.³

A picture in which inward calm and prayerful reverence are very beautifully displayed is the communion of St. Apollonius in Santa Maria Calchera at Brescia, a scene cleverly caught from the daily life of Italian churches. Three men and a lady of station in the rich dress of the period kneel at the sides of an altar upon which a dead Saviour adored by the Marys is depicted. St. Apollonius, on the altar step blesses the holy wafer; two acolytes

¹ Brescia, Tosi coll. The figures in the fragments are larger than life, the colour red and hot, the shadows narrow, dark, and warm. It is interesting to study the handling closely as we can do here. The shading is done in a splashy way with the numerous barbs of a large brush, out of which the colour was partially shaken out. The type of Christ in both frescos is the same, the hair long, the beard divided into two long points and without curl. We may object to the inexpressiveness of some faces and the trivial purposelessness of

some gestures and movements.

² Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection. Canvas with figures under life size. Behind the Virgin, whose head and hands are disfigured by repaints, is a green curtain. The whole picture is flayed and injured, but the colour was originally fluid and golden.

³ Berlin Museum No. 151. Wood 6 f. h. by 5 f. 10 1/2 from S. Faustino Maggiore at Brescia. The composition is well arranged — the Christ unusually fine for Romanino. (Compare Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 352.)

hold the cup and censer, and two others look on. We almost lose sight of neglected form or generalized detail in breadth of execution and luscious softness of modelling.¹

The most important creation of the time and perhaps the finest production of the master is the nativity with St. Alexander, St. Roch, St. Philip and St. Gaudiosus in the National Gallery — an imposing altarpiece designed and finished in 1525 for the high altar of Sant' Alessandro of Brescia. In its original shape a triptych with Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist as a pinnacle, it was closed by shutters containing the adoration of the Magi and the Virgin and angel annunciate which perished. The naked and chirping infant on a white cloth on a knoll receives the adoration of the Virgin and St. Joseph whilst two boy angels hang in the air. The Virgin kneels and prays as Joseph leans thoughtful on his staff. A silver grey distance verges to brownish yellow in a foreground variegated with patches of grass and shrubs. Near a farm on a hill, a shepherd tends his flock. St. Alexander to the left, in armour, supports an unfurled banner turning his head with a gentle downward inclination towards the Saviour. St. Roch on the other side strides over the ground beating his breast with a stone. St. Philip and his companion are specimens of the Palmesque mask which affects extreme shortness of vertical proportion and breadth of jaw. There is so much fire in the treatment, such brilliance and sparkle in the flesh, such variety in the full rich tints, that we forget the styleless cast of drapery and pardon the puffy forms of angels. The low nature, bony muscularity and large working shape of St. Roch are amply compensated by the freshness of youth displayed in St. Alexander, the kindly expression in St. Joseph and the pleasant motherly person of the Virgin. There are

¹ Brescia, S. Maria Calchera. Altarpiece, figures large as life — engraved by Sala, not free from the effects of cleaning and threatening to scale, here and there retouched. In a predella the last supper. This piece may be of a later date than the nativity in the National Gallery.

signs in this charming piece that Romanino was labouring to subdue the somewhat conventional warmth peculiar to his earlier works. He had always painted in brown-red tones. By degrees he reversed this theory of technical treatment and preferred a clearer tinge.¹

One of the first pictures in which Romanino turns from amber and gold to pearl and silver is the nativity at San Giuseppe of Brescia, in which small but interesting varieties of incident are embodied. The infant lying on the ground is adored by the kneeling Virgin; but St. Joseph with energetic gesture of both hands shows the new born Messiah to the shepherds near him, whilst three angels sing Hallelujah in the air. We are reminded of Pordenone's artful boldness in the large and muscular mould of the angels, in the breadth and size of the Christ, and in the matronly air of the graceful peasant Virgin, but original cleverness is displayed in the attainment of portrait effect. The painter's aim being to surround the form of Christ with argentine light, he dresses the Virgin in the rich folds of a mantle of whitish silk, the skirts of which are shaded with grey and spread on the ground as a bed for the child. To this light and sparkling drapery a foil is given by deep and luscious harmonies of surrounding tints and a twilight glow as of silvery sunset is thrown over the picture in the fashion of Savoldo. Broad sweep of brush and masterly modelling in a stiff and copious impasto add charms of an uncommon kind to the scene.²

In the same cool and bright character and very fine

¹ London, National Gallery No. 297. Wood. Centre 8 f. 7 h. by 3 f. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. upper side compartments; 2 f. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 2 f. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lower side compartments 5 f. 3 h. by 2 f. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Cozzando, Istoria Bresciana 1693. p. 120. cited in National Gallery catalogue gives the date of the execution as 1525. The picture was taken from S. Alessandro by one of the Counts Avveroldi. It was bought of Counts Angelo and Ettore Avveroldi in 1857. The pinnacles and doors

are described by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 351—2.) and Averoldo (Scelte pitture u. s. p. 118.).

² Brescia, S. Giuseppe. Canvas, figures of life size. The three angels who sing from a scroll are very boldly foreshortened and remind us of Pordenone and Lotto, but particularly of Pordenone on account of their muscular build. The surface of the canvas is injured and retouched in many parts.

for outward expression of grieving is the picture of the Marys and apostles lamenting over the dead body of the Saviour, an altarpiece in San Giuseppe of Brescia.¹ Equally fine and illustrative of the same feeling for tone is the marriage of St. Catherine with attendant saints in the Erizzo-Maffei collection. Here especially we admire the cleverness with which flesh of extraordinary brilliance is worked up from verdegris shadow through purple grey to a penetrant rosy light; and vestment tints are harmonized in the richest shades. The charm is increased by graceful slenderness of shape and comeliness of face in the Virgin whose sentimental elegance recalls the Raphael-escques and revives in Parmegianino. Were it not for the unwieldy size and strength of the boy Redeemer whose stature is not in keeping with that of His mother this would be a masterpiece of setting and drawing as well as of colouring and technical handling.²

We should assign to this period of Romanino's practise the round of Christ carrying his cross in the Tosi collection³ and a grand assumption in Sant' Alessandro of Ber-

¹ Brescia, S. Giuseppe. Second altar to the r. Canvas with life size figures. Besides the Marys, we have St. Paul to the l. and St. Joseph in rear to the r. looking on. The distance is hilly showing Golgotha. The female to the r. with her r. hand on the shoulder and her l. holding the wrist of Christ is unnatural and strained. Much restoring and consequent opacity of tone is noticeable. Averoldo (Le Scelte pitture u. s. p. 39.) assigns this picture to Moretto.

St. Paul between SS. Jerom, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen and Catherine, an arched canvas life size at the 8th altar of San Giuseppe was painted for the Avogadro family. It is ruined and repainted. Compare Averoldo. (Scelte pitture u. s. p. 42.) St. Louis and other saints, a canvas on the 3^d altar described by Chizzola (u. s. 19.) is missing.

² Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei Coll. Canvas — life size. St. Catherine kneels to the left in a yellow brown dress; to the r. an aged female in a warm brown robe and a white head cloth; in rear between her and the Virgin St. Ursula with the banner, full face; to the l. St. Lawrence with the palm and grid-iron. Distance a hilly landscape of silver grey tone, contrasting with the warm brownish foreground. The extremities are more correctly drawn than usual.

The martyrdom of St. Catherine by Romanino in this gallery is a ruined picture. The three panels of the Virgin, St. Peter and St. Paul, once in San Pietro in Oliveta (Chizzola 140.) assigned to R. are perhaps by Calisto da Lodi. The Death of Lucrezia noted here by Chizzola (u. s. 153.) is missing.

³ Brescia, Tosi coll. No. 8, pro-

gamo in which freedom of handling is united to Titianesque grandeur of attitude and action.¹

In the neighbourhood of Bergamo, three quarters of a century before Romanino's art had risen to its full expansion, Bartolommeo Colleoni the great *condottiere* had built or restored the old castle of Malpaga which came by descent to the Martinengo Colleoni of Brescia. Some members of that family took Romanino to Malpaga to paint that notable incident in Colleoni's career, when called by Paul the IInd to lead an army of crusaders he was invested with the baton of command in the presence of the Pope and his Cardinals. The fresco which represents this incident still covers the walls of a court, though broken into fragments by wear and weather.²

After an interval of years we lift a corner of the veil which time has spread over the painter's private life. Between the lines of an income tax return dated in 1534 we read of his previous marriage, the birth of his son, and the loss of his wife. He owns land, has something to write down on the debtor and creditor side of his account, and keeps a horse "for his own riding".³ No doubt he takes his daily canter for pleasure or business, having picturesque scenery in the neighbourhood and work to superintendent in distant village churches. In some hamlet of the Val Camonica, we read, he paints a S^t. Christopher for a rich but stingy peasantry, and to shame them, gives the saint such scanty dress that they protest against it. Short skirts says Romanino in reply;

perty of the Great Hospital, Canvas, bust of Christ in a round, life size — with white sleeves; warm silver tone of blended modelling worked out in fluid touches of great breadth pervades the flesh surface. Compare Odorici (Guida p. 88.) and Chizzola (u. s. p. 97).

¹ Bergamo, Sant' Alessandro in Colonna. Arched canvas, life size. In the sky the Eternal, beneath him the Virgin ascending amidst angels in a sky full of soft va-

pour; below, the apostles round the tomb in a landscape. This is a picture of Romanino's best period but injured and faded. It seems to have been of a bright silver tone.

² Malpaga 7 miles from Bergamo. There are other frescos in the court by other painters.

³ Poliza No. 32. Estimo 1534. "Jeronimo Romani depentor di anni 47. Buonaventura suo fiol de ani 7."

are the consequence of short pay.¹ Amongst the painter's debtors in 1534 are "the men of Pisogne" for 150 lire. For these villagers Romanino composed a large cycle of frescos in the church of the Madonna; beautifully situated at the junction of the Oglio with the lake of Iseo. He covered the single aisle, the arch of the tribune, the ceilings and semidome with scenes from the new testament many of which are still free from whitewash. In the double courses of the aisle are, Pilate washing his hands and delivering Christ to the people, Christ carrying his cross, Christ washing the apostles' feet and the entrance into Jerusalem; the last supper, Christ exposed to the Jews, the Magdalen in the house of Simon, the resurrection, the limbus, ascension, and other faded episodes. Whitewash covers the semidome but the face of the tribune arch contains the annunciation, descent of the Spirit and Christ taken down from the cross, whilst above the portal we find the crucifixion, flagellation, and crowning with thorns. In ribbed ceilings are sybils, prophets and children, and in the soffits of intermediate archings, half lengths of saints. There is no appearance in any subject of this group of peculiar care in arranging composition, selecting shape or defining proportion. The treatment is altogether hasty; the faces are vulgar, the hands and feet broad and rustic, the attitudes strained; and a large display is made of figures exuberant in muscle and prominent in bone. But vulgarity is in some measure compensated by audacity of action and unexpected inventiveness of posture. A certainty of hand which has its value in theatrical scene painting is not less effective when applied to frescos intended for distant or superficial examination. No attempt is made to produce illusion by subtle modelling or breaks of tone. All that the painter tries for is broad surface tinting interspersed with touches of contrasting tone indicating cherry lip, peachy cheek, dark shadow or outline. A pleasing group like that of Mary swoon-

¹ O. Rossi, *Elogi* u. s. pp. 503-4. Ridolfi, *Mar.* I. 353.

ing in the crucifixion fetters attention for a moment. The general spirit of the whole cycle is that of Pordenone's later time. It is Pordenone's distribution and cast of form that Romanino most usually adopts, varying it occasionally with reminiscences of Lotto and Pellegrino.¹

Higher up the Val Camonica, there are traces of similar work by Romanino; — in the church of the Madonna at Bieno, the marriage and other scenes from the life of the Virgin of earlier date than the frescos at Pisogne;² in

¹ Pisogne, ch. of the Madonna. In the income return of 1534 we read the following passage: "Per li beni stabili &c. in un credito con li homeni di Pisogne di lire 150." All the frescos are injured by damp, and some parts are altogether obliterated. One is quite faded and another has been sawn away and removed. The crucifixion in a lunette is a reminiscence of Pordenone and Pellegrino (San Daniele and Cremona) but the composition is more straggling and the figures are more vulgar, more thickset and square than theirs. Christ rising to heaven in the resurrection is like one of Lotto's figures and very much strained in movement, — the angels around him corpulent and heavy. The soldiers about the tomb are mere outlines. The Limbus is Pellegrino's composition reversed; and similar to Lotto's predella of 1521 at Pontecranica. Behind Christ, the good thief laboriously carries an enormous cross. In the air are monsters with the heads of oxen or monkeys. The ascension is mutilated and faded. The annunciation and deposition from the cross are very like Pordenone's in the heavy character of the figures and recall Pomponio Amalteo's ordinary productions. On the same low level is the descent of the Holy spirit, a proof that Romanino worked here with assistants. One of the best frescos is Christ shown to the people. A child on the steps at

the top of which the Saviour stands has been sawn away and carried off. Of Christ carrying his cross a large portion is scaled away. It was the finest design in the church and very spirited in the manner of Pordenone.

In the chapel contiguous to the church now used as a bell room, are other frescos by Romanino of a more careful execution, but beyond measure faded. In the ceiling four cherubs in flight, on the walls, Christ at the column, massacre of the Innocents, Decollation of the Baptist, figures of Christ, a female saint with a palm and St. Lucy.

² Bieno, ch. of the Madonna, choir. On one side is the marriage of the Virgin, a pretty composition in the picturesque Venetian style and in the spirit of that in San Gio. Evangelista at Brescia, but more copiously furnished with figures, injured by damp and in some heads renewed. In a balcony forming the back ground are numerous spectators looking down upon the ceremony. The subject on the altar face is reduced to a few damaged figures, in a court with a balcony and spectators as before. On the third wall the Virgin ascends the steps to the temple; the high priest awaiting her at the entrance; — to the r. and left of the steps a man and woman and more to the r. another man carrying a lamb, to the left a female with doves — all damaged.

Sant' Antonio of Breno episodes from the life of an unknown saint thrown upon the walls of the choir with the copious command of figures and luxurious splendor of dresses which characterize the Giorgionesques and the more modern Bonifacio of Verona.¹

By such gaudy works as these Romanino soon became favorably known in all the vallies North of Brescia, and at some period on the verge of 1540 he was called to Trent by Cardinal Madruzzo to paint some of the monumental spaces in the Castello. There are traces of his hand there in allegorical figures worked into the lunettes of the basement hall, in monochromes and genre subjects on the sides and waggon roof of the staircase. The principal designs upon which his time was occupied are frescos in the lodge at the top of the first flight of steps, where Apollo on a car drawn by milk white steeds fills a rectangular ceiling and a cento of sacred and profane incident covers a succession of lunettes. There are also remnants of the same character in a court, and an injured picture of the Virgin and child with a prelate introduced by a canonized bishop in the cathedral. In all this, we trace the painter's hand and detect more than his usual carelessness of execution. It is clear that he aimed at effect in a picturesque and scenic style, but he was not equal to the difficulty of unusual foreshortening and his colouring is too uniformly red and opaque in shadow to produce an exhilarating impression.²

¹ Breno, S. Antonio, choir. Altar-face. The daughter of Herodias presenting the head of the Baptist to Herod (?) in a portico (?); on a balcony above, figures, and above that again Christ in benediction. These are mere fragments partly covered by a picture by Calisto da Lodi, to the r. of which again are remains of what seems to be the last supper. On a side wall is part of a composition representing the preparations for an execution. On another wall is a bound criminal

before an enthroned king, and a child praying before the fallen body of a soldier. The state of these frescos is unfavorable to artistic criticism.

At Edolo, some miles from Breno, the frescos of the church of San Giovanni Battista are assigned to Romanino, but they are by another artist. At Erbanno, nearer to Lovere other frescos in the church of the Madonna also ascribed to R. are by Calisto da Lodi.

² Trent. Castello. Hall at foot

In San Giorgio of Verona where Romanino must have passed on his way to Trent, he also left his mark in scenes from the legends of St. George and other saints on the screen of the organ; but the tempera of these canvases which bear the date of 1540 is so thoroughly disturbed by new paint that we can only notice the lively and clever form of the compositions.¹

Between 1539 and 1541 Romanino took the first and last payments for the organ shutters of the old Duomo at Brescia which were substituted for those of Ferramola and Moretto. They represent the birth of the Virgin and the Visitation in pleasant landscape distances, and are treated with great freedom and speed, but they show little artfulness of arrangement and are not of the best as regards colour. They are all but the latest of the master's creations to which we can point with any certainty.² In 1548 he drew up an income tax return describing his means in the same terms as in 1534 adding to the list of his family Paola his second wife and no less than seven children;³ he lived and laboured many years longer and the contract still exists in which he agreed, (Dec. 15.

of staircase; wall and lunettes with figures of males and females probably allegorical not to be confounded as regards treatment with half lengths three or four in number on the same place by a ruler hand. Wall of the staircase leading to the first floor — a man writing, a gentleman, and two peasants at a parapet and landscapes. In the furnace vaulting, monochromes of a man and a sleeping female, a skirmish, Diana and an allegory of chastity with an unicorn. Upper story, lodge with male figures and medallions. Hall, with Apollo in the ceiling, and in lunettes, a man killing a woman, a concert, Judith cutting off the head of Holophernes, Samson and Dalilah and similar subjects, Bacchus, Luna and other allegories.

The altarpiece in the cathedral

is a canvas with life sized figures in half length all but ruined.

¹ Verona. S. Giorgio. Canvas, distempers. Torture of St. George on the wheel. Torture of a saint in boiling oil, St. George before the Emperor and another subject; on the two latter the letters: "MD—XL."

² Brescia, Duomo Vecchio. Nativity of the Virgin and Visitation. Canvases paid for in 1541. (Odorici Guida u. s. note to p. 24.) both injured by time and repainting.

In the same church at the altar of the Sacrament are two canvases representing the gathering of the manna by Romanino, daubed over with new colour.

³ "1548. Poliza No. 165. Poliza di mi depentor q. d. (?) Romanino da Rumano. Hieronimo di anni 62. Paola consorte &c."

1557) with the Benedictines of Modena to paint "Christ's Sermon on the mount", which still hangs in the choir of San Pietro. His death at an advanced age is usually registered in 1566.¹

As a portrait painter Romanino seems not to have enjoyed the fashion of Moretto. Yet he was by no means without skill in that branch of his profession. There is a bust likeness of a gaunt bearded man in the Tosi collection which gives a high opinion of his powers. Another portrait in the same gallery — an heirloom of the Sala family — is a model of free handling though somewhat marked and raw in tone.²

It has been usual to suppose that Romanino, during some period of his life, resided at Venice, and the supposition appears confirmed by chroniclers who register his works in Venetian churches; but we shall see that the pictures assigned to him are all by Savoldo who was known at Venice under the deceptive name of Girolamo da Brescia.³

¹ See Campori. *Gli artisti u. s.* p. 410. The picture in San Pietro of Modena has not been seen by the authors.

² Brescia, Tosi coll. No. 9. Wood, life size, bust of a man on a dark ground, with repainted hair and forehead. A portrait of enamel surface, warmly coloured. — No. 26. Half length of a man in a pelisse of green silk with fur collar, in front of a brown wall and green hanging, one hand on a book, the other holding a glove, life size, unfinished portrait of reddish flesh tone but treated with great breadth.

³ The following works are registered in Venice. Frari, Claustro. Venice intercedes with the Virgin against the Turks by Girolamo Romano. The Virgin and ch. St. Paul, St. John Evangelist and angels, before whom Venice prays to be freed from plague by Girolamo Romano. Boschini. *Le R. M. S. di S. Polo.* p. 43. Both pieces are missing — Casa Taddeo

Contarini: "La tela grande a colla dell' ordinanza de' Cavalli fu de mano de Jeronimo Romanin bresciano". Anon. ed. Morelli. p. 64. — missing. Gal. del Signor Paulo del Sera — now in the Uffizi, Transfiguration by "Gerolamo Bressan." Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 365. See postea in Savoldo. San Giobbe, Nativity by Girolamo da Brescia. Boschini *Le R. M. Sest. di Cana Reggio* p. 63. See postea in Savoldo. S. Domenico, pictures by Hieronimo da Brescia. Sansov. ed Martinioni. *Pitt. Ven.* p. 25. missing.

To extant works noticed in the text we may add the following. — Brescia, Seminario, Virgin, ch., St. Catherine, St. Cecil and John the Baptist (notes mislaid). This picture was once in S. Pietro Oliveto (Chizzola u. s. 140.). San Nazzaro e Celso. Adoration of the magi — ruined by repaints. Of the frescos of the crucifixion behind the altar we have no notice (see Chiz-

Alessandro Bonvicino, more familiarly known as Moretto betrayed such an affinity to Titian in the dignity and stateliness of his mature productions that historians described him summarily as Titian's pupil; but it is questionable whether, after all, he was more than a diligent student of Titian's works, for his earlier creations exhibit a clear dependence on Ferramola, Romanino, and the Palmesques. Moretto was companion to Ferramola in the execution of an organ screen finished for the old cathedral of Brescia in 1518; there are grounds for assigning to him a share in Ferramola's organ shutters at Santa Maria of Lovere.¹ It is still puzzling to inquire what form his manner took previous to 1518, and who taught him the elements of his art. When Vasari says that he

zola n. s. p. 60.). S. Faustino Maggiore. Canvas of the Resurrection — darkened and injured, but originally derived from the same subject by Titian, in San Nazzaro of Brescia. Another canvas of St. Apollonius between St. Faustinus, St. Giovita and other saints is so blackened that we can no longer judge of it. — Milan, Brera No. 59. The Nativity from S. Abondio of Cremona. This picture recalls Romanino and seems an imitation of his manner by Giulio Campi.

The following works are assigned to Romanino in books: Brescia, S. Afra. Death of the beata Angela. Chizzola 112. Arici coll. Half length of the daughter of Herodias (Ib. 161.). Avveroldi coll. 1. St. Stephen, St. Jerom and St. Peter; 2. Virgin and ch., St. John the Baptist and other saints; 3. Christ carrying his cross; 4. Portrait of himself; 5. portrait of Gherardo Averoldi (Odorici Guida 175. 179. 180.). Avogadro coll. 1. Last supper (small); 2. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph; 3. a portrait (Chiz. 178. 184.). Baitello coll. Virgin annuntiate (Rid. Mar. I. 353.).

Barbisoni coll. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph (Chiz. 171.). Cappuccini. Dead Saviour in the arms of the Marys, Magdalen and St. John; 2. Virgin and child (Ib. 106.). S. Enfemia — frescos (Ib. 104.). Fenaroli coll. 1. Holy Family; 2. Virg. and ch. (Odorici 192.). S. Francesco. Lunette above entrance into the sacristy. Christ carrying his cross (Chiz. p. 70.). Gaifani coll. Virgin and ch. (Chiz. 150.). Secchi coll. Virgin giving the breast to the child and St. Barbara (Odorici 186.). Le Grazie. St. Gottardo and two kneeling devotees (Chiz. 43.). Maffei coll. Female with flowers (Ib. 157.). Erizzo Maffei coll. Virg., ch., St. Peter and John Evang. See postea Calisto da Lodi. Mantuan coll. S. Sebastian (Inventory of 1627 in Darco Delle arti di Mantova p. 159.). Brescia, Ugeri coll. 1. a portr.; 2. seven ovals representing Greek philosophers; 3. three sleeping apostles; 4. Christ dead in the arms of angels (Chiz. 158—9.). Verona, Casa Cortoni. "Due bizzarre figure di Tedeschi" (Ridolfi, Marav. II. 305. Dal Pozzo p. 64.).

¹ See antea note to page 365.

had a method of painting heads which recalls Raphael, he characterizes with uncommon felicity a certain period of the master's practise and it is not unlikely that Moretto was led to follow this direction by a natural inclination for the graceful affectedness that clings to Ferramola.¹ In its later expansion his style assumed a Veronese colour which foreshadowed the coming of Paolo Veronese, but there are some pictures of his youthful time which suggest the study of Palma and Titian and which prove a decided appropriation and assimilation of elements characteristic in Pordenone and Romanino.

Moretto was born at Rovato near Brescia about 1498 and was little more than twenty years old when he finished the organ screen of the Brescian cathedral,² but an Italian artist in his twentieth year may be supposed to have had a large experience as apprentice, journeyman and master; and we have still to inquire under what guidance and in what places, Moretto's youth was spent.

A lunette — at one time part of an altarpiece in San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia — contains a large tablet with Moretto's signature. The Eternal, on a wide throne, contemplates Christ crowning the Virgin in the presence of St. Gregory, St. Augustin, St. Rose and other holy personages of both sexes; an angel on each arm-post of the throne supports the corner of a golden damask cloth on which the principal group is relieved³ and a couple of winged cherubs embrace each other on the step. Two

¹ Vas. XI. 264.

² As to the place of Moretto's birth, compare Averoldo, *Scelte Pitture* u. s. p. 16. As to the date we have the following:

"1548. Poliza di mi Alessandro Bonvicino, cittadino qual sta in Bressa."

Mi Alesdr^o Pittore di eta de anni circha cinquanta Dona Maria mia cusina ed inferma già molte anni &c. &c.

In the body of this document we find that Moretto lived at Bre-

scia in a house in the contrada di San Clemente. — We owe communication of this paper to the kindness of Don Stefano Fenaroli of Brescia.

³ Brescia, S. Giovanni Evangelista, panel lunette once belonging to a picture on the 4th altar, now in the Fabbriceria, figures large as life. On a cartello we read: "DIVIS OPT. MAX ALEXANDER BRIX. FACIEBAT." The figures are thirteen in number, almost all seen against the sky.

currents of education meet in this picture, on the one hand we have Palmesque and Titianesque feeling in the angels and a close resemblance to similar impersonations in Santa Maria of Lovere, on the other a simple, perhaps too simple, imitation of Romanino in the coarse and unselect figures of the kneeling saints. Cold and careful treatment suggesting inexperience points to the hand of a beginner.

Similar to this and not unlike the work of a young but conscientious artist of Moretto's fibre is the Holy Family under Palma's name in the Sparavieri collection at Verona. — The Virgin, of swelling form and delicate face, holds the infant Christ on her knee struggling froglike to snatch a bird from the grasp of the boy Baptist. Naïve affectation in the forced inclination of her head towards St. John betrays the effort of an imperfectly trained craftsman to realize elegance of action. The shape of the madonna and children is closely related to that of the saints and angels in the pictures of Lovere and Brescia. St. Joseph alone, in thought with his chin on the hand holding the staff, imitates a Titianesque type, whilst the drapery, of deep substantial tinge and shallow breaks, is cast in the fashion of Palma Vecchio. Characteristic of Moretto's constant method, yet Palmesque in its origin, is the blue sky against which a broad expanse of yellow hills is thrown, with intermediate spacings of brown cut up at intervals by patches of green trees. The flesh, of moderate but solid impast merges from yellow light into purple shadow, and contrasts with an umbrous foreground and deep tinted dresses in a melancholy chord of tone.¹

We shall not be justified in sternly denying Ridolfi's statement that Moretto's youth was spent in the atelier of

¹ Verona, Casa Sparavieri. Canvas with figures under life size. The whole group is in front of a clump of trees. Near the boy Baptist to the left is a lamb, in the distance to the right water and small figures. The Virgin's head is thrown up so as to show the under part of the chin and its junction with the neck. The figures of the children are broad and puffy with small hands and feet. There are slight retouches here and there; and the surface is dimmed by old varnishes.

Titian, whom he might have met at Padua before 1511 or at Venice and Vicenza after that date,¹ but the dominant influence apparent in these early pictures is that of Ferramola, Romanino and the Palmesques; and it is not without the limits of probability that Moretto, having visited Bergamo, in his childhood, should have followed Romanino and helped to produce that curious mixture of styles which we have noticed in numerous convents and churches at Padua.

In 1521 Moretto and Romanino jointly began the decorations of the chapel of Corpus Christi at San Giovanni Evangelista of Brescia, and Moretto, for his part, painted the last supper, Elijah under the juniper in the desert of Beersheba, the gathering of the manna, St. Mark and St. Luke the Evangelists, and several half lengths of prophets. — Some scent of the Raphaelesque may be detected in the affected elegance of figures forming the confused groups of the gathering of the manna, but the prevalent character of the treatment in the Evangelists and prophets, though it shows improvement and progress, is still a mixture of Romanino and Pordenone in similar proportion to that which marks the frescos of San Francesco of Padua.² The church of San Giovanni was one in which Moretto at various periods of his career received employment. At the outset he designed the coronation of the Virgin noted amongst the most elementary of his works. In maturer years he produced for the high altar the Virgin in glory with numerous saints, the Baptist and Evangelist, and for other shrines, the parting of the Baptist

¹ Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 342.

² Brescia, S. Giovanni Evangelista. Chapel of Corpus Christi. See the contract of 1521 *antea* p. 383. The last supper, lunette, canvass, an animated composition, darkened and injured by repaint. Elijah under the bush asleep, in the middle ground a stream, a fisherman and two men on a road, further off Jerusalem, in the air

the angel bringing a loaf and a flask. An ivy bush creeps along the trunk of the juniper tree. Canvass, dim, faded and retouched. St. John, sitting on the ox with one foot between its horns, reading, St. Mark astride of the lion, canvass in similar bad condition. The manna, canvass equally injured. Prophets half length on canvass, damaged.

from Zachariah and the sermon in the desert; but the condition to which time reduced all these canvases enables us only to discern their original breadth and grand facility of treatment under a cloud of repaints.¹

The Raphaelesque feeling which struck the attentive eye of Vasari breaks out in the beautiful altarpiece at San Giovanni which represents the massacre of the Innocents. In a lodge on the battlements of Jerusalem, Herod gives the signal for the slaughter; and the soldiers in the court below proceed to their task with ruthless ardour. A cloud overhanging the scene encircles and supports a naked boy bearing the cross whose veil flutters in the wind. Thin make and chastened action distinguish the mothers struggling for the rescue of their babes; life and energetic motion are displayed in the persons of the soldiers, firmness and elasticity in the frame and limb of the boy in the clouds; and there is so much Umbrian sentiment in the setting of the groups, in the tasteful choice of dress and head gear that Moretto may be suspected of having seen some of Raphael's prints and sketches. But in the care with which the drawing is finished and detailed, in the run of the contours and in the studied cast of drapery thrown into copious folds we are as clearly reminded of the youth of the artist as in the smooth enamel and blending of the dim coloured flesh.²

The graceful, gentle spirit which distinguishes form, and especially female form in the massacre of the Innocents recurs more expanded in a noble coronation of the

¹ Brescia, S. Gio. Evangelista. High altar, Virgin and ch. in glory; below, S^t. John Evangelist, Augustin, Agnes and John the Baptist; above, the Eternal and a prophet, canvas, very dim. The Evangelist and Baptist equally dim, at the sides of the altar, canvas tempera. S^t. John kneeling before Zachariah to receive the blessing, whilst his mother and two females look on, canvas tempera. S^t. John preaching in the desert canvas

tempera; both the latter, spoiled by retouching, are composed of figures above life size.

² Brescia, S. Gio. Evangelista, third altar to the r. Wood, on a tablet above the angel: "Innocentes et recti adæserunt mihi." The angel's torso is abraded. The general tone of the picture is cold and silvery, the dress tints changing. — Cleaning and varnish have taken away the freshness from the surface and some pieces are scaling.

Virgin at San Nazzaro e Celso of Brescia, where the Virgin kneeling to the Saviour who crowns her, is enwreathed in a halo of clouds and a glory of angels. On the foreground below, St. Michael treads on the dragon transfixed by his lance, whilst St. Joseph looks up, St. Francis prays, and St. Nicholas attends in thought. In slenderness of proportion, in sympathising grace of attitude and pleasant characteristic faces, this altarpiece is the very best of its kind, cold perhaps in silver-grey surface but full of bright harmony and colour.¹ Almost equally effective in arrangement, expression, treatment and tone is the Virgin and child in heaven in the Tosi collection, an altarpiece composed for the church of Sant' Eufemia in which the young Baptist takes his place in the clouds; and two bishops — Benedict and Paterius — kneel on the foreground protected by St. Agnes and St. Euphemia. There is a deadened peachy bloom in the flesh of these pictures which absorbs light and produces a neutral soberness contrasting strongly with the vivid brightness of the drapery hues. The surfaces of flesh and drapery are pulpy and soft; when carelessly wrought, they are spongy; when flayed, they have the hardness of stone.²

Smaller pieces rivalling these in elegant and elevated gentleness are the Virgin and child — an echo of that of San Nazzaro, a sybil, and a Magdalen in the Fenaroli collection at Brescia.³

Akin to these again in the tranquil grace and pure

¹ Brescia, San Nazzaro e Celso. Wood, figures of life size. Christ seated crowns the Virgin who kneels, to the right in a circling cloud with angels. The surface is somewhat raw from cleaning. The arching at top has been filled into a square. The predella, we may suppose of this piece, is that now in the sacristy (panel) representing the annunciation and nativity.

² Brescia, Tosi collection, from Sant' Eufemia and Sant' Afra (compare Ridolfi, *Mar.* I. 345. Chizzola 102. and Odorici p. 72.); Wood,

figures life size. The Virgin in the clouds is surrounded by rays of light. On her lap is the infant Christ, and near her the boy Baptist. Winged cherubs' heads support the clouds. The figures below are on a pavement of coloured marbles in front of a landscape.

³ Brescia, Fenaroli collection. Sybil full length under life size in a landscape, holding a tablet with a motto. Magdalen, side view, all but life size with the ointment vase in her hand. Virgin and child under life size.

feeling of many of its parts is the altarpiece of the high altar at San Clemente, the parish church and burial place of Moretto at Brescia, where the Virgin and child under arches, adorned with garlands of leaves and fruit amidst which cherubs play, looks down from a throne resting on a semicircular entablature. Within the curve of this novel sort of niche S^t. Clement in state gives the benediction, in presence of S^t. Dominick, S^t. Florian, S^t. Catherine and S^t. Mary Magdalen. One fault in this otherwise well distributed and harmonized composition is the strained posture of S^t. Florian, whose conventional action as he shows the banner and palm recalls Caroto's impersonations; but in other respects the figures are models of stately dignity.¹

A fine general effect of cold and silvery duskiness combined with sprightly action in numerous figures is the assumption ordered in 1524 and finished in November 1526 for the old cathedral of Brescia, contemporary as to date with the celebrated fresco of the "miracle of the blood" on the Porta Brucciata which perished in the 16th century.²

In other compositions of these and subsequent years we note the impress of Romanino's and Savoldo's styles clinging to Moretto's handling; — reminiscent of the former, the lively composition of an organ screen representing incidents from the legend of S^t. Peter in San Pietro in Oliveto, the Virgin appearing to Moses (!) and medallions

¹ Brescia, San Clemente. High altar. Canvas in its old gilt frame with figures of slender proportions large as life. This canvas was originally arched and is now a rectangle. S^t. Catherine and the Magdalen kneel. The flesh parts are not free from abrasion. That Moretto was buried in San Clemente we learn from Ridolfi (Mar. I. 350.), who took the fact from Rossi Elogi (u. s. 505.).

² Brescia, Duomo Vecchio. Canvas, with life size figures. The assumption was ordered in 1524

and finished in Nov. 5. 1526. Zamboni (Memorie u. s. p. 103.) cites the document in support.

Brescia, Porta Brucciata. Miracle of the effusion of the blood of S^t. Faustinus and S^t. Giovita. This fresco was finished on the 3^d of Nov. 1526 and replaced in the 16th century by another fresco of which Bagnadore was the painter. Ma. Memorie di Pandolfo Nassino, favoured by Signor Pietro da Ponte of Brescia. Compare also Chizzola (u. s. p. 13.).

of prophets which are fragments removed from the Martinengo palace "al Novarino" in the Tosi collection;¹ — reminiscent of the latter, the Magdalen anointing Christ's feet in the house of Simon, a dim and damaged altarpiece in Santa Maria Calchera, and a sombre nativity at Santa Maria delle Grazie suggesting memories of Velasquez.²

It was in 1530 that Moretto displayed in its fullest development that form of his art which had been modelled on Palma and Pordenone by producing the grand and broadly treated "majesty of St. Margaret" with St. Jerom and St. Francis in San Francesco of Brescia. In the graceful affectedness of swelling shapes, in the comprehensive delineation of frame and limb or in the broad cast of ample draperies Pordenone is as clearly reproduced, as Romanino, in the bend and foreshortening of heads, whilst powerful dim colour is modelled in blended gradations, in the low key which with all its softness sadly veils so many of the master's creations.³

Of equal grandeur in its fullness and studied contour, but

¹ Brescia, Vescovado, but originally in S. Pietro in Oliveto (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 343. Chiz. 138. and Odorici 65.). Canvas, distempers with figures of life size a. S. Peter and St. Paul kneeling and supporting the temple; b. Miracle performed by St. Peter; c. and d. Fall of Simon Magus, much damaged and repainted.

Brescia, Tosi collection, fragments of fresco from a ceiling in the Casa Martinengo del Novarino. In the largest fragment we have Moses, looking up to the Vision of the Madonna and medallion half lengths of prophets.

² Brescia, S. M. Calchera. Arched canvas with a fine arrangement of moderately proportioned figures of life size.

At a table is the Saviour with the Magdalen at his feet and a servant in rear carrying a plate full of pears; behind the table, Simon, bearded in a turban and a page.

The colours are opaque from repainting and altered by damp.

Brescia, S. M. delle Grazie, Canvas in the choir with life size figures. The Virgin gives the new born Christ to a kneeling waiting woman. St. Joseph to the l. kneels near the water basin. In the distant landscape are shepherds and in the air three angels singing. This low toned iron-grey picture is executed at one painting with strong impast.

³ Brescia, San Francesco. Wood; figures of life size, seen through arches looking out on the country. In the centre Margaret with the double cross — her foot on the monster, to the r. St. Francis, to the l. St. Jerom. — There is some retouching and the surface generally is cleaned off to some extent, but the colour is of enamel smoothness — on the foreground are the ciphers: "MDXXX."

clearer and brighter in hue is the allegory of faith, a picture of this period in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg a symbolic ideal in the shape of a beautiful female holding the cross, the wafer and the cup.¹

More elevated still and of greater dignity in its combination of the Raphaelesque and Palmesque is the kneeling knight at the Belvedere of Vienna protected by a richly dressed damsel with the unicorn at her side as emblem of chastity. Majestic beauty dwells in her face, and melody of silvery colours combines with soft and highly blended modelling to produce an impression of great freshness and brilliancy.²

A most winning example of simple incident is the votive altarpiece of 1539 executed for Galeazzo Rovelli in Santa Maria de' Miracoli at Brescia. A pleasant naturalism attracts us in the Virgin who looks down from the pedestal of a side altar on which she holds her state. She supports the infant Christ astride of her knee, chirping at possession of an apple, and points to a boy on the foreground under the protection of St. Nicholas of Bari who brings an offering of the fruit. Nearer the spectator is another boy holding the bishop's mitre and two others in rear in tender attitudes of devotion. In its variety of tinted stuffs of wool, of silk, or brocade,—fordistinguishing which Moretto was famous — there is no more harmonious picture of the master. The treatment is facile; and form is rendered in a generous and fleshy mould; and there are few compositions in which we more honestly commend

¹ St. Petersburg, Hermitage. No. 113. Kneepiece 3 f. 4 h. by 2 f. 6. The modelling is broad, tender and silvery, and the general tone is extremely bright, at the bottom of the picture is a bunch of roses and jessamine and a banderol, with the words: "Justus ex fide vivit."

grand picture was taken in 1662 from the Hofburg at Innsbruck to the castle of Ambras and subsequently to Vienna, where it was long considered to have been painted by Pordenone (see antea and compare Waagen, *Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, 1st Theil p. 32.).

² Vienna Belvedere. 1st floor. Room II. Venetian sch. No. 7. Wood, 6 f. 3 h. by 4. 5. This

A replica is noticed by Krafft (*Catalog, Wien*, 1854. p. 167) in possession of one Signor Giovanni di Terza Lana at Brescia.

judicious setting, applied perspective, and realistic action united to Titianesque gravity.¹

That Moretto, at this period was ambitious of rivalling Titian in breadth of touch, in splendour of colour, and in stateliness of demeanour, is apparent in many of his works, and in none more than in the majesty of S^t. Anthony of Padua between S^t. Nicholas of Tolentino and S^t. Anthony the abbot at Santa Maria delle Grazie at Brescia. There is a serious and severe distinction in this piece and a combined excellence of contour, drapery, chiaroscuro, and colour which added to bold freedom of handling mark it as an exceptionally valuable specimen of Moretto's skill.²

In another and perhaps more nearly perfect example — the supper at Emmaus in the Tosi collection — we find a very successful approach to the highest performances of the Venetian school, with the master's individuality fully preserved. The picture is of a deep warm tone and rich substantial handling with types in which form is less striking for selection than earnestness. A very decided realistic feeling prevails in the outspoken nature of the movements and expression which have the strong and straightforward bluntness of middle or poor class life. Christ behind the table in a grey hat the falling brim of which overshadows his brow, is breaking the bread whilst an apostle to the right thrusting himself forward on his seat, leaning his cheek on his hand and his elbow on the table, gazes with intentness as if desirous of imprinting every feature of the Redeemer's lineaments on his mind. The second apostle sits and seems to await the result of this examination. To the left, the host descends a flight

¹ Brescia, S. M. de' Miracoli. Canvas life size. On a curled sheet at the foot of the altar: "VIRGINI DEIPARÆ ET DIVO NICOLAO GALEATIVS ROVELIVS AC DISCIPVLI D. MD... XXXIX." The head of S^t. Nicholas is injured.

² Brescia S. M. delle Grazie. Canvas life size. This picture is

described by Ridolfi, as the best of Moretto's works (Marav. I. 345.). S^t. Anthony of Padua with the palm is seated high up in a large niche, beneath which stand S^t. Nicholas of Tolentino who looks up and Anthony the Abbot with one foot on the step, the staff in his r. and the bell in his l.

of steps and a girl to the right in fanciful cap and bodice carries a dish. Moretto strives to give the Saviour whose face is really not above the common, a calm and settled air. He follows Titian in the effort to obtain effect by colour, by massive chiaroscuro and picturesque costume. The drawing is studied and comparatively clean; the proportions are good, the drapery ample and well cast with adumbrations that distinctly recall Palma and Titian. The modelling is soft, sweeping, and peachy, and balances equal proportions of red light and dusky shade in blended transitions.¹ Titian composes with more elevation of thought and dwells altogether in a higher sphere. His drawing is finer and his colour more purely harmonious, but Moretto comes exceptionally near him here by vigorous realism and a happy introduction of varied incident and motive thought.

In 1540 Moretto again found himself in friendly competition with Romanino; and the "gay duel of art" which began twenty years before at Brescia was continued at Verona. In the church of San Giorgio where Romanino painted the organ screen is Moretto's glory of the Virgin Mary with St. Cecilia on the foreground and the martyrs, Agnes, Agatha and Lucy round her. The date of 1540 on the canvas contrasts to some extent with gentle cast or thin make of figures and cold grey tinting reminiscent of an earlier time.²

More powerful in its relief and richer in tone, though but little later in date is the Virgin and St. Anne with their babes and saints at Berlin commissioned in 1541 by Arnoldi abbot of the Umigliati of Verona. But such colossal canvases as these, particularly when injured by repaint bear less than any other transfer to a modern gallery, and the composition especially being broadly painted

¹ Brescia, Tosi coll. from the great Hospital, figures life size, under the table is a dog. which the shadows are blackened and the colour generally has become blind, figures of life size — inscribed: "ALEXANDER MORETTVS BRIX. F. MDXL."

² Verona, S. Giorgio. Canvas, in

for a high place on the walls of a church suffers from its nearness to the eye on the screens of a museum.¹ We must also bear in mind that Moretto in these years was overwhelmed with orders and worked with unusual speed. He finished in 1541 the Christ in glory with Moses and David in San Nazzaro e Celso of Brescia,² the Virgin and child with the four doctors and John Evangelist in Santa Maria Maggiore of Trent, and probably also the companion altarpiece in the Städel at Frankfort, where the same subject is almost repeated; whilst in 1542 he completed the Madonna in glory with St. Francis and an angel presenting a kneeling patron for San Giuseppe of Brescia.³

¹ Berlin Museum. Canvas 8 f. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ h. by 6 f. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ inscribed: ALES. MORETTVS PRIX. F. MDXLI. This canvas represents the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ and St. Elizabeth with the young Baptist, the latter offering a fruit to the Saviour. In the centre of the group is an angel with a scroll; below, Bartolommeo Arnoldi and his nephew in prayer. It was ordered for the Chiesa della Ghiara at Verona (compare Ridolfi, Mar. I. 347.).

But these are not the only works which Moretto painted at or for Verona. Del Pozzo (Pitt. di Verona u. s. p. p. 307, 309.) describes in his own collection the Virgin and child with the young Baptist between the angel and Tobias and St. Vitus, holding a drawn sword, and a portrait of a child. We shall note an altarpiece in London which came from Verona, and Ridolfi (Mar. I. 347.) describes an altarpiece in Sant' Eufemia of Verona, representing St. Ursula between St. Peter and Anthony the abbot with the Virgin and child above them, whilst del Pozzo (u. s. 233.) describes another in the same church — a Virgin and child, beneath which are St. Anthony and St. Onofrius, a nativity (p. 220.) with St. John Evangelist and

St. George in the Chiesa della Ghiara — and a Virgin and child p. 284.) in Sant' Elena.

² Brescia, S. Nazzaro e Celso, canvas life size, painted according to records cited in Odorici (Guida u. s. p. 102.) in 1541. This picture has been very ill treated.

³ Trent, Santa M. Maggiore second altar, canvas life size. The Virgin and child in a round glory with cherubs. St. John Evangelist with a scroll between St. Ambrose and St. Augustin and in front, seated, St. Gregory and St. Jerom, very feeble canvas and probably a schoolpiece, but much injured.

Frankfort Städel. No. 25. Canvas, 8 f. 10 h. by 5 f. 10. from San Carlo al Corso in Rome, whence it came into the Fesch collection. St. Gregory and St. Jerom stooping over the bible and venerate at the foot of the throne occupied by the Virgin and child, at the sides St. Augustin and St. Ambrose. The Virgin and child are not of the master's best.

The Virgin and ch. betw. St. Sebastian and St. Anthony the Hermit with an angel playing on the step. No. 24. canvas with life size figures is inferior to the foregoing and altered by re-stippling.

Brescia, S. Giuseppe. Arched canvas, with the Virgin and ch.

During his journeys at this time he probably became acquainted with some of the men who formed the circle of Titian and conceived the idea of extending his practise by cultivating their friendship. He was well aware of the influence wielded by Aretino and sought to obtain his interest by judicious flattery. It was Aretino's habit to put artists of name under contribution, and especially to induce them to paint his likeness. With this in his hand he visited the palaces of Italian princes and greater potentates from whom he levied considerable sums of money. In communicating with princes he puffed the artists who painted the portraits and in his letters to artists he puffed the princes whose amiable qualities or political virtues he extolled. At the close of every year, or oftener, if it served his purposes, he published the correspondence. Moretto's portrait of Aretino reached Venice in autumn of 1544 and came to its destination through Sansovino's hands. About the same time Vasari had done Aretino some service in return for which he asked for Aretino's protection in obtaining an appointment. Moretto's picture was forwarded to the Duke of Urbino with a judicious eulogy of the painter's talent and a prayer in favour of Vasari's cousin, and Vasari was made acquainted with the transaction in a note flattering to himself, Moretto, and the Duke.¹

We may believe that Moretto derived no advantage from this appeal to one of the most venal publicists of any age. It is certainly curious to observe that he chose a time for making it when his talent had reached its culmination and required no artificial forcing. The date of his present to Aretino is also that of his celebrated canvas in Santa Maria della Pietà at Venice, representing

in glory, beneath, St. Francis and an angel presenting "one of Casa Lusaga" — a poor work mentioned by Ridolfi in San Giovanni (Marav. I. 345.). At one corner we read: "MDXLII." The nativity recorded in the same passage of

Ridolfi as by Moretto, is as we saw, by Romanino.

¹ Aretino to Moretto, Venice Sept. 1544 in Bottari's *Pittoriche* u. s. III. 122, and Aretino's letters 8°. Paris. Vol. III. p. 59. tergo. Aretino to Vasari, Bottari III. 113.

Christ in the house of Simon, a canvas which may be considered the most important that Moretto ever produced. It was not commissioned, as we might suppose, for a Venetian church, having been ordered for the convent of Monselice; but it was not the less calculated, in every respect to enhance his value in the eyes of lovers of the arts. We very soon remark in contemplating this piece how closely the Brescian is related to the Veronese school: a common source apparently yielding the snake-toned harmonies of Girolamo dai Libri, Francesco Morone and Morando and the gay contrasts of Moretto or Savoldo, the picturesque warmth of Bonifacio and the glowing scale of Romanino. Moretto foreshadows the Veronese style of his picture at Venice in the glory of St. Anthony at the Grazie of Brescia. The feast in the house of Simon is the model of the luxurious monumental style which found so grand an exponent in Paolo Veronese. If in earlier works we mark a combination of blunt expressiveness and gesture with gorgeous colour and massive chiaroscuro, we now observe the same qualities allied to palatial architecture and splendid dress. The house of the Pharisee is a residence with lofty halls and colonnades and openings showing vistas of sky and landscape. Christ sits at a table in the middle of a vaulted space pointing to the Magdalen prostrate at his feet. Behind the board, and resting both hands on the cloth a bare-armed servant in attitude and expression of surprise gazes at the incident, whilst another servant equally astonished and more curious peeps over Christ's shoulder. Simon to the left with his head in a turban and his frame in a fur pelisse looks on with Titianesque senatorial calm. Clinging to a column on the foreground is the dwarf buffoon with an ape on his shoulder and near him a servant with cup and flask; to the right two females communing on the event. The mere description of this scene suggests the name of Caliarì; but we are still more reminded of him by the grey architecture on which the figures are relieved, the fine perspective of the pillars and friezes, the positive

solidity of flesh tints broken with minium and red earth in light and verdeggris in darks, the bright vigour of costly raiment-painting, and sweeping facile touch.¹

Paolo Veronese was prolific to such an extent in turning out pictures covering yards of canvas that it is difficult to realize or remember their number. Moretto's examples of the same kind are extremely rare; and there is but one worthy to be placed by the side of Simon's feast; and that is the marriage of Cana in San Fermo at Lonigo. Here again Moretto is the precursor of Veronese in the colossal subject which now fills a wall at the Louvre, but his version of the miracle has not the comprehensive size or splendour of Paolo's, and is unfortunately injured.² There are some traces of the same grand principles of treatment in the noble Virgin with the child and saints at the National-Gallery, an altarpiece which seems to have been completed for a Veronese church.³

It is not improbable that Moretto would have given more time to this class of productions had he not been so frequently engaged on portraits. Amongst his works of this kind Rossi and Ridolfi describe those of Moretto by himself, of Matteo Ugoni bishop of Famagosta a celebrated doctor of canon law, of Brunoro Gambara a general in the imperial service who once refused Paul Jove

¹ Venice, S. M. della Pietà choir, canvas with figures large as life, inscribed on the pedestal of the pillar to the left: ALEXANDER MORETTVS PRIX F. and in the similar space to the r. "MDXLIII." The ciphers are all repainted. This important canvas was in the refectory of San Fermo of Monselice (Ridolfi, *Mar. I.* 348.); it must have been very beautiful before it was injured by restoring.

² Lonigo, S. Fermo, canvas with figures of life size till 1819 in the refectory now in the choir of the church. The Saviour at the table is surrounded by the guests wondering as the drawer orders the wine to be poured into a fresh

flask. Above the table a red curtain. The surface of the canvas is covered with new paint.

³ London National Gallery No. 625. Canvas 11 f. 7 h. by 7 f. 6. In the sky the Virgin and child in glory are adored by St. Catherine and St. Clara. Beneath St. Bernardino holds aloft the name of Christ and at the sides stand or kneel St. Jerom, St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Joseph and St. Francis. This fine work, which belonged to Signor Faccioli at Verona, was in the Northwick collection. It is vigorously coloured with solid impasto in the silvery chord, with which we become familiar in Paolo Veronese.

a bed because he said he had room for soldiers but not for scribblers, of Bartolommeo Arniggi a surgeon who fell a victim to one of the contagious epidemics of the 16th century.¹ But the number of Moretto's extant portraits is much larger than this scanty list might lead us to suspect, and some of them with dates give us a clue to the changes in his style.

In the Fenaroli collection at Brescia is a full length of a young man in tight green hose and a black silk mantle leaning his elbow on the base of a pillar. He stands in a fine attitude of ease in a portico looking out on a landscape, his left hand resting on the hilt of his rapier.² This masterpiece of the painter's Raphaelesque period, done in 1526, is remarkable for dignity and noble expression. The portrait of a "medico" in the Brignole Palace at Genoa bears Moretto's initials and the ciphers of 1533 and seems to represent a person of high station fond of the cultivation of flowers. He stands at a table covered with a green cloth near the brown-tinged ruin of a wall intent upon the leaves of a book and bunches of roses. The gesture of his hand suggests a soliloquy. His dress is black silk over a white shirt; his hair and beard are black and he holds a glove in his right hand. Ivy branches creep along the ruined wall. In the low greenish adumbration of the flesh and broad handling of this powerful piece we are forcibly reminded of Sebastian del Piombo.³

The broad effectiveness and dusky surface which characterizes these canvases and recalls Titian as well as del Piombo recurs in a fine half length of a gentleman in a black cap with a white feather and a slashed red satin

¹ Rossi, *Elogi* n. s. p. p. 260, 280, and 392. Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 348—9. The portrait of Moretto according to the latter was on one canvas with that of Agostin Gallo a writer on agricultural subjects, and was in the house of Signor Francesco Gallo (?) at Brescia.

² Brescia, Fenaroli collection. Canvas, life size, inscribed: MDXXVI.

³ Genoa, Palazzo Brignole. Canvas, half length, inscribed: vvv v
ϕυxcic MDXXXIII A B. (the last letter mutilated.)

vest in the Tosi collection as well as in a portrait at the Pitti.¹ Titianesque and Giorgionesque in movement or massive contrast of light and shade is the half length of a man with a scroll and sand glass in the Erizzo-Maffei collection at Brescia, one of those finely blended creations in which Moretto aims at an aristocratic blanching of complexion.² Equally aristocratic and full of clear brilliance is the Sciarra Martinengo at the National-Gallery in which reminiscences of Lotto are distinctly marked.³ The treatment here coincides with that of another half length in the Erizzo-Maffei mansion assigned to Titian and representing a gentleman in a yellow dress damasked in green and a cap of the same with a white plume.⁴ Other likenesses attributable to Moretto are to be found in this and other public and private galleries.⁵

¹ Brescia, Tosi collection. Canvas half length, life size, relieved on the brown wall of a room hung with green. Through a window to the r. a landscape is seen. The dress is a lake coloured vest with buttons and a black silk cloak. The right hand which rests on the green cloth of a table holds a card. The flesh is abraded as well as the background. This picture is an heirloom of the Sala family.

Florence, Pitti No. 493. Wood, half length of a man in a black cap and mantle with a glove in his l. hand. The panel is also injured by restoring but is finely enamelled in a dim grey tone.

² Brescia, Galleria Erizzo-Maffei. Canvas life size.

In the same gallery is another half length whose face is much restored with his l. hand on a book. There is an ink bottle on the table and the ground is brownish. But much of the charm of the work is lost under repaints.

³ London National Gallery. No. 299. Canvas 3 f. 8½ h. by 3 f. 1. from the Lecchi coll. at Brescia, half length of a man, with a green vest, fur pelisse and blue

cap with a plume. The head rests on the right hand; the l. hand on a book, on the cap is a label with the words: TOT ΔΙΑΝ ΠΟΘΩ.

⁴ Brescia, Erizzo-Maffei collection; Wood half length of a man life size in front of a green curtain. To the left a window. The forms are large and the treatment bold, but it is difficult to decide exactly whether Moretto or Romanino was the painter. The surface is slightly changed in tone (the head especially) by retouches.

⁵ Rome, Palazzo Colonna. 1. Portrait of a man (half length) in a red vest and hose and black mantle with his l. hand on the head of a hound (cold ground); 2. portrait of a man in a fur pelisse with a glove in his r. hand. To the right an opening through which a landscape is seen. These two portraits are apparently of the Brescian school. One of them is a Morone, the other unworthy even of Morone. — Florence, Uffizi. No. 639. Wood, half length of a man playing a mandolin, a dark and repainted picture of the Brescian school, but a doubtful Moretto. St. Petersburg,

There are periods in the lives of painters in which memories of old forms long abandoned or forgotten seem to revive with a sudden and irresistible force. In the Frizzoni collection on the lake of Como is a large canvas representing Christ in death bewailed by the Maries and disciples, at one corner we read: "ANO DOM MDLIV MEN OCT." elsewhere: "FACTVM EST OBEDIENS VSQVE AD MORTEM". This is obviously a composition over which Moretto spent the last breath of his life. We revert in it to the large style of composition and the weighty mould of form which characterized the period in which he mostly clung to the models of Pordenone.¹

We can only illustrate the life of a painter so industrious and rapid as Moretto by a selection from his works. There remains a list of his performances still to register.

Brescia. S. Giuseppe. Arched canvas. Descent of the Holy Spirit, a faded composition of sombre general tone with ordinary figures reminiscent of Moretto's pupil Morone.

Brescia. S. M. in Calchera. Beneath the pulpit. Christ attended by St. Jerom and St. Dorothea (notes mislaid).

Brescia. S. M. delle Grazie. Arched canvas; life size figures; Virgin and child in glory; below, St. Martin between St. Sebastian and St. Roch, a poor production in which we may believe the journey-men of Moretto had the largest share.

Brescia. Duomo. (In a private room above the sacristy.) Arched canvas with life-size figures. The Eternal and the Redeemer in the

Hermitage. No. 114. 3 f. by 2 f. 10. Portrait of a man with his l. hand, holding a glove, on a pedestal and his r. hand on his hip. In the upper corner to the r. a green hanging. If this be the portrait of Vesalio the surgeon that ascribed to Titian and supposed to represent the same person is erroneously named. The two portraits represent different persons. Longniddy Earl of Wemyss. Portrait of a man seated in a dark pelisse and cap, his l. hand on the hilt of his sword. This is a dark tinged picture which

seen but for a moment appeared not unlike a genuine Moretto. — England. Locko Park. Mr. Drury Lowe. No. 254. at Manchester. — Male portrait with the name of Bartolommeo Capello and the date of April 1546 on a letter in his r. hand. Broom hall. Lord Elgin, an old man at an anvil. No. 255. at Manchester.

¹ Frizzoni collection, Lake of Como. Canvas life size, probably the same described by Chizzola (u. s. p. 50.) in the *Disciplina di S. Giovanni* at Brescia.

heavens hold the crown of glory above the Virgin's head; beneath, an angel in flight giving the keys to St. Peter, St. Paul holding a scroll, and between them allegorical figures of justice and peace. This vast picture in Moretto's later form is covered with repaints, through which we still observe the hasty character of its original treatment.

Another canvas in the same room, brought from S. Pietro in Oliveto represents St. Lorenzo Giustiniani, sitting between a matron figuring Wisdom and St. John Evangelist who adores the Virgin and child in glory (life size). This is a weak production of Moretto's shop.

Brescia. San Clemente. Arched canvas, figures of life size. Christ in the heavens lying on his cross and leaning his head on his r. arm, a reed in his l.; below in a landscape, a captain reverently removing his helmet to Melchisedek who offers the sacrament (bread and wine in a flask); to the r. a figure of Abraham. This picture is reduced to complete formlessness by retouching.

Same church. Arched canvas, with life size figures, in the upper part of which the Virgin sits in glory attended by a kneeling female, as the child on her knee gives the ring to St. Catherine of Sienna. In the foreground below, St. Jerom and St. Paul. In the same condition as the foregoing.

Same church. St. Ursula and the Virgins, canvas of very feeble execution and much injured.

Same church. A very beautiful composition of St. Cecilia between St. Lucy and St. Barbara, with St. Agatha and St. Agnes in front of a niche in the semidome of which the Holy Ghost appears in the shape of a dove. This originally beautiful example of Moretto's gentle period is irretrievably spoiled by repainting.

Brescia. Duomo Vecchio. Cappella del Sacramento. Six canvases, viz.: 1. The angel brings food to Elija in the desert; 2. The feast of the Pascal Lamb; 3. Abraham receives bread and wine from Melchisedek; 4. St. Luke reading; 5. St. Mark; 6. (now in a room above the sacristy) lunette with the sacrifice of Isaac. All these canvases are much injured, the last quite dim. A head of the Redeemer, above the altar, assigned to Moretto is too high to warrant an opinion.

Brescia. San Nazzaro e Celso. Canvas, life size. Nativity with Sts. Nazzaro and Celso, devoid of all character, being extensively covered with new paint.

Same church. Two saints much faded, said to have been parts of the organ screen by Moretto.

Brescia. Tosi collection. No. 40. Canvas tempera, figures under life size. The Virgin seated with the infant on her lap in a landscape is attended by the kneeling St. Joseph and two shepherds; — a quiet scene in which the figures are over fleshy and strained but this

defect is counterbalanced by freshness in the faces. The colours are sombre and warm and very carefully handled. — No. 17. The annunciation in an interior (half lengths); through a window, a landscape, a pretty graceful Moretto, and rarer still, in good preservation. — No. 8. Wood. Daughter of Herodias in a landscape with an inscription on a wall which reads: "Quæ Sacra Joanis Caput saltando obtinuit," a careful work injured in the flesh parts by restoring and reminiscent of Lotto.

Brescia. Tosi coll. from the Palazzo Comunale. Christ lying on the steps of the tomb with the cross at his side and an angel in rear holding up a white cloth (canvas, life size). There is much thought in the composition and the figures are amongst the pleasing ones of the master.

Brescia. Tosi coll. No. 12. Virgin and child with the young Baptist presenting a piece of fruit greatly injured by restoring.

Brescia. Fenaroli Coll. S^t. Roch tended by the angel in a landscape, originally in Sant' Alessandro. The figures are full and heavy in shape.

Same collection. S^t. Catherine life size, a weak specimen of Moretto's manner. Virgin and child, young Baptist (head repainted) and S^t. Joseph, half lengths. This, and a replica, with S^t. Anna instead of S^t. Joseph, is feeble work by Moretto, which may be said indeed of other pieces under his name in this mansion, ex. gr. S^t. Paul, S^t. Jerom, Solomon, S^t. Peter, S^t. John Evangelist, and a coronation of the Virgin.

Brescia. Erizzo Maffei collection. The Drunkenness of Noah, and an episode from the life of Moses, canvases, with figures under life size. Genuine Moretto. S^t. Cecilia (or S^t. Agnes) bust, one hand resting on a vase of flowers, much injured by abrasion. As regards character reminiscent of certain figures of women in the Casa Martinengo della fabbrica at Brescia.

Brescia. Casa Martinengo della fabbrica. Eight females of elegant stature and graceful movement, seen as if looking over a balustrade; fresco, life size (seen but for a moment) some of them heavily retouched.

Bergamo. S. Andrea. Canvas, life size. Virgin and child between S^t. Eusebius, Andrew, Donninus and Damian, originally fine but heavy and opaque from repaints.

Milan. Ambrosiana, probably from S. Francesco of Bergamo (Ridolfi. Mar. I. 347. Francesco Bartoli. Le Pitture di Bergamo. 12^o. 1774. p. 19). Death of S^t. Peter Martyr, and his brother friar; in the air a choir of angels, little under life size. This picture is very delicately

wrought, and of bright tone and reminds us of some of Paris Bordone's altarpieces.

Milan. Brera. No. 56. Canvas, arched, m. 2. 55. h. by 1. 83. The Virgin in glory, St. Francis between St. Jerom and St. Anthony the abbot, spirited in character and powerful in colour, the faces unhandsome; careful and pleasant work of the master. In the same gallery are Nos. 65 and 66. St. Clara and St. Catherine, St. Jerom and an apostle, panels m. 1. 04. h. by 0. 61.; No. 68. panel m. 1. 10. h. by 0. 56. St. Francis; No. 278. Wood. m. 1. 46. h. by 0. 59. Assumption with four angels.

Rome. Vatican Gallery. Virgin and ch., St. Jerom and St. Bartholomew, on canvas, under life, a fair and well preserved specimen of the master.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 592. Death of Adonis. There might be reason for assigning this capital picture to del Piombo rather than to Moretto. No. 1009. "The descent of the Holy Spirit to Limbus" small picture on slate is not a genuine Moretto.

Naples Museum. No. 39. Small panel representing Christ, full length at the column, with his hands bound together at the wrists. Over a wall in the background, a landscape is seen. This is a fine little work of Moretto in his broad silvery manner, and modelled with extreme care.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 113. Judith standing with her left arm on a stone pillar her left on the handle of a long sword, looks down at the head of Holophernes upon which she has set her left foot. Canvas, 5 f. h. by 2 f. 6. Rhenish. This picture, called Raphael in Crozat's collection, is now catalogued as Moretto a nomenclature in wh. Dr. Waagen (*Ermitage u. s.* 66) agrees. Yet the character is not Moretto's.

St. Petersburg. Leuchtemberg Gallery. No. 70. Canvas, knee piece, ascribed to Giorgione. Virgin in front of a rose bush with the infant Christ on a cushion on her knee. Pleasant in masks and shape and carefully drawn. The colour is warm blended and smooth (here and there flayed). This is a most engaging canvas by Moretto.

Berlin. Museum. No. 175. St. Augustin. No. 195. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian . . . the latter like a canvas of the same hand in the library of the Ambrosiana, all school pieces. No. 184. Two portraits are also school pieces. No. 187. Nativity. Canvas, 12 f. 10 h. by 8 f. 10., signed: "ALEXANDER MORETTVS BRIX. F." of scenic neglected execution and in the lower parts especially to the l. heavily overpainted. This large piece is greatly inferior to the altarpiece of 1541, in the same collection.

Dresden. Museum. No. 2368. 7 f. 5 h. by 5 f. 3., from the collection

of Herr von Quandt. Virgin, life size, a fine work of Moretto, the same which he painted to commemorate a vision of the Madonna to a peasant of Castel Caitone for the church of that village (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 346). In the upper corner to the l.: "IMAGO BEATAE MARIAE VIRG. QVAE MENS AVGVST. MDXXIII CAITONI AGRI BRIXANI PAGO APPARVIT. MIRACVLOR. OPERATIONE. CONCVRSI POP. CELEBERRIMI."

London. Francis Palgrave jr. Esq. No. 253 at Manchester. Virgin and child in clouds, St. Hippolitus and St. Catherine below (Canvas 7 f. 6 h. by 4 f. 6.) from the Solly collection. This is a good but not uninjured specimen of Moretto.

Paris. Louvre. No. 85. Wood. Arched, m. 1. 13. h. by 0. 60. St. Bernardino and St. Louis. No. 86. (companion piece) St. Bonaventura and St. Anthony of Padua, purchased by exchange from the Brera of Milan. Careful silvery works of Moretto's good time.

Missing, or not seen — Brescia: Sant' Agata, St. John the Baptist; a prophet (Chizzola 75. 76). Signor Arici, full length portrait (lb. 169). Avogadri collection, passed entire into the Fenaroli coll. (lb. 179). Signor Baitello, pictures (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 349). Barbisoni collection, St. Francis and St. Buonaventura, portrait of a man in a pelisse, Virgin grieving, St. John, a head (Chizzola 165. 166. 171. 174). Batalboino (near Brescia) ch. of, Virgin and ch. in glory between St. Francis and another saint; below, St. Jerom, St. Anthony, St. Clara, a bishop and the kneeling Umberto Gambara. Brescia: S. Clemente, the resurrection (Ridolfi I. 344). St. Thomas Aquinas (Chizzola p. 131). Compagnia dell' Orifamnia, standard with Christ rising from the tomb betw. Sts. Nazzaro and Celso and the Virgin grieving with St. John and the Magdalen on the obverse (Chiz. 60 and Ridolfi, Marav. I. 343). San Felice (near Brescia), incredulity of St. Thomas (Ridolfi I. 346). Brescia. S. Giovanni, St. John and a Magdalen at the sides of a carved crucifix (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 345). Secchi Coll., St. John Evangelist, portrait of a bishop, St. Catherine (Odorici Guida 185, and Ridolfi Mar. I. 348). Limone (near Brescia) Virgin ch. and saints (Ridolfi, Marav. I. 346). Signori Savoldi, heads of Sts. Faustinus and Giovita (Ridolfi I. 349). Signori Ugeri, 3 portraits, one of a bishop, another of a captain in armour (Ridolfi I. 348).

Venice, Casa Delfino, pictures (Sansovino n. s. p. 376). Milan, Zecca, Conversion of St. Paul (Vas. XI. 264). England. Archdeacon of Durham, St. Bartholomew and another saint (Waagen, Treasures Suppl. p. 491). Scotland. Garscube, Virgin enthroned beneath a red canopy supported by two angels. An angel plays the guitar below and at the sides, St. Augustin, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence (Waagen, Treasures, Vol. III. p. 293).

Ridolfi assigns to Moretto (Mar. I. 344) the wings of Titian's great altarpiece in SS. Nazzaro e Celso at Brescia.

Gian' Girolamo Savoldo lived longer than Romanino and died at a great old age about the middle of the 16th century.¹ It has been stated that he was of noble Brescian blood, and that he painted for pleasure rather than for gain; but there is strong reason for doubting the correctness of one half at least of this statement and the other half is quite likely to be untrue. In certain cold tints and strong contrasts of light and shade Savoldo had something in common with Moretto, but his style was often rugged and slaty and usually less dignified than Moretto's. Though he studied the models familiar to his Brescian contemporaries he did not cling to them with obstinacy, and a long residence at Venice enabled him to enter into the spirit of Titian and del Piombo. Romanino and Moretto learnt in course of years to paint in the monumental style improved by Bonifazio and Paul Veronese. Savoldo preferred humbler night or sunset scenes, and sacred genre.

It is characteristic of Savoldo's individuality that he remained constantly true to a peculiar and distinct method of technical treatment, yet there is no artist so persistently ignored; and it is more difficult to find his works under their true name than under the names of Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, Pordenone, del Piombo, or Bonifazio. In the Cathedral at Bergamo, where we might expect to find him known, he is treated as a stranger, and the Madonna in an early form of his manner is attributed to Giovanni Bellini. She stands with joined hands in front of a background of neutral tinted architecture, leaning against a parapet on which the child is seated looking at a couple of doves in a basket. The forms are plump, robust, and healthy, the hands short and rustic; and nothing is more clear than their derivation from the Palnesque

¹ He was still living in 1548. | guessed that the Gian' Girolamo See Aretino, *Lettere* u. s. V. p. 64. | here named is one person with and Bottari *Lett. Pitt.* u. s. 3. p. | Savoldo is curious. 176. That Bottari should not have

source with which Romanino was so intimately acquainted. Warm and dusky flesh lights merge rapidly into purple semitone which in turn glides into rough dark greys. Additional coldness is given to the picture by deep harsh vestment tints, and a slimy impact of streaky translucidity.¹

One of the master's favourite effects of evening, a homely version of the nativity, is preserved in San Barnaba of Brescia where the Virgin and Joseph are represented kneeling before the infant in a stable through the opening of which two or three listening men look in. The ox and the ass ruminant behind a manger and shepherds in the distance receive the message of the angel. Broad sweeps of shade, fringes of dusky light, and slaty general tone, distinguish this as they distinguish most of Savoldo's altarpieces, but the full shapes and stolid types are quite in Moretto's fashion.²

To these examples of the master's practise in the city of his birth we might add a portrait in the Louvre described by father Dan and Felibien, — a knight in armour half recumbent in a gloomy chamber, whose form is reflected in mirrors. Though signed with Savoldo's name and unlike the person whose name it bore, this likeness was long considered a portrait of Gaston de Foix by Giorgione. Far from being an early specimen (Gaston died in 1517) it is a bold, dusky, harsh production of late though uncertain date.³

For more than half a century it was a question which occupied the minds of philosophers and artists whether sculpture was not preferable to painting as a means of exhibiting nature in its utmost variety. Sculptors admitted

¹ Bergamo, Duomo. Wood, half length. See antea in Gio. Bellini.

² Brescia, San Barnaba. 4th altar to the r. Wood, figures life size, with a predella of the 18th century. The whole panel has undergone restoring. The blues (Virgin and St. Joseph) are new, and the head of a bearded man at a window is repainted in the lighter parts.

³ Paris Louvre. No. 395, Wood, m. 0. 91, h. by 1. 23 b. half length inscribed: "Œpera de jonani Jernjmo de Bressa de Savoldo." See the "Trésors des merveilles de Fontainebleau" by Père Dan, quoted in Louvre Catalogue, and Felibien, *Entretiens* u. s. Tom. III. p. 85.

that marble did not realize the idea of life by colour. Painters asserted that a given form could be reproduced in numberless varieties on one canvas by a judicious use of reflecting surfaces.¹ A replica of the so-called Gaston de Foix assigned to Giorgione at Hampton Court shows that Savoldo was an eager supporter of the doctrine held by the painters of his time and was fond of repeating what he considered the proof of his opinion.²

Very few and short notices of Savoldo's pictures are to be found in local annals and some of his canvases at Brescia were obviously executed in the Venetian lagoons. We may conclude that he went early, and perhaps before the catastrophe of the sack, to Venice, where, according to clear but hitherto unnoticed evidence, he resided in 1521.

It was about this time that the superintendents of the church of San Niccolò at Treviso ordered an altarpiece of an artist named Fra Marco Pensaben who began it and left it unfinished in the strangest and most mysterious manner.

On the 13th of April 1520 Vittor Belliniano, whose name we registered amongst the third rates of the 16th century appeared at Treviso and received in the name of "Fra Marco Pensaben of Venice" earnest money for a promise to paint a picture.³ On the 24th of the same month "Fra Marco Pensaben" arrived and on the 4th of May gave signs of pictorial activity by ordering the necessary basin and gally pots. On the 11th of August six lire were paid to "Fra Marco Maraveia" for working at the altarpiece; on the 27th of November "Fra Marco"

¹ Compare Vas. VII. 85. This debate was carried on till late in the 16th century — see *antea* in Giorgione. Bergamo. It represents the bust of a man in prayer in a landscape. Before him are a death's head and crucifix, on the corner of the panel: "MDXVIII. XX MAZI." The treatment recalls that of Vittor Belliniano's canvas at Vienna and the surface is flayed by cleaning. The work is cold and careful in the mixed feeling of Bellini and the elder Palma.

² Hampton Court. No. 74. "A warrior by Giorgione" of poorer execution than the Louvre example.

³ We may take this occasion to note a picture by Vittor Belliniano in the Lochis Carrara Gallery at

Bergamo. It represents the bust of a man in prayer in a landscape. Before him are a death's head and crucifix, on the corner of the panel: "MDXVIII. XX MAZI." The treatment recalls that of Vittor Belliniano's canvas at Vienna and the surface is flayed by cleaning. The work is cold and careful in the mixed feeling of Bellini and the elder Palma.

(? Pensaben or Maraveia) received 131 lire and 13 soldi as part of his due, besides 30 lire and 4 soldi for provisions. On the 31st of January 1521 "Fra Marco" received 6 lire and 4 soldi. A mysterious and unaccountable interruption then took place. "Fra Marco Pensaben" disappeared without leave from Treviso and defied all attempts at discovery. Fra Alvise a friar of the Dominican order, sent on a voyage of discovery in pursuit of Fra Marco returned on the 16th of July without finding him. He visited Padua, Monselice, Este, Legnago and Soave, but in vain. Fra Marco defied pursuit and never returned. We shall see that the person who performed the task then left incomplete was Savoldo.¹

It would be most desirable to test anew the series of records, which describes the coming of one friar and his employment as a painter at San Niccolò of Treviso, then registers in the same capacity a second friar of very nearly the same name and finally conceals the identity of both under the shorter title of Fra Marco. Previous to the publication of these documents Fra Marco Pensaben was altogether unknown. Federici his discoverer thought him identical with a friar who entered the Dominican order in 1502, held the office of under-prior at San Giovanni e Paolo of Venice in 1514 and that of upper sacristan of the same monastery in 1524. Marchese and others considered him the painter of a small picture signed "FR. MARCVS VENETVS", in the Lochis-Carrara Gallery at Bergamo. Federici alone ventured to assert that Fra Marco Pensaben and Sebastian del Piombò were one person.² It is scarcely credible that the under-prior and upper-sacristan of San Giovanni e Paolo should paint at Treviso

¹ Compare Federici, *Mem. Trevig. u. s. I.* 121. and following and p. p. 130—2.

² Compare Federici as above with Marchese, P. Vincenzo, *Mem. dei più insigni pitt. &c. § Dominiani III^a* Ed. Genoa. 1869. p. p. 249. and foll. and Rosini. — Mar-

chese gives proofs unknown to Federici that Fra Marco Pensaben of the Dominican order was already in S. Giov. e Paolo at Venice as early as 1502 and died there in 1530. It is therefore incorrect to say with Federici that he was unfrocked.

and employ a layman like Vittor Belliniano to receive earnest money from a monastery of his order. It would be strange that a Dominican who ran away from his engagements at San Niccolò in 1520 should be sacristan at San Giovanni e Paolo in 1524. It is more within the range of probability that the man who began the altarpiece of San Niccolò should have designed the Madonna of the Lochis Carrara gallery.

This Madonna is about one third the size of life. She wears a white striped veil and sits in the corner of a room damasked with red tapestry. The fingers of her right hand rest in a stiff position on the head of a kneeling abbot behind whom stand two saints, Peter Martyr and a bishop. Through a large opening in the wall of the apartment we observe a minute landscape with towers, houses, and trees. Shepherds tend their flocks or play on pipes in the distance; — on a table to the right a chequered cloth, a book, and out of the leaves, a scroll with the painter's signature. The figures are all in awkward action or cramped in hand and limb. Uniformity and redness of tint, dry outlines and spare shading all reveal a painter of small artistic means. The round-backed child is flat yet puffy in outline; the drawing is full of detail but incorrect; the hard flat colours are substantial and veiled with filmy glazes.¹ There is nothing in the treatment to recall Marziale or Basaiti, but the same types and handling recur in the earliest forms of Previtali and Lotto, and, with marks of a more elementary treatment, in two small panels of the Virgin and child at Stuttgart, in one of which we read the signature "Marcho d Joa^s b. p."² We are greatly reminded in

¹ Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. No. 219. Small panel of oblong shape with figures in half lengths.

² Here may be the fittest place to notice some pictures by Marco Marziale which enlarge our knowledge of his style. London, National Gallery, from San Silvestro

of Cremona, where it was executed in 1500 for the patrician Raimondi — having been in the Piccenardi collection near Cremona and then in the hands of Signor Baslini of Milan. Circumcision canvass tempera with fourteen figures under life size, inscribed: "MARCVS

all these pieces, of Marco Belli's circumcision at Rovigo.¹ The first two letters of the signature at Bergamo are not free from suspicion of falsification, but taking them as they stand they warrant us in believing that Marcus Venetus and Marco Belli are one person. Whether Fra Marco Pensaben is identical with Marcus Venetus and Marco Belli is difficult to say. What we now see in the altarpiece of San Niccolò is the hand of Savoldo, but the work which Savoldo found upon the altarpiece and covered over may have been worthy of Fr. Marcus Venetus or Marco Belli. The very humbleness of the artist whose acquaintance we make at Stuttgart, Rovigo and Bergamo harmonizes with Marco Pensaben's relation to Vittor Belliniano. The slow labours of Marco Pensaben at San Niccolò and the manner in which he threw up the commission square with the notion of his incapacity.

The composition and the lines of the architecture in the altarpiece of Treviso reveal an amount of artistic

MARTIALIS VENETVS IVSSV
MCI. EQVITIS ET IVRCON D
THOME R. OPVS HOC P. AN
MCCCC. M The figures are not without severe dignity in the half Paduan style of Cossa, the Venetian of Carpaccio and Cima, and the Friulan of Giovanni Martini. The ceremony is held at a gilt altar to the left of which a boy is kneeling, in a chapel with a cupola of gilt mosaics (see Anton Maria Panni's "Distinto rapporto delle dipinture" &c. Cremona 1762 p. 145.).

Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. Wood, oil, half life. Half length Virgin and ch. with the bust profile of a donor, inscribed: MARCVS MARTIALIS VENETVS PINGEBAT MDIII." Here Marziale commingles Venetian and Umbrian art in the fashion of the Vicentine Verla. The blue of the Virgin's mantle is new. Cremona, Piccenardi collection (since in the hands of Signor Baslini at Milan and purchased it is said for the National Gal-

lery). Virgin and child between S^t. John the Baptist, Roch, Peter Martyr and a bishop. A boy angel plays an instrument on the step of the throne. Wood, inscribed: MARCVS MARTIALIS VENETVS P. MDVII. This picture with full length figures of life size was once on the high altar of San Gallo at Cremona (see Panni u. s. p. 124.). Here too the style is semi-Umbrian and reminiscent of that of Vincenzo Pagani. The figures are wooden and hard, the colours dull and sombre; the drawing incorrect and coarse.

¹ Stuttgart Museum. No. 128. Wood, 1 f. 3½ h. by 1 f. 5. inscribed: Marcho d. joa^a b. p. The infant Christ sitting on the Virgin's lap gives a blessing. This picture is much repainted and attributed to Basaiti; see antea. No. 140. in the same museum; wood, 2 f. 2½ h. by 1 f. 8. assigned to Gio. Bellini, is by the same hand and also retouched.

culture, which it is difficult to assign to Marco Belli, Marcus Venetus or Fra Marco Pensaben. The figures are above life size; the noble cupola under which they stand, and the throne upon which the Virgin sits are in the best taste of the later Bellinesque period. The Virgin with her left hand at rest, and with her right supporting the standing child, the angel playing the viol on the step, — the whole group relieved on the umbrous green of a drooping cloth, are a beautiful example of Venetian arrangement. On the foreground to the left S^t. Nicholas holds the crozier and golden balls, S^t. Dominick and Benedict the IXth in thought behind him. To the right S^t. Thomas Aquinas looks at the Virgin, S^t. Jerom reads intently, and S^t. Liberale grasps a banner. A modern hand, perhaps the hand of Girolamo Pennacchi gave a coarse broad touch to the two last mentioned figures and swept with rapid strokes the lower part of Nicholas' face and dress, but the painter whose treatment we discern throughout the rest of the picture is Savoldo.¹

The records which Federici has printed inform us that after Fra Alvise failed to discover Fra Marco Pensaben, another painter was engaged to finish the altarpiece and on the 8th of September 1521 "Mistro Zan Jeronimo" (Gian' Girolamo Savoldo) was sent from Venice to replace him on the 21st of the following October. Gian' Girolamo finished the work entirely.² It now remains to be inquired how much of Fra Marco's design Savoldo preserved or whether he preserved any part of it. He may have kept the composition and architecture in which there is something akin to the grandeur of Sebastian del Piombo.

¹ Treviso, San Niccolò, in the choir above the high altar and between two windows which make it difficult to see the picture. Wood. 20½ f. h. by 12. restored as described in the text and recently flayed and cleaved which has done the picture harm. We note this flaying and cleaving in the S^t. Thomas, whose hands are retouch-

ed. The right eye of the angel on the steps is repainted. In the cupola, which simulates mosaic, are two rounds with heads of the apostles S^t. Mark and S^t. John. A lamp hangs over the throne, behind which we see the sky and clouds (see the line engraving of the altarpiece in Rosini's atlas).

² Federici n. s. I. 131—2.

Assuming that Fra Marco borrowed his cartoons from a good Venetian master say Sebastian del Piombo, we can still explain his failure. An artist of facile hand might under such circumstances produce work that would stand the test of criticism. Torbido was powerful in applying the designs of Giulio Romano, but Alfani stumbles when he paints on the lines of Raphael, and a feebler craftsman like Fra Marco falls to the ground. It is therefore possible that Fra Marco having tried to execute a cartoon by a better master than himself found the work beyond his strength and having sacked as much as he could of his employer's money left them in the lurch and covertly departed. Savoldo would thus have found the skeleton or scantling of a fine design before him and infused his own spirit into it. — Be this as it may there is no group in the altarpiece more complete or more in the spirit of the great Venetians than that of the Virgin, child, and angel; and in no part of the composition except perhaps in the weighty shape of the foreground saints is his style more apparent. We find his treatment in the genuine Brescian type of the Virgin whose plump face recalls the Palmesque ideal, in the aged and conventional shape of the infant Christ, in the accent of the contours, in the cramp and gnarled structure of the hands and the leathery substance of the flesh. There is nothing more characteristic in Savoldo than the blanket texture and superficial folding of drapery the warmth of lights and slaty grey of shadows or the slimy gloss of translucid colour. Nothing is more usual with him than to cast large surfaces into twilight, and these are all marked features in the Trevisan altarpiece.

In the glory of the Virgin at the Brera which Savoldo painted later for San Domenico of Pesaro we find reminiscences of the greater Venetian masters natural in an artist of his means. He recalls in equal proportions del Piombo and Titian. His figures are larger than nature, his form of the broad and fleshy character common to Moretto and Romanino. Four saints in couples look up

from a meadow towards the Virgin who rests with the infant Christ on clouds attended by two angels, but the peculiar mixture of ruddy lights and slaty half tones with which the figures are relieved upon the distant landscape and sky and the copious glossy vehicle with which the colours are impregnated are very characteristic of the master's individuality, whilst the background of hills and water melts in air with a richness of harmony to which Savoldo seldom attained. The large and powerful shape which distinguishes the principal personages coincides with that of the saints at Treviso; and the drapery has the same blanket texture with more amplitude of fold.¹ In composition and distribution as well as in details this fine picture is almost a counterpart of that which hangs above an altar on the left hand in Santa Maria in Organo of Verona — a genuine Savoldo under the name of Bonifazio. There is something unpleasant and raw at all times in the tinted olive of flesh shaded with purply half tints and darks of iron grey; the true fibre of the colourist is wanting in a master whose drapery shades are so strong and harsh as Savoldo's; and here perhaps these peculiarities are more marked than usual; but we probably take a more unfavorable view of these defects in a picture injured by time and retouching than we should in a specimen of better preservation.²

The Transfiguration at the Uffizi of which there is a large but inferior replica in the Ambrosiana of Milan, though disagreeable and hard in the marked depth of its outlines and in the rock greys which are introduced into

¹ Milan, Brera. No. 62. Wood, arched, m. 4. 78 h. by 3. 05. figures of life size, inscr.: "Opus de Joanne jeronimo de bresso dz° Savoldi." This is probably the picture alluded to at S. Domenico of Pesaro by Lanzi (II. 186.). But Lanzi only speaks of the Saviour and forgets the Virgin.

² Verona, S. Maria in Organo. Arched canvas with figures of life

size. The Virgin in heaven within a halo encircled by clouds looks down upon the standing figures of S^t. Peter and S^t. Bernard to the l. and S^t. Zeno and S^t. Paul to the r. On a stone to the l. is the date (suspiciously repainted) of 1533 and on the r. the escutcheon of the Veronese family della Torre. The whole picture is opaque and blind from retouching.

its darker parts is remarkable as a specimen of Savoldo's peculiar taste for startling effects. By placing the principal figures in front of an almond shaped halo which lights the whole scene, the Saviour and the prophets, and the apostles beneath them are thrown into a neutral tinted darkness relieved by a mere fringe of cold and half reflected rays.¹

A warmer and more attractive example of similar treatment, the adoration of the shepherds under Titian's name at the Pitti either shows that Savoldo usually failed to achieve the success which attends Vecelli or, on some rare occasions as on this one, nearly attained to the richness of tone and handling peculiar to that master.²

The subjects with Savoldo, in his tricky manner most habitually preferred were the nativity, the Epiphany, or the infant Christ presented to the veneration of saints. In one of the latter at the Turin Museum a series of half lengths long assigned to Pordenone, the name is to some extent justified by affinity to Palma; and we find the germ of the same conception in one of Romanino's altarpieces, S^t. Joseph lifting a white cloth from the form of the waking infant who receives the prayers of the Virgin and S^t. Francis.³ A counterpart of this composition in Savoldo's most characteristic manner is preserved at Hampton Court as a work of Pordenone and only differs from that of Turin by the substitution of a female for S^t. Francis.⁴ A nativity with small figures in the museum of Turin reproduces a beautiful effect of dusk after sunset in a mountain landscape. The Virgin kneels to the right

¹ Florence, Uffizi. No. 645. Wood, half life size. The panel is split and not free from retouching. It was originally in the Gallery of Leopold of Tuscany (Boschini Carta del Navegar u. s. 365.)

Milan Ambrosiana, with life size figures, but dimmed by time and superposed colours ? original.

² Florence Pitti. No. 423. Small

panel with full lengths, ascribed to Titian.

³ Turin Museum. No. 118. Canvas, m. 0. 90 h. by 1. 37. half lengths.

⁴ Hampton Court. No. 631. Canvas with life size half lengths. Since the lines in the text were written, the name of the painter in full is said to have been found on the picture.

before the child whose infant majesty is worshipped by the shepherds in varied attitudes. We seldom find more finish, atmosphere, or blending in the master's canvases.¹ A different arrangement of this incident akin to that in San Barnaba of Brescia may be found in an injured state at San Giobbe of Venice.²

Savoldo's Epiphany in the Leuchtemberg collection at St. Petersburg is catalogued as Giorgione, and is but a charming repetition of the composition adapted to an adoration of the shepherds by the same hand in the Manfrini palace at Venice.³

Savoldo is one of the few north Italians in whom genial humour and spirit are illustrated by solitary female figures. In portraits, conversation pieces, allegories, or illustrations of classic fable we find occasional studies of expression. We seldom or never see a more naturally subtle display of feminine character than that illustrated in the Venetian girl at the Berlin Museum. The hour is sunset. The shape is that of a woman, young, warm, and impulsive. Her form half hid in a mantilla glides round the corner of a ruin. The light just tips her nose and leaves the rest of the face in gloom. The right hand concealed in the silk which it lifts to the chin, the left hand clutching the skirts, the furtive archness of the glance, the twilight in

¹ Turin Mus. No. 119. Wood, m. 1. 41 h. by 0. 96.

² Venice, S. Giobbe. Canvas with figures of life size, cleaned and renewed in many parts, and hence perhaps without the date of 1540 noticed by the annotators of Vas. (XI. p. 265.)

³ St. Petersburg. Leuchtemberg Coll. No. 22. Wood. 2 f. 5 h. by 3 f. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. To the l. in front of the penthouse, the Virgin seated with the infant on her lap, attended by St. Joseph; to the right of the group two shepherds kneeling and in a distant landscape the procession of the kings; to the l. a cherub looking into a sarcophagus, ascribed to Giorgione, called Pordenone by Waa-

gen (Hermitage p. 375) but a genuine Savoldo. The episode of the cherub is similar to that in the so called Titian "Love sacred and profane" in the Borghese Palace at Rome. The colour is dusky, raw, and enamelled, the drawing heavily marked; shadow as usual predominant over light.

Venice. Manfrini. Canvas same as the foregoing, but that the infant Christ is asleep in a basket. The Virgin kneels in prayer and the young Baptist is seen approaching. Here the catalogue correctly gives the name of Savoldo, but the execution is lower than usual, and the picture may be a school piece.

which the scene is shrouded are full of mystery.¹ It was a successful picture in its day and Savoldo repeated it in the "Zingara" assigned to Titian at the Fenaroli mansion in Brescia. But there the mystery is diminished. A table with a vase stands in a corner, the figure no longer glides, but halts; and Venice with its waste of waters and island buildings greets us from the distance.²

A fine and effective portrait of a flute player in the garb of a shepherd, with massive shadows projected over his face by a broad brimmed hat, and a charming clouded landscape passes for a Giorgione in the Earl of Wemyss' Scotch seat of Longniddy;³ it is by Savoldo, as likewise the manly likeness of a soldier in a breast-plate belonging to the Lichtenstein collection at Vienna.⁴

That Savoldo produced largely and approvingly during a long and active life is apparent from the works we have reviewed. The list deserves to be enlarged and completed.⁵ We gain some knowledge of the position which

¹ Berlin Mus. No. 307. Canvas. 2 f. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ h. by 2 f. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ l. from the Solly collection, inscribed: "Joannes Jeronimus Savoldus di Brescia faciebat." Knee-piece.

² Brescia. Fenaroli mansion. Canvas, life size, knee piece. The same perhaps described as a Magdalen in the Averoldi mansion at Brescia by Ridolfi (Marav. I. 355).

³ Scotland. Longniddy. Canvas; half length of life size, in a dark grey vest and lake coloured sleeves and holding a flute. The colour is somewhat opaque from cleaning and retouching. In the distance to the r. houses and trees in front of which is a well, and several figures male and female with an ox, an ass and sheep. This picture exactly corresponds to that described as a Sebastian del Piombo in the Musselli coll. at Verona (see Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi &c.* 8°. Modena. 1870. p. 188).

⁴ Vienna. Lichtenstein Collection. Canvas life size. A man in armour and red sleeves leans his right

elbow on a projection covered with the folds of a yellow mantle. In his left he holds a staff and his head is bare. In the distance to the r. St. George kills the dragon. This also goes under Giorgione's name. The colours and outlines are enfeebled by retouches.

⁵ It may be enlarged as follows: Vienna. Belvedere. Ground floor Room III. No. 29. Entombment. Wood. 2 f. 6 h. by 3 f. 9. half lengths assigned to Lotto, in Savoldo's hard dull tones, perhaps the same picture to which Ridolfi (Marav. I. 355) alludes as being in the Casa Antelmi at Venice. A copy of this piece is in the Venice Academy under No. 77, and the catalogue states that "the original in the Belvedere at Vienna was in S. Maria dell' Orto at Venice."

London. The Right Hon. Austin Layard Esq. from the Manfrini collection. St. Jerom in the desert, the same it is said which Ridolfi mentions (Marav. I. 355) as having belonged to "Mme d' Ardier" but?

he held in the estimation of his contemporaries in a letter written by Aretino in the winter of 1548. The friend and comrade of Titian describes in the fulsome style to which we are accustomed, the rare qualities of Savoldo, deplores the weight of years which lames his powers; and suggests comfort for his advanced age in the value set on his numerous and important creations.¹

Amongst the numerous Brescian artists who held a subordinate rank in the 16th century, two or three deserve to be recorded:

Girolamo d' Antonio of Brescia is a Carmelite who took the frock in 1490 at Florence, and practised for the benefit of his order till 1529. The realistic vulgarity and weight of his figures in early frescos seem derived from the school of Andrea del Castagno, whilst a later composition at Savona betrays acquaintance with the models of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and the Umbrians of the time. Christ as the man of sorrows, in the second cloister at the Carmine of Florence, a half

M^{me} d' Ardier's pictures, St. Jerom and a Magdalen were taken to Paris as we infer from Félibien. (*Entretiens* n. s. II. 85.)

Venice Academy. No. 258, from the Manfrini Collection. The Hermits Peter and Paul, with an inscription: "Jacopus Savoldo, fato? (some read 1570.) Brixia." This picture is quite in Gian' Girolamo Savoldo's manner yet bears the name of "Jacopus". If we accept the usual reading of the inscription as well as its genuineness we have a later Savoldo walking in the footsteps of the earlier one. In this style we have in the same gallery (Venice Acad.) No. 88. Wood. S. Elias, and No. 161. a lunette with a bust of king David from the Manfrini Collection.

¹ Aretino to Gian' Maria, Venice Dec. 1548, in Bottari 3. 176, and Aretino Lett. V. p. 64.

The following works noticed in old authors are missing. Venice (?)

Zecca, 4 night scenes (Vas. XI. 265). Casa Tommasoda Empoli, a nativity, night scene (Ib. ib.). Query the so-called Titian at the Pitti No. 423. Casa Francesco Zio, Christ washing the feet of his disciples (Anon. ed. Morelli p. 70)? the picture under Pordenone's name, No. 165, at the Berlin Museum in which there is something of Bonifazio and Rocco Marcione, but which might be Savoldo's in his old age. San Domenico, picture in the chapel of Lorenzo Massa (Sansovino ed. Mart 25). Casa Odoni, a nude female on a bed (Anon. p. 62) and the continence of Scipio (Ib. ib.). Cavalier Gussoni, night effects (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 355). Brescia. Casa Anselmo Oliva, Virgin giving the breast to the child, and Joseph drawing water in a room (Ib. ib.). Brescia. San Francesco Sposalizio (Ib. ib.). Brescia. Santa Croce. High altar. Virgin at the foot of the cross. Chizzola u. s. p. 81.

length (fresco) inscribed "Hieronymus de Brixia, pinxit 1504"; a dead Christ on the Virgin's lap, a fresco in the same convent illustrate this phase of Fra Girolamo's art. Christ adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph and the kneeling forms of the donors attended by St. Francis and another saint, an altarpiece in the Scuola della Carità (originally in San Giovanni) at Savona, is an example of the second phase. We read in the latter: "Opus frater Hieronimi De Brixia Carme 1519". Of all these pieces, the altarpiece especially is injured by time and repaints.¹

Ottavio Rossi relates of Paolo Zoppo that having spent two years in painting the sack of Brescia on a crystal basin for Doge Gritti (1523—1538), and having lost the fruits of his labour by a fall which broke the glass, he became so seriously affected by the loss that he took to his bed and died at Desenzano on the lake of Garda. He adds that Zoppo was a painter of pictures and frescos but better known as a miniaturist. The name of Paolo Zoppo is found in the correspondence of Pietro Bembo, where he appears as a friend of Giovanni Bellini in 1505. Much that he is supposed to have left behind in Brescian churches has been lost, but judging of these works by an extant panel at San Pietro in Oliveto in which Christ is represented carrying his cross, it is possible to assume that Paolo Zoppo has been confounded with Vincenzo Foppa the younger.²

¹ There are records concerning Fra Girolamo in Filza 29 of the Carmelite archives now preserved at the archivio centrale di Stato of Florence. From extracts kindly made for us by Padre Mattei of the Carmine we learn that Fra Girolamo professed on the 28th of March 1490, and sang his first mass in 1494; but on the 26th of March 1498, he received a dispensation to attend exclusively to art. He painted a likeness of Padre Niccolò of Venice, an eloquent preacher of his day at Sienna and Pisa. He died on the 6th of Aug. 1529. — The fresco of the Ecce Homo is life size, that of the Virgin with the dead Saviour which is on the convent staircase displays more skill and is under life size. In the distance of the latter, Jerusalem is figured by a view of Florence. The blues are all faded; the flesh tones dim and purplish in

shadows. In the altarpiece at Savona, a panel with two vertical splits, the figures are large as in nature but injured by scaling and repainting, the least injured heads being those of St. Joseph and the Virgin. (Compare, Lanzi III. 235.)

² The frescos assigned to Paolo Zoppo in Brescia, are the following: S. Pietro on Oliveto, frescos of Christ in the house of Simon, Christ at Emmaus and Mar. of Cana, and Christ on the road to Calvary. S. Cosimo e Damiano; Virgin and child between St. Cosmo and Damian (missing), Santa Croce; Christ crowned with thorns, and the flagellation (missing). S. Domenico, nativity. Santa M. degli Angeli; St. Augustin trampling on two prostrate heretics, between two saints. S. Barnaba, Virgin with the dead Saviour, Magdalen, St. John Ev. Augustin, and Barnabas. O. Rossi, *Elogi*. n. s. p. 508. Ri-

Yet of the younger Foppa, our knowledge is slight and dubious. He is not mentioned in guides or chronicles of any antiquity nor is there any authentic account of his birth, manhood, or death; he is only described in general terms as related to Vincenzo Foppa the elder and taught either by him or Ferramola. The teaching and influence of the latter is certainly apparent in a considerable number of frescos, at Brescia, in the churches of Santa Giulia, San Salvatore, Santa Maria in Solario the old "Scuola del Sacramento", and the ex-orary of San Casciano, and in another form in a Christ on the road to Calvary in the Tosi Gallery and a last supper in Santa Barbara; but in later creations, such as the Christ carrying his cross at San Giovanni Evangelista he copies a Titianesque design and treats it after the fashion of the Leonardesques, and in the glory of the Virgin, with St. Jerom, a friar, and 2 beatified nuns, at Santa Maria delle Grazie, or the annunciation and martyrdom of two saints at San Nazzaro e Celso, of Brescia, he shows himself a follower of Moretto and Romanino.¹

Better known as a representative of the Brescian school, Calisto da Lodi deserves to rank amongst the most industrious of the pupils

dolfi, Mar. I. 342. Averoldo, Scelte Pitture u. s. p. 205. Darco delle arti Mant. u. s. II. p. 60; and Chizzola, Pitt. di Brescia. In the Lochis Carrara Gallery Nos. 325 and 336 representing angels carrying the symbols of the Passion are given to "Paolo da Brescia". They are altogether different in style from the Christ carrying his cross at San Pietro in Oliveto of Brescia.

³ The works assigned to Foppa the younger may be enumerated as follows:

Brescia. S. Giulia; frescos of the crucifixion, and other scenes from the life of Christ — except the modern Christ in glory and annunciation in the nave, and scriptural and legendary episodes in chapels. S. Salvatore; frescos: the Eternal and incidents from the legends of St. Onofrio and St. Obizzo on the inner wall of the portal and scenes from the history of Christ and the Virgin injured by repaint in a chapel. S. M. in Solario, injured and dimmed frescos; scenes from the life of Christ St. Julia and other saints with the dates of 1518 and 1519,

a ceiling with the Redeemer and symbols of the Evangelists and a triumph of religion. Scuola Elementaria or old Scuola del Sacramento; repainted frescos; episodes 14 in number from the lives of St. Faustinus and Giovita. Ex-orary of San Casciano (now school of elementary drawing), frescos, subjects from the Passion. Tosi Gallery (of old in the Comune) tempera of numerous figures under life size, much injured by scaling and abrasion, in which we notice the usual groups, the fainting Virgin and St. Veronica, S. Barbara, Sacristy. Last supper in oil; life size, much repainted. S. Gio. Evangelista, Christ carrying his cross, with three soldiers or executioners, half lengths on canvas. S. M. delle Grazie, Virgin and child and four saints faded and retouched, life size. Santi Nazzaro e Celso, Sacristy, annunciation on two canvases, ruined; organ doors on canvas with the martyrdoms of S. Nazzaro and St. Celso, disfigured by repaints, life size figures (Consult Chizzola's Sala's and Odorici's Brescian Guides.)

of Romanino. He was carried at an early age out of the Leonardesque into the Venetian current, and laboured assiduously at Brescia whilst his father practised at Lodi; but it is not improbable that, previous to his unconditional adoption of the Giorgionesque style, he painted pictures reminiscent of the elder Piazzas.¹ In the Visitation which he designed for Santa Maria in Calchera in 1521, but still more in the nativity which he finished for the Baptistry of San Clemente at Brescia in 1524, he combined the sombre tone, the free outline and handling of Romanino with the slender make and affected grace of the Southern Lombards, and in many compositions subsequent to these — the annunciation at San Clemente, the Virgin and saints at San Rocco and the Madonna with St. Peter and St. John the Evangelist in the Erizzo-Maffei collection, at Brescia, he preserved those characteristics;² but he soon learnt to imitate the colossal form as well as the technical system of Romanino, and the Madonna with the Baptist and St. Jerom at the Brera, or the decollation of the Baptist in the Belvedere of Vienna are notable instances of the change.

There is a striking contrast in the Brera altarpiece between the large size of the infant Christ or the herculean shape of the half-nude saints and the gentler person of the Virgin. The decollation — a composition of frequent recurrence — shows Herodias, daughter surrounded

¹ Turin. Museum. No. 125. Canv. m. 0. 63 h. by 0. 80. This canvas with a half length Virgin carrying the infant Christ astride of her arm, who clings to her breast, is under the name of Cesare da Sesto. It is not without Umbro-Raphaellesque *smorpha*, but indicates a cold and careful young painter bred in the school of the Piazzas. Thin impast, clean outline, and bright variegated landscape confirms this impression.

² Chizzola's Brescian Guide (p. 141), gives a description of an altarpiece "in several fields" with the nativity in the centre and at the sides, St. Simon and St. Giuda. This altarpiece signed and dated 1514, in S. S. Simone e Giuda of Brescia is not traceable. Brescia: S. M. in Calchera. Canvas, life size, eight figures in a landscape, inscr.; "CALISTVS LAVDENSIS FACIEBAT 1521". injured by time and repainting. — Tosi coll. from S. Clemente, canvas tempera, figures

under life size. To the r. the Virgin kneeling before the infant supported by a winged angel and in a movement of studied grace; to the l. kneeling in front of a landscape, St. Stephen and St. Antonino, on a paper: "CALISTVS LAVDENSIS FACIEBAT 1524". The colours are dim and partly repainted; the Virgin's mantle renewed. St. Clemente, canvas distempers of the Virg. and ang. annunciate, much injured. San Rocco, wood, under life size, Virg. and ch. in a landscape between Sts. Margaret, John the Baptist, Anthony of Padua and Roch, a picture of dusky but coloured tints not free from restoring. Erizzo-Maffei Coll. Virg. ch. St. Peter and John Evangelist. Wood half life, the yellow and blue draperies of St. Peter renewed, the rest of the panels injured. In the same coll. a small St. Jerom ruined. (Consult Averoldo, Pitt. Scelte n. s. p. p. 213 and 324. Odorici Guida n. s. p. 145.)

by spectators holding the dish into which the brawny executioner drops the head, whilst the trunk of the Baptist lies, cleverly foreshortened, in the foreground; all the figures are in quick and natural action, the treatment boldly superficial, the colour of dusky tone; the rawness inseparable from work produced at one painting is obviated by scumbles giving mellowness to the different planes of the picture; but something in the contours which recalls Garofalo and the Ferrarese imitators of Raphael tells, even at this time, of influences not exclusively Brescian.¹

A large and complicated version of the Marys and disciples mourning over the dead body of the Saviour, with the date of 1527 in the parish church of Esine brings us back to the false anatomy and defective drawing of Romanino's athletes. The Virgin and child of 1529 in the church of Cividale plagiarizes Romanino's Madonna of 1513 at Padua.²

In 1529 Calisto lost his father and journeyed to Lodi where he entered into some sort of partnership with his brothers and promised to join them in finishing one of the altarpieces left incomplete by Albertino Piazza. So no doubt originated the altarpiece in courses which represents the massacre of the innocents and other subjects in the cathedral of Lodi. We may attribute the combination of vivid colour and mild impersonations which mark that piece to the united influences in play at the time of its execution.³

¹ Milan. Brera. No. 338. Wood. m. 2. 13 h. by 1. 75, from San Francesco of Brescia (Chizzola, Guida p. 66), full length figures of life size. A curtain behind the Virgin partly intercepts the view of a landscape, at the Virgin's feet a small winged angel plays the viol. — Vienna. Belvedere. Ground floor. Room II. Venet. sch. No. 7. Wood. Knee piece. 3 f. 9 h. by 2 f. 11. On the back of the panel: "D. BENEVENTVS BRVNELLVS

² Esine above Pisogne on the lake of Iseo (ch. of). Pietà (wood) with seven figures, half the size of life, above which a panel with two angels adoring the chalice, inscr.: "CALISTVS LAVDENSIS FACIEBAT. 1527." The predella contains half lengths of saints. High up on the wall of the ch. two figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, much faded are assigned to Calisto. Cividale (ch. of). Wood life size. Virg. and ch. enthroned between the standing saints, Stephen and Lawrence, the kneeling Baptist and Andrew (?). Two angels in flight at the upper corners of the throne; on a card: "CHALISTVS LAVDENSIS FACIEBAT." The figures are dry and slender the colour somewhat faded and scaled.

³ Lodi. Duomo. Altarpiece in 6 arched parts, with figures on panel one quarter of life size. Lower course. Massacre of the Innocents

Contemporary with this monumental production we have the damaged Decollation of St. John, dated 1530 in the church of the Incoronata of Lodi, and numerous other compositions in the same church in which the styles of the Piazza family are represented.

For many years afterwards Calisto received orders for the Incoronata, painting numerous episodes from sacred and legendary history; and as late as 1538 a deposition of Christ from the cross.¹ His largest and most important undertakings were those of a still later time.

The Virgin and child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch and two other saints, at Sant' Antonio of Breno is one of his altarpieces in which there is most energy of life and one in which vividness of colour seems to indicate acquaintance with Dosso Dossi and the Ferrarese.²

between two saints in armour, a pope and a bishop; upper course Virgin and ch. with the Magdalen and a kneeling female betw. St. James, St. Paul, St. Michael and another saint. There is a mixture here of the schools of Lodi and Ferrara (see record of Aug. 20. 1529 in Calvi, *Notizie*, p. 130—1 and 139). In the chapel which contains the altarpiece are the following panels in oil St. Paul the Hermit with St. Anthony, the temptation of St. Anthony. St. Anthony over the dead body of St. Paul, and the lions scratching the grave. St. Anthony struggling with the demons. St. Anthony's sermon. All these are dim and of feeble execution and may be by Scipione Piazza. But of Scipione we have an authentic altarpiece the Virgin and ch. betw. St. Peter and St. Paul, in San Spirito of Bergamo, inser.: "Scipio Laudensis", a careful work with clear and rosy flesh tones.

¹ Lodi. Incoronata. Altarpiece, tempera. Decollation of John the Baptist, opaque, injured, and restored; inser.: "CALISTVS DE PLTEA FACIEBAT MDXXX". In the same chapel. — Four panels in oil; the Nativity, the Baptism, the Sermon of John, and Herodias' daughter with the Baptist's head, figures under life size, recalling Romanino and Garofalo. In another chapel. Deposition, arched canvas,

figures large as life in tempera, inscribed: "CALISTVS DE PLATEA LAVD FACIEBAT MDXXXVIII". On the walls of the chapel are the following panels by the same hand: The Flagellation, the capture, Christ carrying his cross and Christ crucified (oil under life size). On the piers of the choir hang the following panels — all of them dusky and uniform in tone. St. Joachim distributing alms; St. J. expelled from the temple, meeting of Joachim and Anna, and birth of the Virgin. In the 6th chapel above the altar, the conversion of St. Paul, a cold faded panel with figures of life size. Above the portal are four canvases representing subjects from the old testament, dull, unpleasant schoolpieces of Scipione Piazza.

² Breno. S. Antonio. Canvas, injured by abrasion and restoring. Virg. ch. and two angels supporting a green hanging behind her. On the foreground stand St. Sebastian drawing an arrow from his breast and St. Roch. St. Anthony and a bishop kneel nearer the spectator. In the spandrels of an arch are medallions with the angel and Virgin annunciate; in a predella three rounds with figures of saints (one of them St. John the Baptist). The Virgin's mantle is new, St. Sebastian injured, St. Roch's dress repainted. In the same church, we have the Depo-

His frescos of St. George and the Dragon, St. John the Baptist martyred and the Assumption at Erzano, and a large surface of mural paintings which may be ascribed to him at Edolo sparkle with the spirit of the Brescians and are judged worthy of Romanino.¹ It was unavoidable that some moments of his practise should be marked by careless conventionalism and lack of expression, and these faults are conspicuous in a Madonna with saints completed in 1535 for Santa Trinità di Crema;² but Calisto to the very last preserved a considerable share of power; and the frescos with which he covered the walls of the monastery of San Maurizio at Milan in 1544, are remarkable for variety of thought and freedom of execution.³

Luca Mombello, in numerous pieces at Brescia, and particularly in a presentation in the Temple at the Tosi Gallery proclaims himself

sition from the cross by the same hand, with figures under life size, and in San Gregorio of Breno a canvas with the Virg. child, young Baptist and saints Faustinus and Giovita.

¹ Erzano. Ch. of. Frescos partly abraded and partly scaled away, but important works of Calisto; comprising several pleasant compositions, with numerous figures treated in a bold picturesque and brightly coloured style, ex gr.: St. George and the dragon, and the female in flight, the latter graceful, the former awkwardly sitting on a horse (at the side of this subject the scutcheon of the Federici family), Decollation of St. John as at Vienna, but with full length figures, and a larger number of spectators (split obliquely); the apostles round the tomb, and the Virgin ascending in a circle of cherubs, a composition like that of Romanino at S. Alessandro of Bergamo.

Edolo. S. Gio. Battista, choir, scenes from the life of the Baptist and Christ crucified, on the walls, in the covings and ceiling, the Eternal, angels, and episodes from the old testament. But in these frescos it is difficult not to err as to the original character of the execution as most of the parts have undergone retouching. We

may therefore hesitate between Calisto and Foppa the younger. In the lunette above the portal (outside) a ruined Virgin and child with saints (half lengths) seems of the same period and handling as the frescos of the choir.

² Crema. Ch. della Trinità. Canvas, of the Virg. Christ, Sts. Joseph, Peter, Paul, Roch and Sebastian in a landscape distance inscribed: "CALISTVS LAVDEN-SIS FACIEBAT 1535".

³ Milan. Brera, from the Monastero Maggiore. Marriage of Cana, said to have borne the date of 1545, fresco with figures above the size of life, likewise thirteen half lengths in lunettes of king David and the twelve apostles. — Lanzi also mentions as in the monastery the washing of the feet, the miracle of the loaves, the Epiphany and the Baptism on some one of which was the date of 1556 (Lanzi u. s. II. 189).

There are descriptions in books of Calisto's altarpiece, of 1533 at Codogno, a nativity (Passavant, Kunstblatt 1838, No. 74.) and Lomazzo (Trattato p. 598) notices frescos of the Muses in the garden of the President Sacco at Milan, with a portrait of Sacco himself and his wife. Amongst missing works we note the Pietà once in San Lorenzo of Brescia.

an assistant and tame disciple of Moretto; whilst Francesco Ricca, of whom we have a composition dated 1566 in San Filippo Neri (from San Pietro in Oliveto of Brescia) proves too feeble to deserve any sort of notice.¹

Of more cultivated taste and not without artificial boldness, Lattanzio Gambara freely combines the style of his master Antonio Campi, with that of his father-in-law Romanino. There are still traces of his rich and highly coloured treatment in the frescos of the "Case del Gambaro", in the Corso del Teatro at Brescia — a series representing the rape of the Sabines, the death of Patroclus, Aeneas and Dido and other illustrations of classic allegory and fable. They are the lively product of an imaginative mind feeding on the traditions of Pordenone. On the façade of the Casa Soranzo at Asolo we still read the words: "Latantius Brixienensis" in the ornamental framings of subjects derived from the old testament. Between 1568 and 1572, Lattanzio assisted by Soiaro, completed the twelve large frescos of the cathedral at Parma, in which the history of Christ from the annunciation to the Transfiguration and numberless figures of prophets and saints and contemporary celebrities are depicted; but there is no part of this vast decoration that has not been disfigured by restoring or obliterated by time. Amongst the most spirited compositions of this prolific master are the damaged frescos in the Castello of Brescia Dædalus and Icarus, pagan deities, seasons, and the triumphs of Bacchus and Ariadne. In the old pharmacy of the Benedictines, now part of the organ loft at San Faustino Maggiore in Brescia, the ceiling is filled with gods and goddesses, who listen to the lyre of Apollo. The large nativity on one of the altars of San Faustino is one of Lattanzio's most important compositions and swarms with angels sporting about the roof of the ruined pent house.²

Cremonese painting though it had no real originality was, at various periods, distinguished by its own peculiar mark. In early times Bonifazio Bembo carried to Milan the manner of Gentile, Pisano and Francesca; as the 15th century closed and the 16th century dawned, the masters with whom the Cremonese became familiar were Ferrarese. So long as the old style was preserved by the elder Grandi

¹ Consult the guides as above | see also Ottavio Rossi, *Elogi* n. s. and Vasari XI. 267. | p. p. 511—13. Vas. XI. 250. 257. 261—65, and Ridolfi, *Le Marav.* I.

² Compare the guides as before, | 357 and foll.

and Costa, so long the Cremonese kept in the path of the Mantegnesques and Bolognese. When Venetian models came into fashion at Ferrara, Cremona fell into Venetian habits. Thus Tacconi reminds us of the Squarcionesques and followers of Vivarini. Boccaccino and Altobello recall Grandi and Costa; Gian' Francesco Bembo imitated the Ferrarese Palmesques. Galeazzo Campi alone combined the harshness of Boccaccino with the smorpha of Perugino.

Bonifazio Bembo was probably an artist of note at Cremona, in the days of the Sforza. He seems as far back as 1455 to have been in the service of the Duke Francesco, and he was registered amongst the decorators of the palaces at Milan and Pavia in 1461—7.¹ At the accession of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1467, Bembo retired to Cremona whither the patronage of the ducal family followed him. Francesco's widow, Bianca Maria, employed him to paint full lengths of herself and her lost husband in Sant' Agostino, and whilst occupied with this commission in 1467 and 1468 he contracted for altarpieces and curtain falls in the Duomo. His estimate for adorning the castle of Pavia afresh at the cost of 8000 ducats is preserved in the Milanese accounts for 1469, whilst his charges for wall paintings in Santa Maria da Caravaggio and the Milanese palace of the countess of Melzi are dated 1474 and 1477.²

Before the partial but destructive restoration of the Sforza likenesses in Sant' Agostino of Cremona, it was easy to perceive that Bembo's style, like that of other early Cremonese, was formed after that of Vittore Pisano, Gentile da Fabriano and Piero della Francesca; it was minute and highly finished; it displayed a careful study of nature and delicate stippled treatment, and recalled those pictures of Lorenzo di Pietro which cover the walls of Santa Maria della Verità near Viterbo.³ We may regret that so little should have been

¹ Calvi notizie. II. 87. Lomazzo (Trattato p. 405.) calls Bembo Fazio Bembo da Val d'Arno alluding to the frescos in the palace of Milan, one of which according to Zaist (Notiz. Istor. I. 52. 53.) was inscribed: "De Bembis de Cremona 1461." This is no doubt the fresco praised in Vasari (XI. 252), who, as we shall see makes no difference between Bonifazio and the later Gian' Francesco Bembo.

² Calvi, Notiz. II. 89. 91. Ros-

mini (Carlo de') Dell' Istoria di Milano fol. 1820. Tom. IV. p. p. 145—50. In proposing to decorate the castello of Pavia, Bembo had a competitor — Costantino Vaprio who offered to do the work cheaper. — Rosmini as above. Michele Caffi in Archiv. Stor. Ital. Serie Terza, Tom. X. Part I. 1869. p. 173.

³ Amongst the early pictures of Umbrian character at Cremona we should not forget the Virgin and child enthroned between two an-

preserved of the labours of a man entitled to be remembered amongst the better second rates of Lombardy; yet a dozen of early Cremonese including Cristoforo Moretti have been treated with greater scurviness and only live in the pages of Lomazzo, Zaist, and Vidoni.¹

Francesco and Filippo Tacconi were described as citizens and famous painters at Cremona in a decree exempting them from certain burdens

gels holding scrolls — an arched panel tempera in the Palazzo Reale. The prototypes of the painter are Ottaviano Nelli, Boccatti da Camerino or Matteo da Gualdo. The figures are lean and long and draped in flat cloths cut with straight and broken lines. The flesh tints are clear, the dresses in part scaled away. Of a later date and, as it were, a link in the chain connecting Bembo's art with that of the better Umbrians, is a Virgin and child enthroned in front of a green hanging, with a kneeling patron at her feet (dress repainted) in the Palazzo Reale of Cremona. The figures on this panel (one third of life size) are better proportioned and fuller than those of the foregoing piece, the heads however are still unpleasant. Four angels playing instruments stand in various parts of the composite throne, the faces of which are decorated with medallions. In the same style, and in the same locality are panels with gold grounds containing figures of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. George. The altarpiece with the kneeling donor, may be by Bembo, whose treatment was much the same in frescos at Sant' Agostino. These frescos at Sant' Agostino represent the kneeling full lengths of Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza (life size) on opposite walls of a chapel. A few years ago they boasted some original character but they are now ruined by repaints. Both are profiles, Francesco in a cap, tunic and tight hose, Bianca also in a cap, both kneeling on cushions. The flesh was rosy, the outlines careful, and the whole softly modelled with very fine hatchings. Zaist (I.

53.) and Grasselli (p. p. 37—41.) mention as a missing ornament of the chapel, Bembo's altarpiece representing the patron saints Chrysanthus and Daria — and Grasselli says he had seen it in the Averoldi collection at Brescia. Bembo finished an altarpiece in April 1467 for the cathedral of Cremona, which shared the fate of other works in the same place and perished (Grasselli *abecedario biografico dei pittori etc.* Cremonesi. 8^o. Milano 1827. p. 37.). The same may said of the frescos of the nativity ordered by Bianca Maria for the monastery della Colomba — and the portraits of Galeazzo Maria and Bona of Savoy. We shall see that the frescos assigned to Bonifazio Bembo in the nave of Cremona Duomo are by Gian' Francesco Bembo.

¹ Compare Zaist u. s. Conte Bartolommeo de Soresina Vidoni. *La pittura Cremonese descritta*. Milano 1824. and Lomazzo's *Trattato* and *Idea del Tempio*.

Of Cristoforo Moretti, it is necessary to speak if only to contradict, the belief which is still general that he painted frescos in the nave of Cremona cathedral (Zaist I. 23—4.). Cristoforo Moretti is noticed by Lomazzo (*Tratt.* 405.) as one of those who painted in the Palazzo dell' Arengo, at Milan in Francesco Sforza's reign. We know that in that of Galeazzo Maria (1467—1476) he valued frescos in the Castello di Porta Giovia at Milan, being referee in company with Foppa and others (*Calvi* II. 66. 248.). The frescos erroneously assigned to him at Cremona are by Romanino — not a trace of his works remains.

in 1464. They are stated in this decree to have deserved the praise as well as the gratitude of the town for their success in painting the loggia of the public palace, and they are asked in return for the exemption granted to them to furnish a picture of the annuntiate Virgin; Venetian Guides of the last century preserve Francesco Tacconi's inscription and the date of 1490 on the canvas shutters of the organ at San Marco of Venice, and give us reason for believing that they were executed with the help of one Urbano da Venezia. Though time and accidents obliterated the inscription and seriously injured the distemper colours, enough remains to enable us to guess at the subjects, which as we discern, are the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection and Assumption. The style so far as we can judge is that of a feeble Squarcionesque. It is but the more strange that Francesco's Madonna of 1489 in the National Gallery should exhibit different characteristics and display a strong tendency to imitation of the Vivarini.¹

We might add to the list of Cremonese artists Antonio della Corna, whom we saw proclaiming himself a pupil of Mantegna in a picture

¹ Grasselli (Abecedario u. s. pp. 242 — 3.) publishes the decree mentioned in the text. It bears the date April 4. 1464. Vidoni (Pitt. Crem. u. s. p. 124.) describes the frescos in the townhouse of Cremona as they stood at the beginning of the present century. They were afterwards whitewashed. Moschini (Guida di Ven. u. s. l. 287.) and Vidoni (u. s.) give the inscription on the shutters of the organ at San Marco on the authority of the Venetian Stringa (17th century) and Vidoni perhaps most correctly as follows: "O. FRANCISCI TACHONI CREMON. PICTORIS MCCCCXC MAI XXIX." The canvases are in a lumber room within the basilica of San Marco. They are distempers blackened by time with figures of life size, injured by scaling and repaints in oil. 1. Nativity. The child is on the foreground with a shepherd kneeling in front to the right, the Virgin and St. Joseph kneeling in rear. Two shepherds stand further back, others in a distance of hills receive the message; and four angels in the sky sing a canticle. 2. Adoration: To the left is the

Virgin and child with the king kneeling at her feet, St. Joseph behind her to the l., to the right the second and third king and followers, in a landscape. 3. The assumption: The apostles kneel about the tomb, and the Virgin rises in the midst of two rows of angels, twelve in all, the lower row in prayer, the upper row singing from scrolls. 4. The Resurrection: Christ rises with the banner in his left hand and gives the blessing; one of the guards runs away to the left; another crouches to the right; three others in attitudes of surprise lie on the foreground. The distance is a landscape with hills, trees and buildings.

The Virgin and child, No. 286. at the National Gallery (Wood 3 f. 3 h. by 1 f. 8 1/2) a full length, belonged to the Savorgnani of Venice and in the early part of this century became the property of the Galvagna family (Vidoni and Grasselli u. s.). It was bought of Baron Galvagna at Venice in 1855. On the throne plinth we read: "OP. FRANCISCI TACHONI 1489 OCTV." Behind the Virgin's throne is a green curtain.

of the Bignami collection, but that we fancy he is entitled to be classed amongst the craftsmen of Pavia. A more serious illustration of Mantegnesque influence in the Cremonese school than that which della Corna furnishes is to be found in frescos adorning a house in the Contrada Belvedere at Cremona. By a most ingenious and deceptive arrangement of lines and shading, a square ceiling in this house is made to assume the appearance of a ribbed octogon with a well opening in the centre and coved lunettes at the bases. Through the opening, people at a balustrade look down into the room. Circular recesses in the sections contain figures of eight muses, Calliope figuring amongst the ornaments of the lunettes with Apollo and busts of emperors. The model of this decoration is Mantegna's Camera de' Sposi — its style, a cento of Grandi and Mazzolini; the artist a Cremonese of the stamp of Altobello or Boccaccino.¹

Boccaccino, with a rude sort of power which did not escape Vasari's observation, had the misfortune to carry 15th century art into the 16th century, when the painters of more cultivated centres were floating on the broad current of the renaissance. Born about the time when Mantegna settled at Mantua (1460?), and educated amongst men who had taken Mantegna's style to Ferrara, he acquired all the hardness of a manner which required to be tempered by modern graces.² With more nerve as a designer, and more spirit as a colourist than Panetti or Coltellini, he shared their tendency to commingle dryness and Umbrian calm. When or in what manner his con-

¹ Cremona, Via Belvedere. No. 6. Calvi (notizie II. 80.) seems to allude to these frescos. He speaks of them indeed as representing Parnassus, and follows Grasselli (Abecedario p. 43.) in assigning them to Bonifazio Bembo, but both writers are mistaken. The bands and ribs of the ornament are nicely designed and heightened with gold rivets. The muses, one third of life, and the life size busts of Emperors in medallions are monochrome, the figures looking over the balustrade of the well being coloured.

² The date usually assigned to

Boccaccino's birth is 1460. The earliest work to which reference is made, is a series of frescos, which, we shall see, was done at Cremona in 1497. It is not unreasonable to suppose that being a master at that time, he was born between 1460 and 1470 (compare, Tav. alfab. to the latest edition of Vasari); but Vas. (VIII. 217.) says that Boccaccino died aged 58. We have no later notices of him than 1518. hence the assumption that he died in that year and was therefore born in 1460 (compare Vidoni and Zaist).

nection with the Ferrarese began and ended is not to be fathomed but as far back as 1497 he was already a master at Cremona and had painted a series of frescos in Sant' Agostino;¹ whilst later in the century, he was still corresponding on terms of intimacy with friends at Ferrara. In 1499 Garofalo, an apprentice in Boccaccino's shop had taken into his head to visit Rome, thinking that there was more to be learnt there than by fagging at Cremona; but he had deserted secretly and without leave. Boccaccino, in a letter which breathed at once admiration of the youth's talent and concern for his fault, communicated the news of Garofalo's flight to his father at Ferrara; and the tone and contents of the letter give colour to the supposition that Boccaccino was familiar with Ferrarese art and people.² At some period of his life Boccaccino also indulged the passion for wandering and went to Rome; but he had scarcely withdrawn the scaffoldings from a coronation of the Virgin in Santa Maria Transpontina, than the public fell to abusing him and ridiculed the presumption with which he had criticised the works of Michaelangelo.³ His stay at Rome was so embittered by sarcasm that he cut it short and returned to Cremona, where between 1506 and 1518, he carried out, and no doubt carried out with applause, the numerous frescos which cover the nave and tribune of the cathedral. He also went to Venice and left some very important works there; but it is difficult to fix the date of their production.

In the frescos of Cremona, Boccaccino reminds us of the schools of Ercole Roberti Grandi and Costa and more particularly of Panetti with whom he must have worked

¹ Anonimo ed. Morelli, p. 35. Amongst the productions in this series was a portrait of Georgio Lazzolo, founder of the order of Hermit friars of the Observance signed according to Zaist (I. 68.): "Boc. Boccacinus F. 1497," hence the supposition that the frescos at Sant' Agostino were done about

this time.

² The letter was first printed by Pungileoni, *Elogio di Raf. Santi* n. s. p. 289, then in Gaye, *Carteg.* I. 344.

³ Vasari VIII. 215. S. M. Transpontina was razed in 1558. Compare Zaist I. 89.

as companion or disciple. His compositions are more frequently scattered than compact; his figures are in most cases slender and dry; but they are occasionally short and thickset; and it is by no means uncommon to detect faulty perspective. The types are Ferrarese and most like those of Aspertini; — the drapery straight in line, broken into acute angles, and often German in cast; — flesh tone of a red and uniform glow, the fitting complement of deep and strong vestment tints. We are repeatedly struck by a curious contrast of quick and not ungraceful momentary action with awkward and affected strain, but there is much readiness of movement and freedom of hand in the latest number of the series.

Boccaccino seems to have made his first trial in the large composition of Christ between the patron saints of Cremona — St. Marcellinus, St. Peter, St. Omobonus and St. Imerius in the semidome of the tribune — beneath which Grasselli was able to read the names of the cathedral superintendents and the date of 1506. In 1508 he completed the Virgin and angel annuntiate above the semidome, both deprived by time and repainting of their genuine character. On the 12th of April 1514, Boccaccino contracted for a thousand imperial pounds to cover the two fields of the nave to the left of the high portal, and painted there the Vision of the angel to Joachim and Anna, the ciphers of "MDXV" in the ornament indicating the period of completion. Lean dryness of form and deep positive tone are the most striking features of the "Vision" which involuntarily recalls the treatment of Panetti and other followers of Costa. There is a decided portrait character in the numerous spectators who witness the embrace of Joachim and Anna. In the "Nativity of the Virgin" which immediately follows and is also dated 1515, the groups are ill set, the draperies are broken, and the buildings are in false perspective; but a touch of grace and spontaneous movement may be noticed in single figures. The Spozalizio, annunciation, Visitation, nativity and circumcision succeed each other and are all more or

less in the spirit of the Bolognese and Ferrarese manner represented by Aspertini and Mazzolino; but the Sposalizio which is undoubtedly the best of Boccaccino's designs is an obvious plagiarism of Perugino. The four frescos which come after these were finished by Gian' Francesco Bembo and Melone and were executed in 1516 and 1517 during which time perhaps Boccaccino was absent from Cremona. His resumption of duty in 1518 is proved by the date on the "Christ disputing with the doctors", the last wall painting on the left side of the nave and that which displays most art in setting and most freedom in handling.¹

¹ Cremona, Cathedral nave. Boccaccino's frescos are high up on the wall above the arches of the nave and begin to the left as you look towards the choir. The records containing Boccaccino's agreements with the superintendents are — many of them in Grasselli's *Abecedario* u. s. p. 38—39. The series numbers eight fields and is then interrupted as above remarked to make place for compositions by Bembo and Melone. I. The angel appears to Joachim. In the middle ground, four shepherds — distance of hills — in the ornament to the r. the date "MDXV." A long split divides the fresco which is repainted in the landscape and in the lights of flesh and dresses. The figures are lean and dry, coloured in heavy body colour of positive tone and reminiscent of Panetti and Costa. II. Meeting of Joachim and Anna in a street with a crowd of personages around (in all nine); — the heads apparently all portraits. All the males including one on horseback are damaged. The dusty aspect of the frescos may be due to natural causes, or retouching — one or two of the portraits may be of persons noted in the following inscription at foot: "MAXIMILIANVS MARIA SPORTIA IMPERANTE PIETRO MARTIRE

STAMPA DVC (?) COMS ET. EQVITE VRBEM GVBERNANTE." On the upper part of a house to the l. "BOCACINVS F." The inscriptions are all renewed. III. Birth of the Virgin. Mary lies under a dais, an old dame sits on a chair near the foot of the bed whilst two women converse at the side. To the left the nurses wash the child. In the background is a servant drying clothes and another at work. The ground has been rubbed down and the rest retouched more or less (especially the blues and greens). The figures are ready and sometimes graceful, but the groups are ill set and the perspective is false. There is something of the Ferrarese transalpine character in the drapery — in the border to the right: "MDXV" and lower down "BOCACINVS MDXV." IV. Marriage of the Virgin. The usual composition of the Peruginesques, with the high priest in the middle of the foreground and an arch in the background. It is engraved in Rosini's atlas Pl. LXXV. This, the best of Boccaccino's frescos, shows how he followed the Ferrarese and Bolognese so as to resemble Amico Aspertini and Mazzolini. It is rubbed down and retouched like the last but still of a ruddy decisive tone. V. The

Such examples of Boccaccino as are preserved at Venice seem produced at broad intervals of time, some of them with the patient finish and freshness of youth, others with the full maturity of power. Of the first class is the marriage of St. Catherine at the Academy, a signed picture of gay and lively tint with figures of a pretty, slender shape and a landscape of Ferrarese atmosphere; of the second, a Virgin enthroned between saints, an altarpiece of weight and size at San Giuliano in which Cremonese glow and deep rich tints prevail.¹

In other specimens with and without the name we have varieties of Boccaccino's style:

At San Quirico in Cremona — a panel of the Virgin and child enthroned, with St. Anthony and St. Vincent at her sides, inscribed

annunciation. The angel to the left in air, the Virgin to the r. kneeling with some affectation of grace. VI. The visitation — with a suite of females at each side in the quaint turban head gear of the time. VII. The infant Christ on the ground adored by the Virgin and shepherds, in front of the pent house. Three angels sing a canticle in the air. The attitudes are strained and unnatural and the figures are short and thickset. The fresco is much changed by retouching. VIII. The circumcision, greatly injured. The blues are new, on the base of a pillar "BOCACINVS." All these frescos, but especially the last, recall the Ferrarese style of Mazzolino. IX. Christ disputing with the Doctors, inscribed: "BOCACINVS F. MDXVIII" (retouched). Here Boccaccino's manner is broader, his figures are in bolder and better action than before (injured like the rest.). Ap-sis, above the semidome curve, the annunciation. In the semidome Christ seated in benediction between standing saints. Beneath this fresco which is disfigured by copious repaints, Grasselli (p. 38.) read: "Pedro Offredo I. V. D. Ben. Fodrio Paulo Cambriago Fab. Præ. MDVI." (Compare the Anon. ed.

Morelli p. 33.)

¹ Venice acad. No. 132. Wood, m. 0. 87 h. by 1. 40. inscribed on a scroll: "Bochazinus." The Virgin sits in a landscape with the infant on her knee, who gives the ring to the kneeling St. Catherine. On the r. St. Rose standing, and St. Peter and St. John the Baptist kneeling. There is great precision in the drawing and some highly finished detail of grasses and borders. The surface is very glossy (St. Peter's yellow mantle repainted.). We are much reminded of the art of Pinturicchio in this piece.

Venice, San Giuliano, first altar to the left, called Cordella but signed on a cartello on the pediment of the Virgin's throne, with the initials B. B. The Virgin and child, enthroned attended by St. Peter and St. Michael and St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. Wood, oil, figures under life size. The style here is broad as in the later frescos of Cremona. The surface is slightly changed by restoring, the flesh shadow especially opaque in the two St. Johns. This altarpiece is engraved in Zanotto Pinacoteca Veneta, Fasc. XI. Compare Sansovino Ven. descr. ed. Mart. p. 126.

on the throne stool: BOCACINVS BOCACIVS. F. A. MDXVIII. The surface is altered by repainting, but the treatment originally was as free and bold as that of the frescos in the Duomo. Another picture, St. Jerom in his hut with the stone in his hand, the cross before him and the lion at his feet (wood under life size) is preserved in the hospital church of the Bene fatte Fratelli at Cremona. It is much injured but of sombre glowing tone; and, in the shape of the saint, or distant landscape recalls Basaiti. None of Boccaccino's panels so clearly bear the impress of Venetian teaching.

An earlier tempera on canvass — with the exception of a few touches — well preserved in the bishop's palace at Cremona, represents another phase in Boccaccino's art. It is the old subject, Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelist, in a Ferrarese landscape with a prelate kneeling in profile to the right, the Magdalen looking up as she grasps the cross. The figures (under life size) are slender and dryly outlined but not without feeling, the colour red and hot in flesh, deep and rich in draperies. Careful finish and treatment remind us of Pinturicchio and Pauetti, but it is clear that, from the first, Boccaccino was superior to his Ferrarese companion.

Christ on the road to Calvary (half life) and a Virgin and child lately transferred from the Villa Piccenardi near Cremona to Signor Baslini at Milan, are probably the pictures described at San Domenico of Cremona (Anon. 34). They are not without reminiscences of Boccaccino's style, and may be school pieces. The Virgin and child with St. Joseph (wood. m. 0. 34 h. by 0. 29) No. 191 in the Musée Napoléon at the Louvre and a series of half lengths on a dark ground, is also a picture in the style of Boccaccino's followers.

A Virgin and child, on canvas assigned to Giovanni Bellini in the "Stanza dei Cataloghi" at the library of San Marco in Venice is Boccaccino's. The same subject in half length (half life) with the infant Christ holding a bird and a distance of wall and landscape is in the municipal gallery and was once in the monastery of the Romite, at Padua. It is one of Boccaccino's gentle creations. St. Agatha, half length (wood much repainted). No. 106 in the same collection erroneously ascribed to the master has the stamp of Previtali — whereas no. 113 (wood half length heavily stippled over) is probably Boccaccino's though catalogued as a Bissolo. A half length Madonna seated with the child on her lap (canvas almost life size) assigned to Raphael in the Casa Maldura at Padua commingles the style of Boccaccino with a more modern treatment.

The "Zingarella by Garofalo" No. 246. (Wood. braccia 0. 8 h. by 0. 6. 4) at the Pitti in Florence, a bust of a female in a blue turban striped with yellow, a white dress and red mantle lined with green is so thoroughly Ferrarese in spirit that nobody thinks of assigning it to Boccaccino who no doubt was the painter. The flesh, less red than it was originally, has suffered from slight retouches, but the picture is a pleasant one of the master.

Numerous pieces assigned to Pinturicchio, Perugino and others yet in Boccaccino's manner are to be found in the galleries of the continent. In the Munich Pinakothek — cabinets No. 610. — now classed in the Lombard school, once called Mantegna (Wood. 1 f. 7½ h. by 1. 2¾) from Ambras Castle in Tyrol, Christ with the cross in benediction — a brick toned panel — injured and dimmed by retouching, by Boccaccino or Galeazzo Campi; — at Rome, in the Doria Palace

(Room II. No. 7). The Virgin and child between 4 saints, half lengths called Basaiti is a red-toned glass-eyed Boccaccino. At the Naples Museum; (pret.^d. school of Pinturicchio), No. 21, small panel, of red golden tone representing the Virgin, St. Joseph, and the shepherds and the angel announcing the coming of Christ in a hilly landscape. The surface is shiny and the colour of stiff impast, the figures in Boccaccino's gentle style, and the distance Ferrarese after the fashion of Panetti Mazzolino, and Garofalo. Injured and retouched are the Virgin's face, the hands of St. Joseph, and the flesh tones of the shepherds kneeling at the Virgin's side. The panel is so carefully wrought, it might be by Altobello Melone in his youth as well as by Boccaccino. There are several Cremonese pictures suggestive of similar doubts foremost of which we should note, Christ washing the feet of the apostles, No. 265 pret. Perigino, with the date "MCCCCC" at the academy of Venice (Wood, m. 1. 32 h. by 1. 11. from the Manfrini collection). We are reminded in this picture of the schools of Lombardy and Leonardo, of Umbria and Pinturicchio, yet at the same time of those of Ferrara and Ercole Roberti Grandi as illustrated by Panetti, Costa, Timoteo Viti, and the Zaganelli. The most salient features are those which betray the Ferrarese, namely, red glow and uniformity of flesh tint and strong vestment tints. The treatment is very like that of Boccaccino in his early period. The disproportion of the figures in their mutual relation, the dryness of their shape, the crabbed character and overweight of some heads and their heavy bushes of hair, the rectilinear break and copious fold of drapery, the careful outline and clean palet, all tell of a youthful hand; and this picture if we accept it as genuine, may illustrate that phase of the painter's art which distinguished the frescos at Sant' Agostino of Cremona. The same technical treatment marks three heads in one frame No. 432 at the Venice academy (Wood, m. 0. 37 h. by 0. 54 "school of Leonardo"), a piece in which we discern some imitation of the method of Antonello da Messina. In the same class again we should place the Virgin and child adored by two devotees seen to the shoulders (Wood life size) No. 15 in the Naples Museum, where the large round head and slender neck, the spiral tresses, like those of Martin Schon divulge Boccaccino's hand. The two portraits are done with great care and outlined with Leonardesque precision. The colour is warm and blended and perhaps less fiery than usual; whilst the old sin of disproportion is visible in the smallness and dryness of the hands. The child unfortunately is ugly in face and puffy in shape; but the landscape is altogether Cremonese.

Lower in the same scale is No. 127 (m. 0. 61 h. by 0. 52) in the gallery of Modena representing the Virgin and child with St. Sebastian at the column, a small panel assigned to Giovanni Bellini.

We miss altogether two altarpieces by Boccaccino in Santa Maria delle Grazie at Cremona (anon. 36) and the Virgin and child between St. Jerom and St. John Evangelist inscr. on a cartello: "Boccaccinus de Boccacciis p. 1515" described by Grasselli (Abecedario p. 54) in the Beltrame collection at Cremona.

A likeness of Galeazzo Campi wearing a black cap and holding a glove is preserved in the Pitti. It was done by his son and pupil Giulio in 1535, when Galeazzo was 58 years old. The bulk of Galeazzo

Campi's extant works was executed between 1515 and 1517; and as he lived till 1536 we might conclude that he found employment as journeyman to other painters, or practised in other branches of art.¹ His style was obviously formed upon that of Boccaccino, but is not without reminiscences of the later Umbrians. One of the quaintest of his compositions was finished in 1515 for the church of San Lazzaro in Cremona and represents Lazarus rising from his grave in the floor of a chapel, Lazarus the beggar, whose sores are licked by two dogs, standing in prayer at one side of the opening, and Christ with St. Peter and St. Paul at the other. The subject is treated with sentimental realism, and feebly imitates the Peruginesques.² When we remember that Sebastian del Piombo, about this time was painting his grand version of the Resurrection of Lazarus at Rome, we have the means of assigning to Campi the modest place to which he is entitled in the artistic history of the period.

In the St. Christopher of 1516 at San Sigismondo or the Madonna with saints of 1518 in San Sebastiano of Cremona, Galeazzo shows more dependence on Boccaccino than he does in the earlier work of 1515, but his figures are more disagreeably lean, and his colours more positively raw than those of his prototype and there is a tendency which recurs in other works to modify the harshness of Cremonese tone with the scumble of Bissolo and Catena.³ Instances of this kind are the Virgin and child with St. Joseph and the Magdalen at Sant' Agata, and Christ in benediction at the Palazzo Reale, of Cremona,

¹ Galeazzo Campi mio padre... passò a miglior vita quest' anno (1536). (See Antonio Campi Storia di Cremona in Zaist I. p. 95.) The portrait of Galeazzo by Giulio is No. 224. at the Pitti. On the back of the panel we read: "Galeas Campus pictor egregio antoni filio Juli Antoni et Vincenti pater ætatis suæ annorum LVIII effigiato per Julium campum ejus filium et discipulum de anno MDXXXV" (but see Zaist I. 93.).

² Casal Maggiore, collection of Canonico Bignami, of old in San Lazzaro of Cremona (Zaist I. 94.). Wood, figures under life size; on a scroll, fastened to the wall: "Galaz de Campo ps. 1515." The forms are slender and bony, the outlines sharply incised and black; and Galeazzo seems to follow the second rates of Bologna and Ferrara, much in the spirit of Zaganelli. But the

colours are injured by time and retouching and have lost all their freshness.

³ Cremona, San Sigismondo (fuor di) originally in San Vittore (Zaist I. 94.). St. Christopher with the infant on his shoulders, a slender full length — wood under life size — inscribed on a cartello fastened to the stump of a tree: "Galez de Campo pinxit 1516. The shadows are changed by retouching and the panel is otherwise injured. We already here trace something of the manner of Aleni, of whom later.

Cremona, S. Sebastiano (fuor di). Virgin and child between St. Sebastian and St. Roch. Wood — figures half life size, inscr. on a cartello: "Galtas (sic) de Campo faciebat 1518 hoc opus F. F. Bernardino Bosellio." This panel is irretrievably damaged.

or the Virgin adoring the infant on her lap in the Gallery of Modena.¹ We revert to Peruginesque imitation in the Virgin and saints with the boy Baptist in the Municipio of Cremona² — a picture in which Cremonese glare is tempered by Umbrian softness — and in other specimens, forming such a cento as to recall Galeazzo, Aleni and Altobello Melone.

We register in this class the Virgin and angel annuntiate in the Baptistery of Cremona, two canvas distempers originally used to close the screen of the organ, with pleasant life size figures of mild air and regular shape, carefully drawn in broken rectilinear drapery. Though dimmed by varnish and restoring, the colours are still of sombre warmth, but exceptionally light in the vestments. We may also notice the Virgin in glory surrounded by angels (arched panel, half life) in Sant' Abondio, the Virgin and child (arched panel, with life size figures, in oil) in Sant' Agostino of Cremona, the latter an obvious but poor imitation of Perugino, whose well known altarpiece hangs in a neighbouring chapel. In the same manner, but much injured, are the panels of a large monumental work in Santa Maria Magdalena of Cremona representing the nativity, between St. Gregory, St. Clement and Mary Magdalen, the resurrection in an upper course between St. Peter and St. Paul, and four scenes from the life of the Magdalen in a faded predella (Wood, the principal figures under life size). But here perhaps we have more particularly to deal with Tommaso Aleni the friend and companion of Galeazzo Campi. (Zaist I. 103). An altarpiece dated 1517, described by Zaist (I. 94) as representing the Virgin and child between St. Anthony the abbot and other saints, in the church of Robecco, is missing. Frescos and pictures in San Domenico and San Francesco mentioned by Vasari (XI. 254—5) are no longer in existence. We miss also the "Virgin seated with the child who plays with the bell held by St. Anthony and St. Ursula with three companions inscribed: "Galeaz de Campo pinxit 1519, die 14 Augusto." (Grasselli [Abeced. p. 77] saw this piece in the hands of canon Maximiliano Sacchi who had it from the Orfanotrofio of Cremona).

Two or three pictures by Aleni exist. One is the Virgin and child between St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis protecting a

¹ Cremona, Sant' Agata. Virgin and child with St. Mary Magdalen offering the box of ointment, St. Joseph leaning on his stick to the r. (yellow mantle renewed and scaling). Wood, figures under life size, inscr.: "Galeazius Campus pinxit anno 150018" (sic). A piece has been added to arch the upper part of the picture. Here Galeazzo mingles the Venetian with imitation of Boccaccino's style.

Modena, Gallery No. 33. under the name of Giovanni Bellini. The

infant Christ on the Virgin's knees adored by St. Joseph and a shepherd (wood m. 0. 93 h by 1. 16.). This picture is better preserved than the foregoing.

Cremona, Palazzo. Christ in benediction, wood, bust, greatly repainted.

² Cremona, Municipio, from San Domenico. Virgin and ch., St. Christopher, the boy Baptist caressing a lamb and another saint, wood, figures under half life size.

kneeling Franciscan, in the Biguami collection at Casal Maggiore — inscribed: "OPVS Tome Aleni Cremon^{ensis} MCCCCC"; another a nativity: "Thomas de Alenis cremon^{ensis} pinsit 1515", once in San Domenico, now in the Municipio, a third, St. Peter and St. Anthony, in the Cavalcabò collection at Cremona. Being strongly impressed by Perugino's Madonna at Sant' Agostino, Aleni at Casal Maggiore copies the great Umbrian without any correctness of drawing or harmonious contrasts of light and shade. In the nativity and in the saints of Casa Cavalcabò he jumbles the styles of Boccaccino and Vannucci.¹

It is not without effort that we follow the decline of this sort of art in Lorenzo Becci, Galeazzo Rivelli and others.²

¹ Casal Maggiore, Bignami collection. A low wall behind the Virgin's throne separates the figures from a landscape distance. Wood, figures almost life size, injured by restoring. The most disagreeable feature in this piece is the brown light and cold grey shadow of the flesh tints. Aleni here makes some approach to the manner of Giacomo Francia.

Cremona, Municipio, from San Domenico. The Virgin kneels with her arms across — the infant Christ outstretched on the ground before her; to the right St. Anthony with his pig, kneeling, to the l. St. John the Baptist and an angel. Wood small, daubed with repaint and vertically split.

Cremona, Casa Cavalcabò. Arch-ed panel, figures under life size, a fragment.

Zaist (I. 140.) says that Aleni was sometimes known by the surname of Fadino. A Virgin and child inscribed: "Tomas de Fadinus" — a very poor thing — lately passed from the Piccenardi collection into that of Signor Baslini at Milan.

² Cremona, Casa Cavalcabò. Virgin and child enthroned with a kneeling friar at her feet (wood under life size) inscribed: "Laurentius de becis cremon^{ensis} pingebat." This daubed panel is a poor production in the manner of Aleni. Grasselli notes the following in possession of Signor Galli at Cremona (Abeced. p. 31.) half length

Virgin and child inscribed on the hem of a dress: Laurentius de becis Cremonensis.

Zaist speaks (I. 39.) of a Virg., child, St. Francis and St. Ombuono signed: "Jo. Baptista Berci Cremonensis fecit" in a private collection at Cremona. We have no intelligence of this picture.

The same author alludes (I. 47.) to pictures of 1486. 7, by Antonio Cicognara, and a Virgin and child between St. Catherine of Alexandria and another saint signed: "14 Antonii Cicognarii" (not seen). The name of this painter is not unknown to history. On the 22^d of August 1500 he was at Lodi to value the frescos of Borgognone in the tribune of the church of the Incoronata (Calvi, Notizie II. 134. 203. 254.).

Of Galeazzo Rivelli, who is also noticed in Zaist (I. 20.), there is an unpleasant panel in the Lochis Carrara Gallery, representing a bishop between St. Stephen and St. Francis (wood) with the signature: "Galeatius de Rivellius dictus de la barba 1524." The figures are short and vulgar. In a predella are monochromes representing incidents from the lives of the saints. Grasselli (Abecedario p. 225.) notes further: Busseto, S. Bartolommeo, the conception executed according to the ch. accounts by Rivello in 1538. Cremona. Coll. of Maximiliano Sacchi. The nativity inser. on a cartellino: "Galeazius Rivelli dicti della barba

Altobello Melone was Boccaccino's competitor previous to Pordenone's arrival at Cremona. He designed seven frescos with subjects from the lives of the Virgin and of Christ in the nave of Cremona Cathedral, and wrote upon some of them his name and the date of 1517. He had practised art for many years before this date; and, if we trust the evidence of pictures without signatures or pedigrees as a follower of Boccaccino.

Looking back at the pieces assignable to the school of Boccaccino, there are many which we might take to be illustrative of Altobello's style; the nativity ascribed to a disciple of Pinturicchio in the Naples Museum or the washing of the feet in the Venice Academy as specimens of early training, the frescos of the Muses at Cremona, as examples of maturer power. Elements which give character to certified pictures of the master are also found in these, especially such elements as are derived from Ercole Grandi the elder and Mazzolino of Ferrara. In four canvases — the Virgin and angel annunciation, St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit — painted for the organ of Sant' Antonio Abbate at Cremona, we notice the thin dry form, the vehement stride and crabbed masks of the Ferrarese, and — equally interesting — the snake like hair, blistered drapery, and sombre tone of those masters.¹ A fresher atmosphere, as of the 16th century, pervades the frescos of the cathedral.

The flight into Egypt on the left side of the nave — in spite of the damage which it has sustained — shows some graceful affectations of posture, movement and drapery; but the fiery flesh tone and the positive colours of the vestments often produce a shrill disharmony; and it is not pleasant to dwell on the rough hatching of the lights or the hard accent of the outlines. The massacre of the Innocents, combining Ferrarese dryness with something of Romanino's boldness is marred by figures of curt shape; but some of the soldiers and females are thrown upon the wall with the action and sweep of

pingebat 1536." Cremona, Conte Carlo Visconti. Virgin adoring the new born Christ inscr. on the cushion: "Galeaz da la barba."

In San Michele of Cremona we find a series of panels (one third of life size) about a statue of San Francesco di Paola, l. a saint with cross and book, r. St. Anthony of Padua (?), above, Christ dead in the Virgin's lap (two angels above the side figures are new). These panels recall Boccaccino and Aleni. The figures are dry and paltry, the drawing incisive. The upper panel suggests reminiscences of the art of Ercole Roberti Grandi. It is

difficult to say more of this piece considering its bad condition, than that it is a Cremonese work of the first years of the 16th century.

¹ Cremona, S. Michele. The organ shutters from S. Antonio Abate (suppressed) are now in S. Michele. The figures are larger than life, and damaged — especially the two saints — by rubbing and repaint. Here already we notice the style which distinguishes the frescos of the muses in Via Belvedere at Cremona. The ornamental borders around the subjects (griffins and vases on yellow ground) are quite Mantegnesque.

contour which mark Raphael's composition for the same subject. Drapery alternating between curve and zigzag reminds us of Romanino and Mazzolino. Original power may be detected in portraits of numerous personages in the broad head gear of the day.

On the right side of the nave Altobello composed the last supper, Christ washing the feet of the apostles, Gethsemane, the capture, and Christ before Pilate, the two first examples of disproportion in the relative size of figures as striking as the washing of the feet at Venice; the rest showing to what extent Melone was indebted to Grandi's predellas for designs and treatment.¹

Judging of his life by these works we may assert that Melone began his studies at Bologna and Ferrara, and displayed the fruit of these studies in the frescos on the right side of the cathedral nave at Cremona. Whilst finishing these frescos he witnessed the coming of Romanino who was also engaged in the cathedral, and imitated him in the flight into Egypt and massacre of the Innocents on the left side of the nave. We can trace these two periods of his style in pictures at Cremona and abroad — the earlier, in a nativity and Ecce Homo, with St. Andrew and St. Roch in the Palazzo Reale at Cremona — the later in two compositions, a bold and freely handled Christ at the Limbus in the Duomo of Cremona, and Christ on the road to Emmaus in the National Gallery.²

¹ Cremona, Duomo, nave. The frescos are praised by Vasari (XI. 223 and 251.) as superior to Boccaccino's. The first of them — Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents — were ordered on the 11th of Dec. 1516 on condition that they should be better than Boccaccino's. Three others were contracted for on the 13th of March 1517 and valued on the 1st of October of the same year by Romanino. (The records in Grasselli's *Abecedario u. s.* pp. 169—70.) I. Flight into Egypt, engraved in Rosini's atlas, faded and retouched, composition of ten figures, a lion pup and a dog on the ground, a palm to the left at which the infant grasps as he passes; in the air three angels singing from a scroll. The dress of the angel before the ass is abraded to the white preparation; — inscribed: *ALTOBELLVS DE MELONIBVS P MDXVII.* II. Massacre of the innocents. This fresco is filled with portraits; it is dated:

"MDXVII." III. Last supper, Iscariot, in front of a table to the left; — on a cartello in the middle of the foreground "*ALTOBELLVS DE MELONIBVS.*" This fresco is heavily damaged yet less so than the remainder of the series. IV. Washing of the feet. To the l., St. Peter is seated in a shrinking attitude with Christ kneeling at the basin's edge, people around; to the right apostles standing. V. Gethsemane. Christ in the centre with outstretched arms, and the angel flying down with the symbols of the Passion; in the foreground the sleeping apostles. The landscape is Ferrarese in air. VI. Capture. The Saviour caught with a rope as in Grandi's predella at Dresden. The name to the right: "*ALTOBELLVS P.*" VII. Christ before Pilate threatened by soldiers. All the signatures are more or less retouched.

² Cremona. Palazzo Reale; under the name of Gaudenzio Ferrari; I. Nativity; the Virgin adoring

As a portrait painter Melone was not without power; and some of his creations in that branch were assigned to great men. Under the name of Giovanni Bellini, we have one of his striking panels in the Museum of Stuttgart, a bearded man with a scapular, his head thrown back, his dark eye glistening, and crisp black hair spread fanlike from the ears. The flesh of a deep glazed brown is delicately finished. In the same spirit and less injured by rubbing are — a man in a landscape with a flower in his right hand — a pretended Giorgione in the Lochis Carrara collection at Bergamo, and a man in a red and yellow dress with the left hand on the hilt of his sword — ascribed to Raphael — in the Castelbarco collection at Milan.¹

The Anonimo describes a canvas distemper by Melone representing Lucretia striking her bosom with the dagger, in a private house at Cremona.²

The Mantegnesque feeling for which Ferrarese art was so long remarkable did not survive the first decades of the 16th century. It was then superseded by the Venetian feeling of Bellini, Palma, Titian,

the child; St. Joseph to the l., three angels to the r. St. Andrew and St. Roch full length, the Christ also full length seated on the edge of the tomb. The figures are all half life size, dry and bony and heavily outlined. The colouring is raw and uniform, the dresses deep and dull in tone.

Cremona. Duomo. Sacristy small panel. Christ helps Adam out of the limbus; behind him, the good thief with the cross. The grouping is good, the handling free, the drawing and proportions are fairly correct.

London. National Gallery. No. 753. Wood 4 f. square, formerly in San Bartolommeo of Cremona, and in the Castelbarco collection at Milan. Christ in the garb of a pilgrim overtakes the two disciples on the road to Emmaus. This is also freely executed, but somewhat conventional in treatment.

¹ Stuttgart Mus. No. 222, under the name of Gio. Bellini. W. 1 f. 6 h. by 1 f. 4. There is a clear relation of style between this portrait and those in the fresco of the Massacre of the Innocents at Cremona. Bergamo. Lochis Carrara.

No. 172, catalogued as Giorgione. Male in a black cap with long hair and a short beard, holding a flower; — treatment as at Stuttgart. — Milan. Castelbarco Collection; called Raphael, a fine work for Altobello.

To these we may add.: Milan Signor Cavaleri. Wood. Transfiguration. Christ between Moses and Elias; three apostles on the foreground, figures a little under life size. Cremona. S. Sigismondo cloister, fragments of fresco, Virgin and child with St. Sigismund and St. Anthony the abbot; St. Jeron takes the thorn out of the lion's paw. There is little of this work left and it is hard to say more than that the character is that of Altobello or Galeazzo Campi. Vasari ascribes to Melone (XI. 252) part of the decoration of the old Palazzo at Milan where we saw that Bonifacio Bembo laboured. He also describes the frescos — symbols of the Evangelists, vision of Ezechiël, Baptism of St. Augustin, and Marriage of St. Monica, now missing — in Sant' Agostino of Cremona. (Vas. and annot. XI. 251—2.)

² Anonimo p. 37.

and Pellegrino da San Daniele. Cremonese artists to whom Ferrara was a sort of Mecca observed the change and noted it; and Gian' Francesco Bembo, at that time a talented artist in Cremona, became one of its best exponents. We have unhappily but curt notices of this painter whom Vasari confounded with his earlier namesake, but we know that he contracted in 1515 to paint frescos in the cathedral of Cremona which are part of the series in which Boccaccino, Melone, Romanino and Pordenone had a share. They are on the left hand side of the nave between those of Boccaccino and Melone, and represent the Epiphany and the Presentation in the Temple. The first, inscribed: "BENIVS INCIPIENS" depicts the Virgin in a monumental ruin with the king kneeling to the child and the usual incidents of this well known subject in picturesque variety. In the stature and dress as in the colouring of the personages, modern Venetian treatment is apparent. A warm vapour covers the scene; and the uniform ruddiness of Cremonese flesh is improved by pleasing transparence. The figures with oval heads are of mixed stature and bony structure, and clad in dress of ample stuff, the child broad and fleshy. An easy touch displays the teaching of the followers of Palma Vecchio. The Presentation is put together on correct principles with males and females of impressive dignity and weight. Though sharp in tone and abrupt in transitions, it surpasses the Epiphany in elevation and spirit; and the Venetian element, to some extent recedes to make room for the Tuscan.¹ Is it true that Bembo went to Rome and was known as Gian' Francesco Vetrario of whom Vasari says that he was a promising but short lived artist? Alessandro Lamo, in a life of Bernardino Campi written as early as 1584, speaking of the omissions of an earlier historian, accuses him of having forgotten to mention "Gio. Francesco Bembo detto el Vetriaro of whom Vasari speaks in his life of Polidoro."² The sweep of the drapery in the Presentation, the taste displayed in the architecture and the noble mien of the figures might induce us to believe that Bembo was indeed at Rome, confounded for a time amongst the numberless assistants of Raphael.

¹ Cremona. Duomo. Some of Bembo's frescos were allotted to him by contract on the 29th of Dec. 1515 (Grasselli, *Abecedario* p. 39; compare also Vasari XI. 251.) I. The Epiphany. The Virgin and child to the right, with the king kneeling at their feet in front of a ruined arch; behind the latter the two kings kneeling and standing with offerings and the suite; to the left and in rear, other figures. The Virgin's mantle is repainted. II. The Presentation, en-

graved in Rosini Pl. LI; the child on the square altar, with Simeon and the spectators in rear in a colonnade; the prophetess in front kneeling and with one hand touching the doves held by a child; on the foreground to the r. a fine standing male; to the left two females. The striped cloth on Simeon's head is partly repainted. The architecture is fine and in good style.

² Vasari IX. 60. Alessandro Lamo. *Discorso* n. s. p. 26.

There is some reason for thinking that he was a travelled craftsman, for his very latest work — a Virgin and child with a kneeling patron and saints dated 1524 in San Pietro of Cremona — is an adaptation of Raphael's *Madonna del Baldacchino*, with something in the kneeling patron that recalls a similar impersonation in the miracle of Bolsena at the Vatican. Nor is it Raphael alone of whom we are reminded, for a standing saint to the right seems inspired from the masterpieces of Fra Bartolommeo.¹

The Cremonese of the period immediately following Gian' Francesco, plundered their contemporaries with the most pertinacious indiscretion, in proof of which we need but look at Bernardino Ricca's descent from the cross in San Pietro of Cremona — a caricature of the style of Daniel da Volterra.²

Niccolò da Cremona another painter of a still lower type is known by a deposition from the cross in the Gallery of Bologna.³

¹ Cremona. San Pietro, formerly in Sant' Angelo de' Frati Minori. Virg. and child, betw. St. Cosmas and St. Damian, with a kneeling prelate. Wood, life size, inscribed: "Johaens Franciscus bembinus pinxit d. mes. s. b. 2 (?) 1524."

A Virgin and child, with St. Nicholas kneeling and the young St. John, under Bembo's name (canvas, figures of life size) is shown in one of the rooms of the hospital Fate bene Fratelli at Cremona. This picture exaggerates the manner of Raphael's disciples; it is raw in tone and darkly shadowed, and of a later date than the works of Bembo. The same subject supposed to have been executed in 1506 is noticed by Zaist (I. 55), who says the picture was in San Niccolò of Cremona.

² Cremona. San Pietro. Descent from the cross inscribed: "1521 Bernardino Ricca fecit opus" (compare Zaist I. 105), who gives a false version of the inscription.

This is a confused jumble of attitudes and postures reminiscent of Daniel da Volterra, but more still of Dono Doni of Assisi. The surface is dimmed by dirt and fungus. A better specimen of Ricca is the Virgin and child with St. Anne, between St. Jerom and another saint in the right transept of Cremona cathedral. We may also assign to the same hand the last supper in the refectory of S. Sigismondo outside Cremona a fresco attributed to Gian' Francesco Bembo. For notices of Ricca see Zaist, I. 104.

³ Bologna. Pinacoteca. No. 822. Christ on the ground after the crucifixion, bewailed by the Marys and adored by kneeling figures. Wood 6 f. 1 h. by 4. 11. The picture noted by Zaist as bearing the date 1518 (I. 100) has no such date now; but the name "Nichola" is still to be read. The style is a poor imitation of that of Garofalo.

CHAPTER VIII.

PALMA VECCHIO.

From the borders of Piedmont on the West to the Gulf of Trieste on the East, — in the vallies that imbed the streams running from the Alps, or the plains watered by the Adige and the Pô, — there is not a city of any pretensions that did not feel the influence of Palmesque art; and yet there is not a single painter of note, Giorgione included, of whom we know so little as of Palma Vecchio. Though it was admitted that Palma Giovine the grand nephew of Palma Vecchio, was born in 1544; though it was apparent that some of Palma Vecchio's greatest masterpieces were exhibited before 1512, historians of every age from the 16th to the 19th century remained unanimous in affirming that Palma Vecchio was born in 1500 and was placed under the tuition of Titian.¹ — That Pellegrino da San Daniele, Pordenone, Morto, and other craftsmen of the time derived their style in part from him was left unobserved. Titian, it was said, worshipped the famed Violante Palma's daughter, yet it was also said, that Palma, as a boy frequented Titian's atelier.² Palma's will drawn up in 1528, his death immediately after the

¹ Vasari is to be excluded from this list; he is silent as to Palma's birth and education, and calls him Palma Veneziano. The Anonimo calls him "Bergamasco" and Boschini does the same. Ridolfi tells us that Serina (or Serinaalta) was Palma's birthplace. (Vas. IX. 140. Anon. ed. Morelli p. 85. Bosch. Le R. M. Preface; Ridolfi, Marav. I. 178.)

² Ridolfi, Marav. I. 178. 181. Boschini. Navegar pitt. p. 368, and Ricch. Min. preface.

signature of that instrument, Vasari's statement that he died at 48 — give us a clue to the truth.¹ Palma was born about 1480; he was the contemporary of Giorgione and Pellegrino, and but little older than Titian, Pordenone, and Sebastian del Piombo.

Giacomo Palma was called "il Vecchio" to distinguish him from Giacomo his nephew once removed; the place of his birth is Serina near Bergamo; and he was always considered by the Bergamasques as their child. In truth he had of the Bergamasque but the name, and he learnt the elements from Venetian masters. Except in this sense that, looking at the productions of his comrades amongst whom Titian may be counted, and making reproductive what he so absorbed; — there is not a line or pencil stroke in his works that does not divulge the spirit of one who may claim in every thing to have been original. The real source at which he drew is more distant than annalists imagined; it will be found in Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, and Cima; and starting from this point, Palma shared with Giorgione and Titian the honour of modernizing and regenerating Venetian art.

Palma was not a great master in the full meaning of the term; he had neither the weight or versatility of Titian, nor the highest gifts of the colourist which distinguish Giorgione; nor the force or impetuosity of Pordenone — but he was very little behind Barbarella, and he had a much more elevated feeling than his Friulan rivals. In the small field which he cultivated he was a fine composer; his drawing was quick and resolute, his touch unhesitating, firm, and fluid. The type of figure to which he clung was full and ripe, ennobled in the faces by delicate chiselled features, and wanting only in the perfect dignity of carriage and mien familiar to Vecelli. His forms had seldom those infallible marks of breed which are revealed in clean articulations and perfectly pro-

¹ Vas. IX. 145. Racc. Ven. Ser. I. Tom. I. Dispensa 2^a, containing Palma's will.

portioned extremities. It may have been lack of attention it may also have been want of power to seize and realize the subtlest finesses of anatomy which caused him to conceal the conformation of the human framework under flesh and fat; he certainly generalized with convenience and carried out movements by suggestion more than by analysis; but in this suggestiveness he was frequently happy even when verging on affectation. There is something aristocratic at least in the freshness of complexion which he gives to females exuberant in charms, generously furnished with locks, blue eyed, cherry lipped, and fair. Even the hale of men is rendered with a fine grain of swarth. The melody of his tones is not so deep nor so rich as Titian's or Giorgione's but is striking for its "brio"; there is perhaps no painter who dazzles more by his light than Palma. In contrast with pearly skin especially of women the clear and varied vestment tints, deadened by juxtaposition, are full of sparkle. Solid oily impast blended with excessive care and purity is brought to a gay transparency in flesh by opal greys forming the transition to shadow. The general preparation remodelled at a second painting by half-bodied scumbles is finished with the very slightest veil of glazes, the whole surface acquiring at last a warm, clear, golden polish. We can always detect the Palmesque handling by the shrivel of the thick first coat of paint and a peculiar form of crackle. Palma's taste in dress was greatly cultivated and condescended to the smallest minutiae of ornament and detail; his drapery is more usually characterized by breadth and flatness of surface than by flow; it is broken by shallow depressions into angular sections of irregular shape and varied by the play of reflections in the texture of silks and brocades. Like Giorgione, — and in this the true follower of Giovanni Bellini — he was fond of natural backgrounds and he painted smiling landscapes at the period of their brightest verdure.

A doubtful inscription on one of Palma's Madonnas would lead us to believe that his art had taken an ex-

panded form in 1500; there is evidence to show that he was extensively patronized by the noble Venetian families of Priuli and Cornaro in whose palaces he not only laboured but lived. Some of the pictures of his best time — the Adam and Eve in the gallery of Brunswick, a Ceres, and a “woman taken in adultery” — were shown in the collection of Francesco Zio at Venice as early as 1512. The payments made in 1520—1 for his “marriage of the Virgin” on the altar of the Querini chapel at Sant’ Antonio of Venice are still on record. In 1525 his “three graces” which are now so celebrated as an ornament of the Dresden Museum were exhibited in the gallery of Taddeo Contarini. He was never as far as we can now discern employed by the state.¹

We have no authoritative information as to Palma’s having been apprenticed to any painter of name, but like most Bergamasques, and particularly like the Santa Croce, he studied the principal masters of Venice at the close of the 15th century. In the process of assimilation he held as a colourist to Giovanni Bellini; but in that — as in the absorption of elements derived from Cima and Carpaccio — his reproduction was modern and original; and he contributed mainly to the creation of that form of art which has too exclusively till now been called the Giorgionesque. In portraits and most frequently in portraits of women where he revealed that sort of excellence which has been coupled with the name of Barbarella, he remained unsurpassed for clean brilliancy of palet, rich blending and softness of tone, elegance of demeanour, and taste in dress.

The very first picture which claims attention in connexion with Palma is a “holy conversation” in half lengths on the model of those invented by the earlier artists of Venice. Once an heirloom in the Venetian family

¹ Sansovino. Ven. desc. 375. 385—6. Boschini. Le R. M. S. di S. M. p. 24. Anonimo, ed. Morelli p. p. 64. 65. 70. Cicogna. Iscriz. I. 163. 361. There are four items of payment to Palma for the Querini altarpiece which is lost, one dated May 21, another Sept. 3, a third Nov. 22 1520, the last, July 27, 1521. Tassi pretends (p. 97.) that Palma painted in the hall of great council, but he is mistaken.

of Giustiniani and lately in possession of Mr. Reiset in Paris it is unique of its kind as being authenticated by the following inscription:

“JACH
OBVS
PALM
A M
D.”

Much as we may feel inclined, upon looking at these lines, to doubt that the date has been preserved unaltered, we shall for the present accept it as genuine and conclude that Palma in 1500 had developed his first manner. There is nothing more clearly proved by the evidence of pictures than that Palma, in the first years of his practise, was a careful draughtsman and was more accurate in finishing his outline and modelling his surfaces than later. Here we have a firm decisive contour with the usual cast of beauty and peculiar type which characterize the master. The Virgin, of ample, but not too portly figure, is a fresh and rustic model in the Bellinesque mould, but with more realistic and seductive charms than we find in the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini. Of powerful bone, she is still delicate in complexion, and dainty in the smallness of her hands; she looks tenderly at the infant on her knee. St. Jerom to whom the child's glance is directed holds a book out of which the scroll depends on which the painter's name is written. His bony frame and head recall the grand ascetics of the same kind in Pordenone's pictures. Equally stern is St. Peter who protects the donor showing profile, shoulders, and joined hands above the lower framing.

In both the saints the shape is marked, the hands and articulations are weighty and strong; a pretty landscape — in mass and breadth worthy of Bellini, in touch and tone as free as only Palma's modern art could make it — encircles the group.¹ As a composition this beautiful

¹ Paris, Mr. Reiset. Wood, under life size. The surface is dim and blind from efflorescence.

piece has its counterpart at Rovigo where S^t. Jerom again holds the book and S^t. Helen in deep devotion prays and supports her cross, both being turned towards the Madonna who supports the naked standing child. The kindly expression of the faces, the graceful feeling of adoration in the bending head of S^t. Helen, the pretty turn of the child looking up to the Virgin, the rich colour and careful execution, are all enticing.¹

With what versatility and skill Palma changed the motive thought and incident in subjects of this kind is beautifully illustrated at Dresden, where the Virgin presses the infant Christ to her bosom and cheek as she receives a scroll from the Baptist in presence of S^t. Catherine. There is so much loveliness in the serene rapture of S^t. Catherine, such sprightliness in the child nestling at its mother's throat, so much tender inquiry in the Virgin's eye and a meaning so earnest in the glance of the Baptist, that we dwell with pleasurable sensation on each figure of the group and wonder at the harmony which it creates. We admire too the form, substance, and marble fairness of the skin, the brown-haired dark-eyed types of the child and its mother, the yellow auburn of S^t. Catherine, the muscular swarth of the Baptist, and the chords of blue, red, brown, and green which vibrate so sweetly to the eye.²

Prettier because a little less cold in tinge, and of greater and more animated variety is the Christ at the Venice Academy who stands in the midst of the apostles and heals the daughter of the Canaanite woman whose bending figure is supported by her mother. In the amplitude of the shapes and the calm serenity of the features as well

¹ Rovigo, Gall. Communale. Wood, half lengths under life size, abraded and thrown out of focus by retouching. The best preserved head is that of S^t. Jerom, the worst that of S^t. Helen. The eyes of the Virgin are now a little out of place, the left hand and

sleeve of the Virgin in fair condition.

² Dresden Mus. No. 245. Wood, 2 f. 5 h. by 3 f. 6, purchased from the Casa Pisano di San Stefano at Venice in 1741. The face of the child is slightly deprived of bloom.

as in the form of the design we discover the precursors of those which were favorites of Rocco Marcone and Bonifazio.¹

Still more free and bold, and evidence of the master's growing ease in the mechanism of treatment, is the Madonna of the Colonna palace at Rome, where the Virgin presents the infant Christ to the adoration of a young man protected by St. Peter, her form being finely relieved against a screen of foliage and branches intercepting a distance of hills and clouded sky. With increasing practice Palma gains facility, works off his figures at one painting with great spirit and gives them a plumpness of flesh that some times swells — as in the child — to unwieldiness. His portraits even in such sketches as these are admirable.²

One of the most engaging specimens of this class to which we can turn is the Virgin and child with St. John the Baptist and the Magdalen, in the Lochis-Carrara collection at Bergamo. Brown-shaded and sketchy in comparison with earlier ones, this panel is full of pretty affectations: in the child which timidly lays its hands on the Magdalen's ointment pot, and with a glance deprecates expected chiding, in the Magdalen whose fondness is shown by an extatic inclination of the head. In open contrast to these are the homely, vigorous, head and frame of the Baptist. The fresh but short and portly female shapes remind us of Correggio; they suggest exuberance of health in the full and tender swell of flesh, in the weight and thickness of waving hair. To the usual breadth and delicacy of blending, or the rich fluidity and substantial body of impast characteristic of Palma is superadded a golden glow, covering alike the figures and the landscape. A melting softness overspreads the picture and

¹ Venice Acad. No. 84. Wood, m. 0. 92 h. by 1. 53. from the Contarini collection. The figures are half length, injured by restoring, and one with a head — that of the apostle behind and to the r. of Christ — new.

² Rome, Palazzo Colonna. Wood, half lengths under life size.

foreshadows the coming of the time when the painter bathed his contours in light and hazy mist.¹

When too much engaged Palma had his assistants who took their share in easel pieces; and of this we have proof in the Madonna with the donor, S^t. Anthony, and S^t. Jerom in the Borghese Palace at Rome.² Of a more solid, weighty, class, and illustrative of Palma's influence on Pordenone, we have the injured Virgin and child with a female martyr and a soldier saint at Blenheim, a picture of acknowledged beauty dignified with the name of Giorgione.³

Great as was the attraction of this class of works at the time of their production, and much as they helped to extend the influence of Venetian art in Friuli and the Southern provinces, they had not the same importance as yielding models for imitation to Pellegrino, Pordenone, Romanino, and other provincials, as the larger ones with which the churches of Venice and subordinate cities were furnished.

Of special value as explaining this influence we should consider the grand altarpieces with which Palma decorated the churches of Zerman near Treviso and Fontanelle near Oderzo.

At Zerman, Palma combines all the qualities of careful finish and bold treatment with shapes moulded on those of the Bellinesque school. The Virgin enthroned with the child in benediction erect on her lap is attended by four saints and serenaded by an angel who raises his head to catch the strains of a viol. In the setting and bend of the figures we observe an artificial grace which

¹ Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. No. 156. Wood, half lengths, almost of life size. The l. side of the Virgin's head is damaged by retouching.

² Rome, Palazzo Borghese, Room XI. No. 32. Wood, half lengths under life size. The donor is a lady in prayer protected by S^t. Anthony. A green curtain forms

the background to the r.; to the l. is a bit of landscape and sky.

³ Blenheim. Canvas, half lengths smaller than life (erroneously described as a panel, *antea*: note to p. 145.). Injured: flesh of the faces of the female saint and infant Christ, and neck and shoulder of the Virgin.

betrays affectation and seeking, yet which seldom fails to create a pleasant impression; but there is less strain than in later specimens; and the type of the Virgin's face or that of the child is full of interest as showing its immediate derivation from Bellini. The chords of tone too are so much in the feeling of the older Venetian master as to indicate with certainty that the date of the composition is an early one, whilst the richness of the palette is already quite Giorgionesque. In the same spirit again, and with much of the charm which strikes us in Bellini's chef d'œuvre at San Zaccaria, is the angel playing on the step of the throne. The slender and elegant proportions of St. Helen supporting the cross, the Titianesque gravity of St. Mathew holding his gospel, the pleasant shape of the Baptist, the chastened forms and contours and the grand balance of the composition all point to one of those first and most serious efforts by which Palma strove to vie with the best craftsmen of his time. Nor was the effort unsuccessful for the Madonna of Zerman became food for meditation to Friulan artists and was one of those which by its method and the place of its exhibition was most calculated to react on Pellegrino, Pordenone, Bernardino Licinio, and the students of the Trevisan guilds.¹

Of similar design and handling, but of more daring, whether we consider the movements or the expression of the actors is the throned St. Peter amidst saints removed from Fontanelle to the Venice Academy. In front of a red and purple cloth hanging from a bar wound round with foliage, St. Peter sits and marks a page in the volume on his knee. St. John the Baptist to the left calls attention by a gesture to the lamb at his feet, St. Paul to

¹ Zerman, ch. of. Arched panel with full lengths large as life. Here as in the altarpiece of Fontanelle, which we shall describe a green carpet hangs from a cord wound round with foliage. The distance is a landscape of hills. The four saints are: St. Helen and St. Peter to the l., St. Mathew and St. John to the r. Our notes as to the preservation of this piece are unhappily mislaid, but there is no doubt that it has been restored.

the right leans his hand on the cross of a formidable sword and raises the folds of a rich green mantle from the ground, behind S^t. Paul stand listening S^t. Titian of Oderzo and S^t. Giustina; in rear of the Baptist are S^t. Mark and S^t. Augusta. None of Palma's works was executed with more energy and force than this; none more fully bears comparison with the contemporary productions of Sebastian Luciani. In keeping with forcible attitudes and movements are the solid breadth and substance of the impast, the large cast and unusually fine style of the drapery, the massively modelled surfaces, the grand shapes, and clean articulations. Here again we have a work of great elevation and character peculiarly fitted to impress and notoriously remarkable as influencing, the later Friulan school. We trace its effects in the attendant saints of Pordenone's Madonnas at Susigana and Moriago, and in the Baptist of Pellegrino's altarpiece at Cividale.¹

In a more advanced and expanded manner and — we cannot doubt — in the best and grandest form of his art, Palma painted for the altar of the Bombardieri, the glorious S^t. Barbara of Santa Maria Formosa at Venice with its splendid accompaniments of saints in half and full lengths and its grandly mournful display of the dead Christ lamented by his mother. S^t. Barbara was the patroness of the Venetian artillerists who came to adore her majesty at this shrine. They made vows of promise on leaving for the wars or gifts and offerings after a happy return. We can fancy them kneeling there after the battle of Lepanto and still enraptured with the charms of Palma's palet. Prominent in size above S^t. Anthony and S^t. Sebastian at her sides S^t. Barbara stands with her palm and crown on a pedestal flanked by two pieces of cannon. The turret, her emblem, is thrown gigantic against

¹ Venice Academy. No. 593. Wood, m. 2. 85 h. by 1. 76; arched, with full lengths of life-size. The surface is flayed, and almost all the figures are injured by re-painting; ex gr.: the heads of S^t. Mark and S^t. Augustin, and those of the three saints to the r., the blue and red of the Virgin's dress. The movements are all vehement and stirring, and the execution is most resolute.

the sky; her shape is grandiose, her beauty, healthy, serene and plump —; there is noble ease in her movements and her draperies are not less finely cast than richly balanced in scales of tints. The hands are those of a queen — of a queen whose flesh is fat and dimpled and of golden fairness. The glance, the massive hair, the diadem and vestments, the full neck and throat, are all regal; and the whole impersonation scents of the Giorgionesque and reveals the 16th century. It is the very counterpart of that fine-chiselled and voluptuous fair one who sits so gorgeously in her red dress and auburn locks amongst the three graces of the Dresden Museum. So commanding is this noble apparition, it throws into the shade the stern and weighty S^t. Anthony with his crook and bell who carries the holy fire and the martyred S^t. Sebastian whose frame hangs lissom before the tree to which his arms are bound; yet the S^t. Anthony is one of Palma's most severe ideals and forcible as it would have been imagined by Luciani. S^t. Sebastian contrasts with S^t. Anthony by excessive youth, and admirable prominence of clean contours. There is great power in the action; and life beams from a handsome face recalling the chosen masks of Titian. S^t. John the Baptist, in half-length, carries the reed-cross and shows the scroll, S^t. Dominick raises the vessel with the flame. Remarkable above all for its display of passion and force is the Virgin on the pinnacle bending over the body of the dead Redeemer, — a group unrivalled in Palma's practise for the mastery with which expression is rendered, for the balance which marks light and shade, and the care bestowed on the drawing or modelling of flesh parts. None of Palma's altarpieces combines in a higher measure vigour and harmony of tint with boldness of touch and finished blending. Nowhere is he more fortunate in reproducing the large soft rounding to which he so usually inclines; in no instance has he realized more clever chiar-oscuro; his art embodies several elements of charm which strike us in Titian and del Piombo, without any

sign of emptiness or lack of flexibility. The rich fluidity of the impast the sway and flow of draperies cast without the stiffness and shallow break so often hurtful in work of more sketchy treatment all contribute to a combination of perfections rare in Palma.¹ We seek for the reason of such uncommon concentration of power and remain altogether baffled, not knowing whether the company of the Bombardieri had a special claim on Palma's attention or whether it was extraordinarily generous as to price.

Almost at this period another altarpiece of large dimensions, the glory of Constantine and Helen with S^t. Roch and S^t. Sebastian which the Duke Melzi in recent times presented to the Brera, was finished by the same hand, yet finished loosely; — and curiously enough reminiscent of Cima. S^t. Constantine and S^t. Helen support the cross, the saints in attendance are in landscapes at the sides, — and S^t. Sebastian is very like his namesake at Santa Maria Formosa.² Nor is this a solitary proof that Palma, unless spurred by weighty cause to superior exertion could surrender to ease and carelessness. There was perhaps no occasion on which he should have felt more bound to exert his utmost skill than when asked to design the purification and its escort of saints for the Duomo of Serina. Serina the place of his birth, was also the seat of that charitable brotherhood of mercy which, it was said had paid Palma's journey to Venice and fed him there in the days of his apprenticeship. Yet it would, be difficult to find any series of panels more hastily executed than these. In the principal one on the high altar, Mary, with a taper in her hand, ascends the steps of the temple followed by a young girl

¹ Venice, S. M. Formosa. The three lower panels are arched and contain full lengths. The three upper ones are filled with half lengths. See Rio *u. s.* Vol. IV. p. 169.

² Milan, Brera, unnumbered; arched panels with full-lengths of life size. The head of S^t. Constantine is injured and S^t. Roch is disfigured by a vertical split in the panel. The flesh tints are clear and rather empty.

carrying a basket of doves and bends before the high priest who receives her in the presence of spectators. Others, dismembered and dispersed to neighbouring walls and altars, contain the "Christ of the resurrection" with two soldiers showing their heads at the base of the picture, full lengths of S^t. James of Compostella with the pilgrim's staff and hat, S^t. Francis reading, S^t. John Evangelist and another saint, each carrying a book, and half-lengths of S^t. Joseph, a friar, and S^t. Apollonia. All these are injured by scaling, ill treatment and the worst kind of repainting, but the best of them and those which are most preserved betray sketchiness and incorrectness of drawing and are unpleasantly raw in tone.¹

But not alone in altarpieces meant for display in country places, even in Venetian churches Palma sometimes indulged in slovenliness; and one of his later canvases — an adoration of the Magi executed for Sant' Elena and now at the Brera — tells to the very last that whilst preserving memories of Cima and Carpaccio, he could occasionally descend to the level of the poorer Bergamasques at whose head we shall place the Santa Croce.¹

¹ Serinalta Duomo. Wood; oblongs with figures under life size. The purification: damaged; the Virgin's red skirt repainted. Christ rising with the banner from the tomb, spotted in the torso; the two soldiers below repainted, S^t. James of Compostella, the colour of his dress in many places flaked away. S^t. Francis reading, retouched, S^t. John Evangelist with the eagle, the head spoiled by a split, the red mantle discoloured, the l. foot smeared over. A fourth saint in a red tunic and green mantle holding a book, the head daubed over, the dress flaking off. S^t. Joseph, half length, S^t. Apollonia d^o, a friar d^o, the two first fairly preserved. Two full lengths besides the foregoing — S^t. Peter Martyr and another saint in this ch. are attributed to Palma but

are more poorly executed and perhaps by disciples. These panels were known to Ridolfi (Marav. I. 180.). Tassi (Pitt. Bergam. p. 101.) mentions an altarpiece by Palma, representing S^t. Francis in the ch. of the P. P. Reformati of Serinalta, which is not now to be found.

¹ Milan, Brera. No. 60, originally in the ch. of the island of Sant' Elena at Venice. Arched canvas, m. 4. 66. h. by 2. 55. S^t. Joseph stands to the l. behind the Virgin who holds the child on her lap to the veneration of the kneeling king. To the r. two kings standing followed by their suite; close to the Virgin S^t. Helen and her cross, — the whole in a landscape. In the sky three angels. The picture is completely daubed over and spoiled but seems origi-

To the very last also Palma, when he chose could preserve the grace, the fullness, and gorgeous tone preeminently remarkable in his earlier days. In the large and important altarpiece at San Stefano of Vicenza in which the Virgin sits enthroned between St. George and St. Lucy, the Madonna rivals in elegance and sweetness of features that of Zerman; but her complex and — so to speak — Lombard movement, an artificial run in the contours and a certain disproportion between the small infant Christ and his large portly mother, make it still apparent that the date of this piece is that of the painter's wane. Similar comparisons suggested by other figures, such as the paltry boy angel contrasting with the tall St. George in his steel panoply, or the full make and swelling bosom of St. Lucy confirm this impression; and in other ways — in a certain dullness of flesh tone, thinness of surface tints, and haze in the landscape, we not only detect symptoms of Palma's age, but perhaps also traces of the hand of his assistant Cariani.¹

The small devotional shrines in which half-lengths of the Madonna and saints are distributed with ingenious diversity; the larger altar decorations in which the majesty of the Virgin and Christ is adored in sacred edifices with escorts of holy martyrs, prophets and angels, were bequests to the painters of the 16th century from artists of a previous age. Palma, who was familiar with both was more frequently successful in the former than in the latter. If we rightly judge his character from the reflection of it in his works, he was neither without art nor

nally to have been executed with the thinner surface colour which marks the master's late period. Consult, Vas. IX. 141., Ridolfi, Mar. I. 178., Boschini, Carta del Navegar p. 146. and Ric. Min. S. della Croce p. 49.

¹ Vicenza, S. Stefano. Arched canvas with figures of life size, dulled and blinded by varnishes

and retouching — the head and frame of St. George especially injured. — Curious is the contrast here between the panoply of St. George and the buskins of the angel. The distant landscape is very like that of the meeting of Jacob and Rachel assigned to Giorgione at Dresden, and it is not unlikely that Palma was assisted in the work by Cariani.

without spirit in the delicate apprehension of subtle motive and its outward rendering in a suggestive and appropriate form; but his tendency was to seize the lowly side of things and in most instances we prefer his homely to his more ambitious compositions. Palma did more however than adopt and remodel the old easel and altarpiece. He was the inventor of the large *Santa conversazione* in which full-lengths of saints hold humble court in the presence of the Virgin, or introduce to her the bending donors in quiet nooks of country attractive alike from their scenic picturesqueness and the lovely variety of their lines.

The most successful of Palma's large holy conversations is that of the Naples Museum, where to the usual enticements of soft and portly shape and sunny colour, Titianesque vigour and richness are superadded. The Virgin has taken her seat on a knoll within easy distance of a farm in an undulating country; the weather is fair and warm; and the sun plays upon the clouds and hills and bushes. The mirthful, cheery, child gives the blessing to a lady and her lord whose heads and arms appear at the picture's edge as they approach the foot of the knoll and are introduced by the wild, half-naked, S^t. Jerom. To the left S^t. John the Baptist, on one knee, points with powerful gesture to the donors; and S^t. Catherine attends near the trunk of a tree that has just been felled. In the muscular force and energetic movement of the two principal saints and in the full expanded charms of the Virgin, we trace again the source of Pordenone's impersonations; in the whole design and its handling we find not merely the models which Pordenone and Bordone appropriated, but the very ideal of treatment which in the course of centuries became identified with the name of Giorgione. It is a noble composition sparkling with light in the dresses and landscape, with a fine subordination of all the figures to correct laws of distribution, with rounded shapes and pleasant faces, plump flesh and bold free drawing; S^t. Catherine especially, Giorgionesque; there is no truer or more interesting reflex

of nature than we find in the quiet of the scene, the sprightliness of the child, the ardor of the saints and the reverence of the donors. Nor is that sort of effectiveness to be disdained which results from contrasting the weather beaten garb and limbs of the saintly dwellers of the wilderness and the fashioned silks and lawns of the prayerful patrons. In this effort of his best period Palma shows an original strength that alone would account for his fame.¹

A simpler and quieter version of the Santa conversazione in full-lengths is that of the Belvedere at Vienna, where the Virgin rests at the foot of a tree and presents the pretty boy Redeemer to the veneration of S^t. Catherine, S^t. Celestin, the Baptist and a female saint, all intent and mirthful, and grouped in kneeling or half kneeling attitudes. The figures are lazily happy, engaging in form, ready and elastic in movement, in the full ripe shapes peculiar to the master. A clear semi-transparent pallor and a peculiar archness in the S^t. Catherine who turns her back yet looks at the spectator recalls to mind the delicate elegance of a Bergamasque painter whose acquaintance we shall presently have to make. Though it is but a guess, we should think it not improbable that the Madonna of the Belvedere is one of those in which Palma was assisted by his countryman and helpmate Lorenzo Lotto.²

In another jewel of the Belvedere collection — a canvas

¹ Naples Museum Grand Saloon. No. 27. Wood, 2 f. 10 h. by 6 f. 6. The surface is slightly rubbed away and retouched in certain spots, otherwise the picture is well preserved. It answers the description of one mentioned by Ridolfi as being in the Casa Barbarigo a San Polo (Marav. I. 182.). Abraded: the flesh of the Virgin and child, of the Baptist especially on the shoulder, of the patroness in prayer, of the patron; retouched: face of the Virgin and

patroness, hands of the latter, as well as her white underdress, yellow sleeve and hair, hands and dark fur collared silk pelisse of the patron, shadows of S^t. Jerom's red mantle.

² Vienna Belvedere, First Floor, Room II. No. 6. Wood, 4 f. 2 h. by 6 f. 3. probably the picture described by Boschini (Navegar pitt. p. p. 150—1.) as belonging to the advocate Galia di Fano at Venice.

in which Joseph and Zachariah witness the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary at the outskirts of a village, the rich-toned landscape and a large cast of form remind us of the time when Palma and Sebastian were together at Venice.¹

Of a later date and in a closer style of grouping, but with much of the spirit which we found in the altarpiece of Naples, we have the splendid panel of the Leuchtemberg Gallery at St. Petersburg, once bequeathed by Maria Priuli to the Venetian senate, and placed by order of the government in the hall of the council of ten. It is difficult to find freedom and mastery more intimately allied to winning simplicity and grace. There is something almost Leonardesque in the Virgin who rests the infant Christ on her knee and looks at him blessing a kneeling man. Her hand is stretched in token of protection towards the donor whose patron saint St. Catherine sits with bending head and fond glance beside him. The Baptist to the left crouches all attention, and the Magdalen resting her fingers on the stump of a tree enjoys the scene. There are few of Palma's compositions in which ease and breadth of treatment are more nearly combined with the elevation of Titian, none in which we more clearly discern Palma's superiority to Pordenone as a painter of gentle and tender feeling. That the masks are pretty and plump, the colour rich and clear and full of brightness is but an additional source of pleasure.²

A counterpart of these as to date and execution is the Madonna of the Louvre in which we may perhaps detect more of the spirit of portrait and more homely fullness of shape than elsewhere; and yet the Virgin who supports the babe before the adoring shepherd and the lady who kneels in prayer to the left of the penthouse are of the

¹ Vienna Belvedere, First Floor, Room II. No. 2. Canvas 6 f. h. by 11 f. 9.

² St. Petersburg, Leuchtemberg gallery. No. 67. Wood, 3 f. 3 h. by 4 f. 3.; full lengths in a land-

scape with a pillar to the l. behind the Magdalen. This picture is described in the hall of ten at Venice by Boschini (Le R. M. S. di S. Marco p. 24.) and by Zanetti (Pitt. Ven. p. 206.).

buxom and attractive form which answers so completely to the term of Giorgionesque. We seldom find in any of Palma's subject pieces a more characteristic display of the type for which he had a special fondness, the brow-eyed fair ones whose swelling charms are set off by copious auburn hair, whose large forehead, round cheeks, and rosebud lips betoken health and serenity. Here too there is perhaps an excess of seeking after grace in the Lombard arrangement of the child assisted in the act of benediction by the hand of its mother; but we lose the sense of effort in the kindly Joseph who calmly takes his share in the still enjoyment of the scene. The draperies are, as ever, marked here and there by shallow breaks; there is a good balance of light and shade, and the usual solidity in the impast which seems finished with light and but too evanescent scumbles.¹

We might extend these descriptions by touching upon masterpieces similar to these, the Madonna with the donor and kneeling saints which belonged to the late Sir Charles Eastlake, the Virgin with the young Baptist, S^t. Catherine, S^t. Jerom, and S^t. James in the Casa Andreossi at Bergamo, the Holy family in the Dresden Museum, and the Madonna worshipped by S^t. Roch in the Gallery of Munich.² But we must pass to another branch of Palma's

¹ Paris, Louvre. No. 277. Canvas, m. 1.40 h. by 2.10.; figures under life size. This fine work has the forged signature of Titian "TITIANNVS" and "TICIANNO" in two places on the foreground. It was bought for Louis the XIVth and has lost its bloom under the hands of the cleaner.

² London, collection of the late Sir Ch. Eastlake. Canvas, 6 f. 7 broad. To the l. the Virgin in front of a pillar presents the child to the adoration of S^t. Joseph, near whom is a patron in prayer, to the r. the Magdalen and the kneeling S^t. Francis in the foreground of a landscape. This pic-

ture was bought at Venice of Signor Schiavone Natali and may be that described by Sansovino (Ven. des. p. 376.) and Ridolfi (Mar. I. 182.) in the Vidman collection at Venice. The l. hand of S^t. Francis is damaged by repaint. The treatment is not of Palma's best time, and the colours are not of the richest, but there is force in the work notwithstanding.

Bergamo. Signor Enrico Andreossi, formerly in the Terzi coll. Wood, with small figures of the Virgin; the child blessing the young Baptist and S^t. Catherine seated on the ground; to the l. S^t. James, his blue dress oxydised to green, and S^t. Jerom; — all in

art, that in which he deals with solitary figures and portraits.

Like other craftsmen of his time, Palma was often asked for ideal representations of heathen gods and goddesses; but what he did of that sort was not destined to live. The Ceres which belonged in 1512 to Francesco Zio afterwards came into the palace of Andrea Odoni and was lost; the canvas with Juno, Pallas, and Venus in the Tassis collection was transferred to that of Van Os in Amsterdam and has since been missing; the "rape of Ganymede witnessed by Juno" disappeared at the sale of the Renier Gallery.¹ The Dresden Museum alone possesses one of those Venuses which became so fashionable in the days of Titian, but it bears no comparison with the noble and choice creations of the kind which were so admirably treated by Vecelli. Palma was evidently less fitted to depict female nude than any other Venetian of his age. He was too homely in taste, too much wedded to the familiar and kindly to be able to soar in the regions of the ideal, at best he could but render the more artificial allurements of elegant and tasteful dress. His Venus at Dresden is a handsome model posed for the occasion and portrayed as she lay — a woman past the bloom of youth yet well preserved — a nymph without ethereal charms whom we should hardly expect to

a landscape. This little oblong is rich in colour but waxy and empty in the flesh on account of the rapid sketchiness of its execution. It is a model in the style of which Bonifazio and Schiavone, at a later part of the century, were fond. —

Dresden, Museum. No. 242. Wood, 2 f. 8½ h. by 3 f. 9. The Virgin under a tree holds the infant Christ who plays with the young Baptist in presence of St. Catherine and Joseph; a pretty scene. The surface is not free from restoring.

Munich, Pinakothek Saal. No. 588. Wood 2 f. 1 h. by 2 f. 10.

St. Mary Magdalen kneels with the ointment pot in a landscape, as St. Roch in front of her presents a rosary to the infant Christ on the Virgin's knee. The flesh tints are flayed and there is some retouching in this little picture, but the figures and action are still attractive by their grace; and the colours almost equal those of Titian in richness and power.

¹ Anonimo, ed. Morelli: p. p. 64. 70. Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 322. Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.* I. 99. Sansovino, *Ven. des.* 378. and compare Campori, *Raccolta de' Cataloghi* p. 445.

find in the beautiful landscape by which she is surrounded.¹

Adam and Eve on one canvas at Brunswick is also a specimen of Palma's skill in depicting flesh, but an instance of his lack of selection. This too was one of Francesco Zio's pictures and was finished before 1512. It represents the first man of a bold strong mould receiving the apple from a slender, well made, peasant Eve, whilst Satan in the form of a serpent, peers out of the branches of the tree from which the fruit has been plucked. The type and shape are by no means above the common; and the realism displayed in them could only serve to instruct such second rates as Bernardino Licinio. But what seems most striking is that, firm and robust as form appears when judged of by its contour, it wants so much of the necessary searching in the modelling and definition of the parts that, in spite of stiff impast and rich touch, an unsatisfactory impression of vagueness is produced. Nowhere again do we mark more clearly how necessary the foil of coloured drapery is to effect in Palma's pictures, for the screen of deep foliage surrounding the tree is by no means as good a contrast as the variegated bits of surface which give such brightness to the more favoured works of the master; and the skin relieved against the trunk and leaves is of a chalky whiteness.²

We at once discern the advantage derived from coloured drapery in the half length of Lucretia at the Belvedere of Vienna. The heroine's luxuriant shape, the chestnut hair rolling in disordered wavy tresses, the white lawn of her underdress falling from the shoulders and baring a bosom of pearly tint are all seductive. The face is

¹ Dresden, Museum. No. 244. Canvas, life size, 4 f. h. by 6 f. 6, bought in 1772 for £ 300. The flesh is embrowned to some slight extent by age.

² Brunswick-Gallery; No. 225. Canvas, 6 f. 10 h. by 4 f. 3., catalogued as Giorgione and engraved by W. Unger in *Zeitschr. für*

Bildende Kunst Vol. III. p. 212., described in the coll. of Francesco Zio by the Anonimo (u. s. p. 70.). The colours are slightly obscured by time and especially so in the shadows. They have also been injured by cleaning and retouching, and the surface paint is thick and oily.

handsome and inspired; and — rare in Palma — the purpose for which the dagger is held in the right hand is confirmed by the dauntless expression of the features; but an undoubted gain for the harmony of the whole is the gorgeous green cloth winding round the sleeve and waist. In the gloom behind, Tarquin appears with bushy hair, the light just touching the tip of his nose. He grasps the arm of the retreating Lucretia and strives to arrest her course. What Titian conveys in the “mistress” of the Louvre in a quiet boudoir scene Palma here presents with lively motion and force. Effect of light and shade in both pieces is the same; Palma is only a little more theatrical; he has not quite his rival’s command of drawing in the hand and arm, but the freshness of his palet and touch, and the brilliance of his colours carry all before them.¹

Of more exquisite finish originally but unhappily a mere wreck is the Judith at the Uffizi which till very lately stood catalogued under the name of Pordenone. We cannot blame a man of Palma’s fibre for diverging so widely from the true spirit of story as to make the Jewish maid a voluptuous beauty. We cannot think it possible that a woman of such pulpy flesh should have really used the scimitar which she holds in her right hand, or have hacked off the grim head of which she grasps the beard. But the contrast which strikes us as so unnatural in the subject is perhaps one of the attractions of the picture; and we forget all incongruities of thought and matter in the youthful plumpness of the face and bosom, the rich flow of yellow hair, the whiteness of linen, the glitter of amber and lake the tasteful borderings of citrine and blue in gorgeous tissues. The weight and sluggish nature of the form, justifies to a certain extent the name of Porde-

¹ Vienna, Belvedere, First Floor, Room II. No. 13. Wood, 2 f. 6 h. by 2 f. 1.; half lengths. The elbow and part of the white drapery is repainted. Of this piece there is a smeared old copy No. 105. at Hampton Court under the name of Paris Bordone; and a second by Varottari No. 643. at the Uffizi.

none but only proves how Pordenone built up his style on that of his Bergamasque contemporary.¹

It is not improbable that in the Judith as in the Lucretia, Palma had no other object in view than to depict some Venetian toast. The feeling which predominates in these canvases is that which characterizes others more clearly intended as portraits; and in the number of extant likenesses of this kind both in and out of Italy we have a clue to the favourite occupation of the master. As a painter of females Palma not unfrequently rivals Titian in the noble elevation and highbred carriage of his delineations; in others he descends to a tasteful undress which is not without aristocratic spirit but, at the same time not without looseness.

Amongst the finer displays of this class which divide our attention, we may dwell with more peculiar pleasure on those that adorn the Barberini and Sciarra palaces at Rome. At the Barberini we have the "*schiaiva di Titiano*", whose very name suggests that Palma successfully came near to Titian in the qualities of grand air and taste. Not even the smears of a restorer who nearly turned Palma's surface into that of Padovanino can divest this half length of its charm. The person is of high nurture and presence, in the bloom of youth, her hair in tresses her throat covered with a light white stuff striped in red, her skirt and sleeves red with slashes showing a white lining, her under-sleeves yellow, the left hand resting on a plinth and holding a glove similar to that which covers the right. Here again the proportions are full and fat like those which Pordenone preferred; but the rich tints and sweet harmonies of the colours are Palma's, the treat-

¹ Florence Uffizi. No. 619. Canvas; life size half-length, but recently catalogued as by Palma. The surface seems to have been rubbed with pumice-stone and seriously abraded in the process; it was subsequently stippled over in a very painful manner. The forms were altered in this process and the eyes are all but new; but the head of Holophernes is fortunately less smeared than that of Judith.

ment recalling the grand period which yielded the S^t. Barbara of Santa Maria Formosa.¹

The lady at the Sciarra is more consciously noble; she is also known as one of Titian's beauties, yet tells us of Palma by the smooth fleshiness of throat and hand, the variegated tinting, short breaks, and shallow depressions of her dress. Even in such details as the binding and sit of the waving hair slightly held together by a band on a level with the ears, we recognize the author of the "Graces" at Dresden. The finely chiselled features are turned to the left, the eyes to the right with a bold and penetrating glance. One hand plays with the locks which fall luxuriantly over the shoulder, the other holds a box of ornaments on a marble pedestal. The snow-white bosom is chastely veiled by a fine web of white drawn together in the closest and most delicate plaits. Over this comes a parti-coloured mantilla of stiff tissue in gay shades of red and ruby, cut into numerous angular sections, lined with bright ultramarine diversified with the snowy texture of a muslin handkerchief. From wrist to elbow the arm is lightly decked with a lace sleeve braced at intervals with ribbands of red and green and striped with colours of the same. It is impossible to conceive anything more indicative of quality than this form and its toilet, and though we notice a certain want of balance in the mass of the draperies and a lack of nature in the kaleidoscopic mode of setting them, the harmony of all the bits thus put together is so grateful and bright, the touch is so rich, the blending so artful, the surface so delicate in grain that we wonder and admire.²

More favoured in this respect than Rome, more fortunate by far than Venice or any other Italian city, Vienna

¹ Rome, Barberini collection. Room II. No. 29. "La bella di No. 72. Canvas, life-size, called Tiziano", life size, retouched in "la schiava di Tiziano." The the right eye, in the shadow of the surface is daubed over with modern paint in many places, but the nose and white drapery. The hair and some other bits are preserved and show Palma's rich tones. The flesh is made somewhat cold by rubbing; the background is dark, on a stone plinth are the initials

² Rome, Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna, T. A. M. B. END.

owns the very best examples of Palma's pencil as a portraitist.

Akin to the grandest creations of Pordenone at the period of his altarpiece at Susigana, is the fine half-length of a bare necked lady in a sumptuous low-dress of white and yellow silk, whose waving hair is bound with pearls. The grand ease of her posé is in admirable contrast with the toning and exquisite finish of the flesh. The right hand grasps a fan of feathers; the left, in somewhat masculine action rests on the hip and is all but lost in the sleeve.¹ Another lady in this collection is seen to the waist showing a beautiful hand out of folds of black silk. Her bosom is exposed in a very gallant manner by the accidental loosening of a lace, but her head is in gala and there is a smile of happiness in her face. To these charms of nature and art those of a luscious and vigorous colour worthy of Titian are combined.²

A beautiful apparition too is that of a lady in yellow hair with a laced boddice, blue silk sleeves lined with green, and red and yellow striped undersleeves. The right hand holds a feather fan, the left gracefully raised — a picture of wondrous freshness.³

Equally seductive and more in undress but of similar complexion and with the head thrown back and turned to the left is the likeness of a girl in flaxen hair with one hand on the cover of a box — a syren of pearly skin with all the allurements of youth displayed after the most enticing fashion.⁴ In such portraits as this we find

¹ Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor. Room 7. No. 49. Half length on canvas, 3 f. h. by 2 f. 5. The flesh has lost its brio by stippling; the hair has been badly restored and the r. hand injured. The treatment is so large and bold that we involuntarily ask could not this be by Pordenone at the period of his altarpiece at Susigana.

² Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor, Room II. No. 12. Wood, half

length 1 f. 6 h. by 1 f. 3. The surface has lost its bloom and a piece has been added to each of the sides of the panel.

³ Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor, Room II. No. 9. Wood, 1 f. 11 h. by 1 f. 7. half-length in a semi-circular niche, a picture of Giorgionesque charm, slightly rubbed in its surfaces.

⁴ Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor, Room 7. No. 12. Wood, 1 f. 6 h. by 1 f. 3., bust.

the essence of the treatment which took the name of Giorgionesque but was due to Palma much more than to Barbarella. The grace and flexible softness of the pose might entitle Palma to be called the Van Dyke of his age. The mould of form is one which he liked so much that he repeated it too often. It served for his S^t. Barbara at Santa Mária Formosa, and the graces at Dresden; it is coupled with blanched and small made hands so obviously kept in lavender as to presuppose absolute abstinence from labour, so delicate and undersized as almost to look unreal.

More gentle and of purer breed the beautiful Violante whose name is told by the violet at her bosom also suns herself before us at the Belvedere. The chemisette at her bosom is nicely plaited as it issues from the blue boddice. Rich tresses fall down the cheeks and neck, and the sleeves of yellow brocade are cast in the form so often described as peculiar to Palma. The blending and enamel of the skin, the pure and finely outlined features are lovely. The same figure holding a palm is that which figures as a saint in Palma's Madonna under Giorgione's name at Madrid.¹

Varied in attitude again is the bust of a girl at the Belvedere with her back to the spectator but showing her face at three quarters by a coquettish turn. She is busy with her toilet, holds a box, and is dressed in green.²

In later years — we may believe — Palma grouped three of these familiar types into one canvas and produced the graces at Dresden, which for so many centuries enjoyed celebrity in the collections of Taddeo Contarini (1525) the Giustiniani and Cornari. Without the high and aristocratic air of the lady at the Sciarra palace, or the youth and delicacy which dwell in the Violante at Vienna, and

¹ Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor, Room II. No. 11. Bust, wood, 1 f. 6. h. by 1 f. 3. from the collection of Paolo del Sera (Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*, p. 368.). See also *antea* in Giorgione p. 153.

² Vienna, Belvedere. First Floor, Room II. No. 14. Wood 1 f. 6 by 1 f. 3. The background is new and the flesh is made cold by abrasion.

yet with a tasteful splendour of dress that has its piquancy, these three young women are grouped with pleasing variety and artifice in front of a very pretty landscape. There is hardly a single peculiarity of the master remaining unrepresented; — his melting shapes, his fair, almost waxen, complexion, his fine chiselled features, small hands, brocades, and slashes, his draperies without depth, flow, or winding contour. There is perhaps less than usual transparency and modelling in the skin; and the touch, being loose and washy, creates an impression of emptiness.¹ It is doubtful whether Palma composed this picture from three models or from one. The central figure is the same which we find disguised in peasant dress at Alnwick, the left hand, instead of being gloved, holding the handle of a lute, the right, being made to support the bending head. Yet here as at the Manfrini palace where it was long exhibited the name of Giorgione was appended, regardless of style, treatment and tradition. In 1525 this lovely Palma belonged to Jeronimo Marcello at Venice and was accurately assigned to the master who painted it.²

The facility with which Palma in later years united delicacy of tone to tender contrasts of bright tertiary tints was almost exclusively attained at the expense of contour and accurate searching of inner parts. The latest fruits of his practise are remarkable for the swimming haze which covers form and all but confounds the flesh with its accompaniments of locks and dress in a cento of clouded opals, pallid amber, sparkling amethyst, emerald, and ruby. A telling proof of this is to be found in the blue eyed, placid, lass of the Berlin Museum who coquettishly leans her head on her right arm and looks at the specta-

¹ Dresden Museum. No. 243. p. 310. Algarotti to Mariette Feb. Wood 3 f. 1 h. by 4 f. 4., bought 13. 1751 in Bottari, *Raccolta*, VII. from the Procuratessa Cornaro della Ca Grande for 600 Ducats; 374.

first in the coll. of Taddeo Contarini (Anon. p. 65.) then an heirloom of the Giustiniani family (see Boschini *Carta del Navegar* p. 66.

² Alnwick. Canvas, life-size. In the distance two lovers embrace each other. Consult, the Anonimo

tor. — This was one of the canvases which Andrea Vendramin had collected and caused to be engraved at Venice; it leads us to observe what artifice Palma employed to contrast the dark green foliage of a back ground glazed in rich brown tones with a mother-of-pearl skin hardly to be distinguished in its whiteness from the white of the chemise — to melt the tones of the flaxen hair into those of the forehead, — to form a harmony from madders, yellows, and browns, and create sparkle by lake rubbings in the shadows of the eye corners. The outlines are everywhere hidden in a Correggiesque mist of scumble; but form on that account, loses all its sharpness; and many portions are out of drawing.¹

Comparing this languid and voluptuous picture with the freely handled one representing a man in a fur pelisse at Munich we measure exactly the distance which separates Palma in his prime from Palma on the wane. The Munich catalogue naturally clings to the tradition of Giorgione's authorship which has the sanction of time as well as of an inscription on the back of the panel; not the less is this a noble portrait by Palma and doubtless that which Vasari described as Palma by himself. The face is turned three quarters to the right and thrown into effective shadow by the light from an opening in a stone ruin. The right arm issues from a fox-skin pelisse; and the hand is firmly closed on a pair of gloves. It is a noble likeness intrinsically masterly and admirable and, in this sense, worthy of Giorgione, but too clearly Palmesque in tone and treatment to leave us in doubt as to the hand that produced it. We have here an additional proof if such a proof were wanted, how much Palma contributed to the expansion of 16th century art and how necessary it is to establish his claim to an influence hitherto supposed to have been wielded exclusively by Giorgione. Some critics affirm that the person repre-

¹ Berlin Museum. No. 197A. at the Brit. Mus. Pitt. in Muscis
Busts all but life size (see the cat. n. s.). The bosom is rubbed down
of it in Andrea Vendramin's cat. and retouched.

sented is Giorgione. Whoever he may be, the man is of strong and energetic mould; the glance of his eye is so rapid, open, and expressive as to convey the best impression of nature's instant action, there is a breadth of modelling and a variety of toning beyond measure telling and truthful; and the play of the features is admirable.¹

Of Palma's last days we know more than of all the rest of his life. We learn from his will which is dated the 28th of July 1528 that he was ailing and thinking of the salvation of his soul. His father Ser Antonio was dead. He himself had no family but nephews and a niece, children of a deceased brother, Bartolommeo, the eldest of whom, Antonio became celebrated as the father of Palma Giovine. He desired to be buried in the vaults of the brotherhood of San Spirito at San Gregorio in Venice of which he was a member. His death ensued very closely upon the signature of his will; and on the 8th of August 1528 his executors made an inventory of his property which included no less than forty four unfinished canvases including more than one ordered for Francesco the lineal descendant of that Marino Querini for whom the lost altarpiece of Sant' Antonio had been finished in 1521.²

There are numerous pictures in various churches and galleries catalogued as being by Palma. They may be registered as follows:

Nancy. Museum. No. 50. Wood, m. 0. 60 h. by 0. 44. This "nameless" panel, contains a life-size bust of a bareheaded man in a fur pelisse, the scene a dark room with an opening to the r. through which a landscape, church, town, and canal with boats are seen. The

¹ Mnich, Pinakothek Saal. No. 582. Wood, 2 f. 2 h. by 1 f. 8., probably the same described by Vasari (IX. 144—5.) and by Ridolfi (Mar. I. 182.) as being in the collection of Bartolommeo della Nave at Venice. On the back of the panel we read: "Giorgon de Castelfranco f. Maestro de Titiano." The hand is rubbed down to the preparation and there are slight

retouches at the side of the nose on the r. cheek and on the hair. The head is relieved on a ground, lighter than the flesh shadows. — The whole picture has been cleaned and deprived of its original sunny tone.

² See the will and inventory in Raccolt. Ven. Serie I. T. 1 Dispenza 2.

flesh is almost entirely repainted, but the parts about the neck which retain their original surface show that Palma was the author of the likeness.

Venice. Academy. No. 59. From Santa Maria Maggiore, wood, arched, m. l. 85 b. by 1. 38. This small panel, noticed by Ridolfi (*Marav.* I. 180) is an assumption, the Virgin ascending in a choir of seraphs and the apostles standing below. The figures are small, and executed in the style of Palma, and yet they are characterized by length and slenderness rather than fullness. It may be that Palma completed the picture early, or that some disciple carried it out in his spirit.

Rovigo. Gallery. No. 123; bust of a man in a black vest and green pelisse with a fur collar. Canvas, life-size. It is only on close examination that we detect Palma's hand, so heavily is the surface injured and daubed over.

Stuttgart. Mus. No. 329. Wood, 3 f. 2 h. by 4 f. $5\frac{1}{3}$, half lengths; Virgin and child between St. John the Baptist and St. Peter. In the distance, behind the throne, a pretty landscape is seen. This hastily painted Holy Family is thrown out of harmony by flaying and retouching (the Virgin's head and the child are more particularly spoiled). No. 17. Wood, 4 f. h. by 3 f. 3, from San Zaccaria of Venice; the Virgin supports the child, who blesses a devotee introduced by St. Peter — knee piece. — This is a genuine Palma, but not originally of the master's best, and now damaged by cutting down and abrasion of the flesh tints (especially in the Virgin and child). No. 14. 3 f. $1\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 4 f. 1. Holy Family with something of Palma's original touch left in the landscape, — the rest repainted.

Dresden. Museum. No. 246. 3 f. $10\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 4 f. $9\frac{1}{2}$; the Virgin and child, between St. Joseph, St. Catherine, and St. Elizabeth with the boy Baptist, distance a tree and landscape. The colours are gay and bright after Palma's fashion, but the handling is not as good as we have a right to expect and the drawing as well as the character of the figures is less decisive than usual. We are reminded of Bonifazio. Still, this may be a genuine but feeble work of the master. The best parts are the St. Joseph and St. Catherine; there is no lack of restoring. No. 212, under the name of Buoneconsiglio (see ante, I. 443) a Madonna with saints — the Baptist, Francis, Joseph, and Catherine — though much disfigured by repaints, still displays in parts (the landscape, and Baptist) the treatment of Palma and his school.

Berlin. Museum. No. 174. Wood, 2 f. $4\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 2 f. Bust of a man in a dark pelisse, with a fur collar; in his r. hand he holds a glove. This is a genuine Palma, injured in the shadows of the head, in the flesh of the neck and hand.

Vienna. Belvedere. 1st Floor. Room II. No. 48. W. 1 f. 6 h. by 1 f. 2; bust of an old man injured, but originally a genuine Palma.

Vienna. Lichtenstein Gallery. 2^d Room; the Holy Family. Virgin, ch. St. Anne, St. Joseph, the kneeling Baptist, and a bishop in a landscape — is a genuine but poor example of Palma here and there damaged by retouching (ex. gr. the head of St. Anne, and the yellow tunic of Joseph).

Hague. Ex-gallery of King William the II^d. Canvas, m. 1. 10 h. by 1. 56; the Virgin and ch. between St. Francis, St. Jerom, St. Ursula and another female saint. Our memory accepts this picture as a real Palma.

London. Mrs. Butler Johnstone, ex-Munro Coll. Wood, half-life; the Virgin and child with St. Joseph and St. Catherine (half lengths) is an original but not very fine example of Palma, damaged by various accidents.

Ex-Northwick Collection. No. 107. Wood, 2 f. 1 h. by 3 f. 5, representing in half length the Virgin and child between St. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen, still carries marks of having been executed by Palma. No. 161. 2 f. 9 h. by 3 f. 4, half-lengths. On the left, the Virgin holds the child erect to be adored by St. Peter and St. John the Baptist carrying the lamb and cross; in the background, a tree is thrown against the sky. Though injured, and abraded in flesh, this pleasantly arranged composition displays the hand of Palma in his early time.

Glasgow. J. Graham Gilbert Esq. York Hill. Small panel with a landscape distance in which the Virgin attended by a female saint, holds the infant Christ on her knee, he struggling to take the lamb held by the kneeling Baptist; to the left St. Peter carries the keys. This is not of the best but is still a real Palma somewhat abraded in the flesh.

Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 129. Canvas, with a life size Venus recumbent in a landscape about to receive the arrow from Cupid. This raw, cold, and yellow tinted specimen of Palma, seems to have lost its original golden tone by cleaning and restoring.

Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum. No. 1. Canvas. The Virgin and child, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Catherine and St. Barbara, looks like one of Polidoro Lanzani's imitations of Titian. — No. 2 and No. 3. — The angel appearing to Elijah, and Christ calling to Zaccheus are by Palma Giovine.

Garscube, near Glasgow. Sir A. Campbell. The Virgin and child, with saints. This canvas, with half lengths, is by an imitator of the Palmesques.

Edinburgh (near) Hopetown House. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac,

This is not a Venetian picture. The portrait of a doge, under Tintoretto's name, but attributed by Waagen (*Treasures*, III. 309), to Palma, is by a feeble disciple of Titian.

Dublin. National Gallery. No. 42. Wood, 1 f. 9 h. by 1 f. 5; portrait of a young girl, — is covered almost entirely with smears so that we cannot say whether it is original or not.

Edinburgh. National Gallery. No. 68. 1 f. 6 by 1 f. 3. Adoration of the shepherds. This is not an original Palma.

London. R^s. Hon. Austin Layard. S^t. George in prayer and a female saint, in a landscape; w. under the size of nature. This injured panel displays something of the character of Palma.

Hampton Court. Of all the pieces under Palma's name in this gallery, not one is original. That which most recalls the master's manner is a small Madonna with the child, adored by S^t. Catherine and S^t. John the Baptist, catalogued as No. 706 by Titian. The surface is heavily daubed with repaints and varnish. No. 159, a canvas representing Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well represents the Palmesque as we see it in Rocco Marcone or Schiavone. No. 140. A nativity with Saints — S^t. Roch and S^t. Elizabeth with the young Baptist, Tobias and the angel, S^t. Joseph and a shepherd bearing a lamb, — is an example similar to the foregoing of resolute handling but heavy and oily surface colour. No. 467. The shepherd's offering is a very fine specimen of Jacopo Bassano.

Ex-Northwick Collection. No. 90. W., 4 f. h. by 5 f. 9. The Holy family in a landscape — the Virgin and ch. between two females (? S^t. Anne and S^t. Elizabeth); to the r. and l. of the foreground, the young Baptist presented by the kneeling Zachariah and S^t. Joseph. This is a panel of feeble waxy execution by some of the followers of the Palmesque school.

London. Mr. Barker. W., half lengths under life size. The Virgin and child, between S^t. Elizabeth and the young Baptist, S^t. Zachariah, S^t. Joseph and S^t. Catherine of Alexandria; behind the throne a green curtain, at each side of which there is a view of the sky. This panel was once in the Manfrini palace at Venice. It is a patient and careful work by an imitator of Palma. The S^t. Joseph and the infant Christ are in Bernardino Licinio's manner, the Baptist Titianesque. The red peachy tones are not Palmesque, nor is the contour equal to his. — We may hesitate between Licinio and Cariani. —

London. Baring Collection. Canvas, life size; the Magdalen kneels and offers the ointment vase to the infant Christ on the Virgin's knee, to the r. are S^t. Joseph and S^t. Catherine in a landscape — a genuine Bonifazio. —

London. Holford Gallery. Holy conversation, half lengths on canvas, half-life. The Virgin and child are in a landscape between St. Lucy, Peter, Catherine and another saint. Schiavone, Polidoro, or some other follower of Bonifazio might have produced this picture. Same gallery. Adoration of the shepherds, w. life size. The Virgin sits in front of a ruin with Joseph to the l. and two adoring shepherds; to the r., three angels sing in the air. This ruddy-toned and freely handled work is of the school of Palma and Lotto, and distinctly presents some of the features of Cariani's style.

St. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg Coll. No. 92. W., transf. to canvas, 1 f. 6 h., by 2 f. $6\frac{3}{4}$; the Virgin and child, with saints, the child receiving flowers from the boy Baptist who takes them from a basket in St. Elizabeth's hand; to the r., St. Joseph and St. Catherine. The execution is too poor, and the surface too empty, for Palma (some retouches). No. 90. W., 1 f. 5 h., by 2 f. 3. Two shepherds kneel to the r. before the infant Christ who is presented by the Virgin, behind whom sits St. Joseph — distance of hills. — The treatment here is very like that of Cariani. No. 91. The Virgin seated at the foot of a tree holds the infant Christ to whom St. Jerom gives an apple. St. Anthony of Padua, St. Catherine and the Magdalen attend. This too is much repainted and leaves us in doubt whether it was once a Palma, or is only a school piece.

Copenhagen. Museum. No. 52. The Virgin and child and St. Francis, with some traces of the old surface left from which it would appear that it is not a Palma.

London. Bridgewater Gallery. No. 29. Canvas, small figures in a landscape. The Virgin sits in the middle of the picture looking round to the l. at the Baptist who plays with the lamb; St. Joseph to the r. takes the infant Christ from the Virgin's arm — distance landscape. — This spirited little picture is too feeble for Palma and is painted in a style reminiscent of Bernardino Licinio or Polidoro Lanzani. No. 3. A repose in Egypt. — The Virgin holds the infant to be kissed by the young Baptist, whilst St. Joseph rests in the distance. — The handling is after the fashion of the Bonifacios, or Andrea Schiavone. No. 60. Portrait of a doge is of the 16th century.

Berlin. Museum. No. 199. Wood, 1 f. $5\frac{3}{4}$ h., by 2 f. $1\frac{1}{4}$, the Virgin ch. St. Francis and St. Catherine, is a poor imitation of a Palma. No. 186. Canvas, knee piece, portrait of a doge. This likeness is smeared with modern colour, but deserves to be classed in the school of the Bassanos rather than in that of Palma. No. 183. The Virgin adoring the child, and St. Joseph a feeble Venetian panel. No. 192. The Virgin ch., and St. Catherine, not genuine; and altogether repainted. No. 31. Virgin reading with the sleeping child signed Jacobus Palma, not genuine.

Munich. Pinakothek. C. No. 601. The Virgin child; Joseph, Elizabeth and the Maries, once under Palma's name, and now catalogued in the school of Bellini, recalls the style of Bissolo and the Santa Croce, but is much damaged by disagreeable smears. *S.* No. 578. *S.* Jerom, is not of the Venetian, nor is it of any Italian, school.

Vienna. Belvedere. 1st Floor. Room II. No. 8. *W.*, 4 f. 2 h. by 6 f. 3. The Virgin and child between *S.* Mark, and *S.* Ursula with three of her Virgins, by Bonifazio. *Room I.* No. 35. *W.*, 3 f. 6 h. by 1 f. 10; *S.* John the Baptist, is a feeble and injured panel in a style commingling that of Palma, with that of Pordenone. A copy by Teniers is to be seen at Blenheim. No. 10. *W.*, transferred to canvas, 2 f. 3 h. by 2 f.; half length of "Gaston de Foix" with his hand on a helmet seems more like a portrait by Bernardino Licinio than one by Palma.

Vienna. Lichtenstein Gallery. A small panel in this collection, with figures about one fourth of nature — the Virgin, child, *S.* Catherine reading and another female saint with a book — is a copy from a picture bearing marks of Palma's style.

Vienna. Czernin Collection. No. 29. The Virgin and child *S.* Catherine and *S.* John the Baptist, with the lamb, is a 17th century imitation.

Late Esterhazy Coll. (Vienna and Pesth). No. 33. The Virgin and child, the Baptist and a praying friar in landscape, is in the character of Palma and Lotto, but difficult to classify under any certain name.

Stuttgart. Museum. No. 102. Wood, 1 f. 4½ h. by 1 f. 1½. The angel Raphael and Tobias. This is a feeble Bergamasque production reminiscent of the Santa Croce. No. 139. Bust of a female, canvas, is an injured portrait, more in Lotto's manner than in that of Palma.

Cassel. Museum. No. 97. Canvas, inscr.: "Jacopus Pal. P.". No. 98. Persens rescues Andromeda. These canvases are assigned to Palma but are painted by his nephew.

Hanover. Haussmann Coll. No. 3. Wood, 2 f. 2 h. by 3 f. 2½. The Virgin and child with a donor and donatrix between *S.* Jerom, *S.* Anthony, *S.* Barbara and *S.* Francis — half-lengths in front of a green hanging. The dusky ruddiness of tone and soapy substance of colours modelled with dark shadows; the peculiar manner in which form is rendered, and a characteristic mould in the faces — all this — recalls the school of Pellegrino da San Daniele and, more particularly, the hand of a painter like Domenico Mancini of Treviso.

Dresden. Museum. No. 241. A female rests her hand on a mirror; behind her stands an attendant. This raw and dusky canvas is of rude execution, and very doubtful as a work of Palma.

Florence. Pitti. No. 38. The supper at Emmaus, inscribed on a seat on the r. hand with the letters: "I. P. A." (?) This is a good Titianesque composition executed by a painter of weaker fibre than Palma. The feeble character of the figures and the careless touch, something dirty in the mixture of the tones, point to a late Venetian beneath Zelotti in power.

Florence. Pitti. No. 254. Holy Family. Capriolo.

Florence. Pitti. No. 414. Female portrait. This is a dusky melancholy likeness by an artist more modern than Palma.

Rome. Galleria Corsini. No. 39. The miracle of the loaves and fishes under Palma's name is by an artist of the 18th century. *Galleria Pamfili*, St. Jerom in adoration is by Lotto.

Sienna. Spannocchi Coll. (in the town Gallery). Wood, half life; the Virgin and ch., St. Joseph and a devotee with his arms crossed over his breast — distance landscape. — The character of this composition and the peculiarities of its execution point to a young artist of Treviso following the models of Palma and Titian, it may be by Paris Bordone or one of his disciples.

Ferrara. Gallery. No. 81. Canvas. M. 1.07 h. by 1.62. Christ and the tribute money, 11 or 12 half lengths. This piece belongs to a time subsequent to that of Palma. The flesh tints are of the ruddy emptiness and gaiety which characterize Lattanzio Gambara or Carracci. The head of Christ is renewed by a Ferrarese.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1037. Small panel. Christ and the disciples at Emmaus. We may assign this charming little composition, which scents of the Palmesque and yet is technically treated in a manner varying from that of Palma — with grain scumbles — as a favorable specimen of Andrea Schiavone. Both the face and the form of Christ at the table are very fine. The touch and the tone are neither as firm nor as brilliant as Palma's.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 650. Round; on slate, representing "a geometer" on the side of a table the date: "MDLV". Why this piece should be catalogued as we still find it, is a mystery especially as we know that Palma died in 1528.

Florence. Pitti. No. 84. Wood. The Virgin sits with the child on her lap, who consigns a globe to a kneeling personage. A crown at the feet of the latter appears to indicate regal birth. To the r. is St. Elizabeth and the young Baptist. Boschini describes a picture answering the description of this one, in the *Madonna dell' Orto* at Venice (*Le R. M. S. di Canareggio* p. 33). It is a spirited and pleasant work very like a Palma especially in the figure of the kneeling man, but executed with less vigour and assurance than usual, and therefore possibly by some subordinate of Treviso or Friuli.

Modena. Museum. No. 129. Wood, m. 0. 75 h. by 0. 92., purchased at Venice by Francis the Vth of Modena, represents the Virgin, ch., and St. Joseph, with two female martyrs in attendance. It is a much injured, but old, copy.

Milan. Brera. No. 69. The woman taken in adultery, once in the gallery of the Archbishop's Palace at Milan (Tassi u. s. I. 103.) is a Bonifazio falsely assigned to Palma.

Milan. Archbishop's Palace. No. 36. Virgin and ch. — the latter in benediction — and the young Baptist with the lamb, is by Bernardino Licinio. (See *antea*).

Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 285. Canvas, with figures one quarter the size of life; the Virgin holds the child who takes a scroll from the young Baptist presented by St. Elizabeth; to the right St. Joseph and a female saint, distance, landscape. This piece, miscalled Palma is more like a work of Andrea Schiavone; and yet too poor even for him.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 623. Madonna, with the Magdalen, St. Joseph, and St. John. This panel is not by Palma. (See *antea*, Capriolo).

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1087. Wood. Portrait of a lady. This half-length under the natural size, is somewhat dryly treated, as if by some Friulan follower of the Palmesque manner. The surface is heavily daubed over.

Vicenza. Casa Trissino. Half lengths of the Virgin and child between Sts. Chiara, Mary Magdalen, Paul and two other saints, attended by a female patroness with her child. This picture, composed of small figures is by some imitator of the Palmesque style. The Virgin's head is new.

Schio. church. Wood, half lengths; Virgin and ch. between St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine, inscr. (on a parapet: "Jacopo Palma p. 1520"). This panel is stippled over, but still has a Palmesque look. The figures are too paltry for the master; and the painter is probably an imitator. The inscription is false.

Brescia. Casa Erizzo-Maffei. Holy Family, assigned to Palma but really by Cariani. (See *postea*).

Brescia. S. Barnaba. St. Onofrio the hermit, ascribed to Palma, is by a feeble and later painter.

Lucca. S. Pietro. St. Anthony the abbot between Sts. Francis, Bartholomew, Andrew and Dominick; this picture, described in Tassi's painters of Bergamo (notes to p. 106) was not seen by the authors.

Cividale. Duomo. Arched canvas represented Christ appearing to the Magdalen, and a canon in prayer. This large piece is in the style of Pordenone and his school and might be by Bernardino Licinio.

Venice. San Stefano. Canvas, life-size. The Virgin presents the infant Christ on her lap to St. Mary Magdalen who kneels to the l. with the ointment vase. To the r. a saint converses with St. Catherine, distance a landscape. This much injured picture has been assigned by the oldest annalists (Boschini, *Le R. M. S. di S. Marco* p. 91., Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.* p. 204., and Ridolfi, *Marav. I.* 179.) to Palma Vecchio, and may have been by him when they described it. If genuine, it has lost all originality under repaints. Yet there is still much in the treatment that betrays the hand of Bonifazio.

Venice. S. Maria Mater Domini. Canvas, life size, the last supper, a genuine Bonifazio. Sansovino alone of all the chroniclers, recognized the author (*Ven. disc.* p. 205.). The last supper in San Silvestro has disappeared. (Boschini, *Le R. M. S. di S. Polo* p. 9, Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.* p. 206., and Ridolfi, *Marav. I.* 180.).

Padua. Communal Gallery. Virgin and child, a male and female donor. (See *antea* in Previtali, I. 280.).

Treviso. Hospital. Wood, half lengths; the Virgin, child, and St. Joseph, in a landscape. Though much damaged by repainting, this is a fine Paris Bordone, of which there is an old copy (also under Palma's name) in the Scarpa collection at La Motta. Venus and Vulcan, called Palma Vecchio in the Communal Gallery of Treviso is a canvas of the 17th or 18th century.

Venice. Academy. No. 420. Wood, m. 0.56 h. by 0.44, bust portrait of a lady, in front of a green hanging which partially conceals the sky. Though altered in flesh by stippling, this is but a Palmesque production in the raw and ruddy tones and incised drawing of which we may recognize the hand of Palma's imitator Cariani, even though some parts, i. e. the red sleeves, point to the hand of a Friulan of the class of Bernardino Licinio.

Venice. Academy. No. 72. From the ch. of the Madonna dell'Orto. Canvas, m. 2.75 h. by 1.75. St. Stephen enthroned between St. Lorenzo Giustiniani, St. Helen, a bishop, and a saint holding a book, life-size, burnt at the lower l. hand corner, and repaired by the introduction of a new piece of stuff. The movement of the figures is Palmesque, but the impast is spare and the handling is poorer than Palma's. The altarpiece was done by the artist's assistants or has been ruined by accidents and repaints. (Consult, Boschini, *Le R. Min. pref.* and Sestier di Canareggio p. 30. Sansovino, *Ven. descr.* u. s. 167., Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.* p. 207. and Ridolfi, *le Marav. I.* 180.).

Venice. San Cassiano. Wood, arched, with figures of life size; St. John the Baptist on a pedestal between St. Jerom, St. Mark, St. Peter and St. Paul, in a hilly landscape. The colours are rich, warm and highly fused, but deep and sombre, the drawing accurate and careful. The Baptist, of lean and bony shape is the most Palmesque

part of the composition, and yet looks too paltry for Palma. The broad and weighty St. Paul — the landscape — recall Sebastian del Piombo. The remaining saints are of Friulan air. The mixed styles thus brought together in one panel might suggest to us the hand of Rocco Marcone in his early period. (See Boschini *Le R. Min. S. della Croce* 18.).

The following list comprises missing pieces and those which the authors were not fortunate enough to see:

Venice, S. Moisé. Virgin and ch. in glory; below, St. John the Baptist and St. Jerom. (Vas. IX. 141. Boschini, *Le R. M. S. di S. Marco*. p. 81. Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 178.) Venice, S. Spirito. St. Anthony of Padua between St. Apollonia and the Magdalen. (Bosch. *Le R. M. S. di Castello* p. 77.) Venice. Madonna dell' Orto, monastery; Virgin and child adored by the Emperor Constantine, St. Helen and the young Baptist. (Ib. S. di Cana Reggio. p. 33.) Venice, San Cristoforo della Pace, unfinished panel with the Madonna enthroned between St. John the Baptist and St. Jerom. (Sansovino, *Ven. des.* p. 234.) Venice, Gesuati. The Eternal (Ib. 271.) Venice. Palazzo Niccolò Cornaro a San Maurizio. The cession of the government and crown of Cyprus by Queen Cornara to Pietro Mocenigo. (Ib. 375.) Venice, Renier coll. Marcus Aurelius and three philosophers, a portrait. Rape of Ganymede. (Ib. 378.) Venice, Casa Andrea Odoni. A young man and an old woman with her back to the spectator (Anon. ed. Morelli. 61.), a Ceres (Ib. 64.). Venice, Casa Francesco Zio. Christ and the woman taken in adultery, a nymph (Ib. 70.). Venice, Casa Bartolommeo della Nave. Portrait of a girl (Ridolfi I. 182.). Venice, Casa Bergontio. The Redeemer (Ib. II. 149.). Venice, Signor Jacopo Ponte. Virgin and ch. and St. Catherine (Ib. ib. ib.) Venice, Signor Bortolo da Fino. Full-length of the Virgin between St. John and the Magdalen (Ib. II. 423.). Milan, Vallardi coll. Christ going to Calvary (Vas. annot. IX. 145.) This piece is given in Vallardi's catalogue to Palma Giovine. Brescia, Conte Lana, portrait (Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.* I. 102.). Brescia, Conti Avogadri. Crucified Saviour (Ib. ib.). Brescia, Casa Maffei. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph (Ib. 103.). Genoa, Palazzo Durazzo. Virgin, ch., St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalen (ib. notes to p. 106.). Genoa, Palazzo Brignole. Adoration of the magi (ib. ib. ? by Bonifazio). Verona, Dottor Curtioni. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph (ib. ib. 102.). Casa Bouduri. Repose in Egypt (ib. ib. ib.). Casa Guadagni. St. Jerom (ib. ib. ib.). Conegliano, Padri Reformati. Virgin and ch. in glory, with St. James, St. Anthony the abbot, Joseph and Nicodemus (Ridolfi, *Mar.* I. 181.). Bergamo, Signor Conte Aspertì. Forge of Vulcan with Vulcan and 3 Cyclops (Tassi I. 94.). Antwerp, Signor Van Veele. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph, Christ and the Magdalen in the house of the Pharisee; Virgin, ch., St. Christopher, St. Catherine and a portrait of Queen Cornara, half lengths (Ridolfi, *Mar.* I. 181.). Antwerp, Signor Cristoforo Orsetti. Virgin, ch., St. Joseph and St. Catherine (Ib. ib. I. 375.). France, Monseigneur d'Houssaye once ambassador from France to Venice. Two holy families (Ridolfi, *Mar.* I. 181. and Felibien u. s. II. 89.). Rome, Galeria Giustiniani. St. Jerom in the desert. Miracle of the loaves and fishes (Tassi *Pitt. Bergam.* I. 100.). Bergamo, Signor Curato Conti. The Saviour

in glory, and below, St. Sebastian and St. Roch (Ib. ib. note to p. 101.). Bergamo, Signor Carlo Albani. Christ dead on the Virgin's lap (Ib. ib. ib.). The annotators of Tassi give a long list of fictitious Palmas in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo (Ib. ib. 93—4.)

The following list comprises items registered in the inventory of the pictures found in Palma's atelier at his death:

1. Portrait of a Cypriot half finished on canvas.
2. Christ only drawn (small).
3. Portrait of a woman with her hand on her head almost finished.
4. Portrait of a priest, almost finished.
5. Head of Christ, almost finished.
6. St. John Evangelist, finished.
7. Portrait "del Semitecholo."
8. Christ and the 12 apostles, and two women, half finished (see, Venice Academy No. 84.).
9. St. John the Baptist on canvas.
10. Portrait "of one of Murano."
11. D^o of Piero Antonio de Torzi, a draper.
12. A naked female almost finished (see Dresden Museum No. 244 and postea.).
13. Portrait of a lady in crimson velvet with an apple in her hand.
14. Head of Christ sketched and part coloured.
15. Head of a shepherd almost finished.
16. St. Jerom in the desert finished.
17. Portrait of a lady with part of her hair in her hand almost finished.
18. Altarpiece in three parts with St. John the Baptist, St. Roch and St. Sebastian.
19. Virgin and child with the portrait of Nicolò Campanato and two female saints almost finished.
20. Portrait of a lady in yellow satin sleeves.
21. Small portrait of Piero Trivisan.
22. A naked female on canvas almost finished (see again Dresden Mus. No. 244.).
23. Portrait of a girl with her hair on her shoulders, dressed in green, half done.
24. Judgment of Solomon sketched in.
25. The woman taken in adultery and brought before Christ.
26. Picture with landscape sketches.
27. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph.
28. Flight into Egypt.
29. Head of Christ in benediction.
30. Virgin, ch. and St. Joseph.
31. Canvas of the Virgin and ch. with St. John the Baptist, a sketch.
32. Virgin and child with the young Baptist, canvas, half-done.
33. Same subject on canvas with the additional figure of St. Joseph.
34. Baptism of Christ on canvas.
35. Virgin, ch., St. Peter and a female saint, sketch.
36. Virgin and ch. with St. Joseph and two saints, canvas, half finished.
37. Virgin and ch., St. Francis, St. Catherine, St. George, a child, and an angel, canvas sketched in.
38. Virgin and child and an angel with Messer Anzolo Trivisan and St. Francis, begun.
39. Design for the foregoing.
40. Sketch of a lady.
41. Portrait of Messer Francesco Querini.
42. Virgin and two saints, and St. Francis and St. Peter commissioned by Francesco Querini.
43. Virgin and ch., St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine and St. Nicholas, partly finished for Messer Francesco Querini.
44. Portrait of a youth with a round cap.
45. Portrait of a beggar.

CHAPTER IX.

LORENZO LOTTO.

Lorenzo Lotto, the friend of Palma, Previtali, and the Santa Croce, can scarcely be omitted in a volume which treats of the pupils of Giovanni Bellini and the earlier Bergamasques.

It has been said with some show of truth that Lotto was more worthy of a biography than any of the second rates of the North Italian provinces. There is no doubt that amongst the second rates he holds an eminent place; and claims to rank æsthetically as high as Bazzi.

With an inventive faculty and poetic fancy seldom surpassed, Lotto was also endowed with a quickness only paralleled — in the century to which he belonged — by a very small number of masters. The fertility of his production was such that his works are found abundantly in the greater part of Northern and Central Italy. — We should be filled with surprise at the comparative obscurity into which his name and works finally fell, but that we remember that during the period of his greatest activity the best and most celebrated artists of the peninsula attracted the public gaze and cast those of a lower class into the shade.

It is easy to be enthusiastic about Lotto's talent; he had a very fine feeling for colour; he became a master of foreshortening and modelling, he studied action in its most varied forms and rendered it with unaccustomed daring; expression in every mood, expression roguish, tender,

earnest, solemn, he could depict them all. But there was one thing wanting in his pictorial organism; he lacked the pure originality of genius and independent power.

In his youth a disciple of the Bellinesques — as regards art, of kindred with Previtali — he inclined somewhat later to the Palmesque and Giorgionesque; he then imbibed Lombard habits of thought and finally clung to the style of Titian. He was born too near the time when painting attained its highest culture not to acquire much of that culture; but he contented himself with following where others led; and this enables us to understand the neglect in which posterity left him. The common impress in Lotto, Previtali, the Santa Croce and other Bergamasques, the friendship which united Lotto to Palma, the influence of Previtali on Lotto's manner, Lotto's residence for years at Bergamo — all this gives weight to the opinion of those who hold that Lotto was by birth a Bergamasque; and the fact that Bergamo was a Venetian city explains sufficiently how Lotto could without inconsistency be described as 'de Venetiis'. That his father, Tommaso de Lottis, was of a family widely ramified in the Bergamasque country, is not without importance in this inquiry.¹

It is not improbable that Lotto followed Palma's example and came early to Venice, where he naturally frequented those of his countrymen who gave promise of skill or proved their excellence in art. He would easily be thrown

¹ In a contract drawn up at Bergamo in 1513. Lotto is called "Magister fi q. Thomaxy de Lotis ven". (See P. Locatelli, *Illustri bergamaschi*. 8°. Bergamo 1867 l. 466; see also Tassi, *Pitt. Bergam.* I. 116, who completes the monosyllable "ven" with "venisset"). In a deed of May 12. 1524. we find: "Laurentius Lottus de Venetiis pictor, nunc habitator Bergomi". (Locat. u. s. I. 58.) In the books of accounts of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo there are several payments to "Laur. Lotto pictori in civitate Venetiarum".

Vasari calls Lotto "pittor veneziano" (IX. 145.) Lotto himself inscribed his pictures with nothing more than the words: "Laurent. Lotus, L. Lotus or Lorenzo Loto". The Anonimo is silent as to this point: but Lomazzo speaks of Lotto as a Bergamasque (*Idea* u. s. index. *Trattato* u. s. 474 and index.) Boschini does the same (*Carta del Navegar*. 305. *Ricche Min.* S. di D. D. p. 43.) Ridolfi also (*Marav.* I. 185.) and Locatelli found the name of Lotto in Bergamasque records of several centuries (u. s. I. 62.).

in this way into the company of Palma and the Santa Croce who doubtless formed part of a colony to which Previtali belonged. No man certainly deserved more truly to rank amongst the craftsmen of Venice, for his pictorial education was essentially, we may say exclusively, Venetian.

After Palma had developed the originality of his talent Lotto followed him; and we may presume to believe that Vasari was well informed when he wrote that Lotto was Palma's journeyman as well as his friend.¹ He surely acquired, and then exaggerated those peculiar affectations of grace which often charm yet frequently repel us in Palma's works. It was only after travel that his style assumed a Lombard impress.

The principal attraction of Lotto at every period was brilliance and sparkling play of light; but those who closely study all his masterpieces will be struck by their inequality; they will find Lotto prone to fall into extremes exaggerating contrasts of pattern and tint, exaggerating sprightliness and action, and forgetting the pure standard of taste in pompous dress and luxurious adornments. The Lombard polish and finish of his pictures are supposed to have been derived from Leonardo; and it has been assumed that he accompanied da Vinci in 1514 to Rome, but those who concur in this theory appear to forget that it was in 1505 that the pupil of Leonardo whose name is Lorenzo, was taken as apprentice into Leonardo's atelier at Florence,² and they consistently ignore the fact that the Lombard form in Lotto is only to be found in works produced about 1512 after the Palmesque influence apparent in canvases of an earlier date had been partially obliterated.

¹ Vas. IX, 145.

² Amoretti, *Mem. Stor. di L. V.* n. s. p. 91., gives Leonardo's own note of Lorenzo's apprenticeship. There are other notices of Lorenzo's connection with Leonardo at Milan

in 1512 when Lotto painted the Entombment of San Fiorano at Jesi, and of his accompanying da Vinci to Rome in 1514. (Amoretti p. p. 102. 104.) but compare Rosini and Rio's "Art Chrétien" (Vol. III. Ed. of 1861, pp. 274. 5.).

In the absence of information of any kind as to the date of Lotto's birth, we are bound to receive with caution all the conjectures which authors have ventured upon in regard to this point. If we believe Padre Federici he was a painter at Treviso in 1505;¹ but though we are assured that numerous works of Lotto were once in Trevisan collections, and though we are aware that there are still some altarpieces in the neighborhood of Treviso, we have no present means of confirming the statement of the Trevisan historian. There is no extant picture by Lotto of an earlier date than 1508 and that is a holy conversation on the Palmesque model in the Borghese Palace at Rome. We might almost fancy, as we look at the half-lengths of the Virgin and child between S^t. Onofrius and a bishop in episcopals presenting the transfigured heart of the Redeemer to the infant Christ, that Palma Vecchio furnished the sketch for the composition. The figures are bony and marked, yet slender and dry. The broad and chinless face of the curly headed child suggests reminiscences of Giovanni Bellini's Christ in the Madonna of the Frari, whilst it recalls similar masks in the easel pieces of Previtali. The tendency to extremes in Lotto is illustrated by hard and fleshless articulations, cramped hands and fingers, overstrained action and broken rectilinear drapery. The asceticism of S^t. Onofrius closely resembles that which Albert Dürer so grimly conveyed; but defects of form are compensated by clever distribution, untiring patience in finish, pure harmony of colours and crystalline clearness of tints.²

The reflex which we thus obtain of Lotto's art in the

¹ This picture represented a tree with a trophy, a shield with the arms of the Rossi di S. Secondo, a boy playing with instruments lying on the ground and a satyr looking at antique urns and vases. Behind this piece which at the beginning of the present century belonged to Antonio Bertoli an advocate at Parma there was according to Federici (Mem. Trevig.

p. 6) the following inscription: "Bernardus Rubens Beretti comes pontif. Tarvis. ætat. Ann. XXXVI. Mens. X. D. V. Laurentius Lottus P. Cal. Jul. MDV."

² Rome. Palazzo Borghese. Room XI. No. 1. 2 f. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 1 f. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inser. on the back-ground: "LAVRENT. LOTVS M. D. VIII". This picture is in an admirable state of preservation.

first years of his practise is found to be similar to that which marks a larger production of 1508, the Madonna of S^t. Dominick of which the fragments are still preserved in San Domenico of Recanati. There as in the Borghese palace we trace the early Venetian commingled with the transalpine and a patient art natural to a beginner. — On a high podium under a panelled arch, the Virgin, attended by S^t. Urban and S^t. Gregory holds the child in benediction whilst two seraphs play the viol and rebecke on the throne step. To the left S^t. Dominick bends in devotional humility before accepting the dress presented to him by an angel. On each side of the foreground are S^t. Thomas Aquinas and S^t. Flavian, S^t. Peter Martyr and S^t. Vitale. An upper course of panels contains the suffering Christ with Joseph of Arimathea and two angels between S^t. Mary Magdalen and S^t. Vincent, S^t. Catherine of Sienna and S^t. Wenceslaus. In the cramp and working size of the hands and feet there is something that recalls Dürer, the drawing is precise and minute, the perspective correct; the vestment colours are clear and pure, the flesh tints uniform in gloss and ruddiness. With a surface and technical handling which suggest contact with Previtali we have quaint constraints of action and form and overladen Palmesque finery, characteristic of Lotto's individuality. We are variously reminded in particular instances 'of the men who left their mark on the ductile talent of the master. The seraphs and the Magdalen are typical of Carpaccio and Previtali; the beautiful angel holding the dress is of Bellinesque mould; S^t. Gregory and S^t. Catherine are modelled from Cima.¹

¹ Recanati. S. Domenico. The central panel in the sacristy is 7 f. 4½ h. by 3 f. 5., it is signed on the foreground as above. Some spots and marks of scaling are noticeable on the surface, and the tones are dim from time and dust. The side panels (wood, 5 f. 6 h. by 2 f. 3.) the Pietà (2 f. 6 h. by 3 f. 7) and its side panels (2 f. 1½ square) hang apart in the choir. Here too there is some flaking of the colours. The head of Christ in the Pietà is injured, and that of Joseph disfigured by dirt; the head of S^t. Catherine is abraded. The drawing here is minute and careful, the flesh of an uniform reddish tint and hard enamel. The predella which Vasari praises (IX.

In other examples of the same period we find very similar characteristics. On the high altar of the parish church of Santa Cristina, five miles from Treviso, there is a large panel with figures of life size in which the Virgin is represented with the infant on the throne between four saints, and the suffering Christ in a lunette is supported on the edge of the sepulchre by two angels. The scene is laid in one of those chapels which Bellini and Cima were so fond of depicting — a domed niche glittering with mosaics, supported on pillars through which we get glimpses of sky. The Virgin looks down from her lofty seat upon Christina the patron saint of the place. In the female types of this piece we detect the spirit of Previtali, his circular shape of head and small features of angular projection, his plump frames and cramped extremities. The child erect with a bird in his hand is one of those bull-necked and large bellied beings which are so frequently reproduced by the second rate Bellinesques. The withered St. Peter by the side of Christina reminds us feebly of Cima's ascetics; St. Liberale to the right is youthful and fresh, St. Jerom close by stern and Germanic in mask. In arrangement and feeling like that of Recanati, the suffering Christ is conceived and carried out with some of the power which we notice in Montagna's version of the subject at San Nazzaro e Celso of Verona or in Buonconsiglio's rarer compositions, but the sharp dry build of the personages and the hard, raw, gloss of the colours are those of Previtali, Catena, or Bissolo. Fluid and varnishy colour of a rosy hue shaded off with cold tints, give a smooth but glassy surface to the flesh; strong primaries are thrown into contrasts in drapery; and contour is defined with tortuous but careful line.¹

147) has disappeared. It contained the miracle of the transfer of the Virgin of Loreto, between the Sermon of St. Dominick, and the granting of the Dominican rules by Honorius. On what authority Ricci

(Mem. Stor. u. s. II. 93) says that this predella was finished in 1525. it is hard to say.

¹ Santa Cristina near Treviso, parish ch. Wood, 8 f. 1 h. by 4 f. 8. inscribed at the throne foot,

The same form with perhaps a little more evidence of a practised hand meets us in the half-lengths of Lotto's marriage of St. Catherine in the Munich Pinakothek, where the gentle and slender saint recalls Previtali's angel in the annunciation of Ceneda, and the bearded Joseph with his book is half Bellinesque and half Palmesque. Characteristic here too is the clean polish and excessive gaiety of the colours, the delicacy of the glazes, and the contorsions of the infant Christ.¹

Still lower in the same scale, and but little above the level of Marco Belli, is the Madonna with a donor and St. Peter Martyr in half-lengths at the Naples Museum, an easel piece in which some dauber of a recent time dared to obliterate the kneeling patron and substitute a youthful Baptist.²

We have need to look back into the history of Venetian painting in order fully to understand this phase of Lotto's career. At the close of the 15th century, Venice was frequented by a crowd of provincials who flocked thither for instruction. Many of them studied in the atelier of Bellini, and left their individual mark on pictures which were purchased as Bellinis. Amongst these provincials was Previtali whose art in the various periods of its development was much the same as that of Lotto in 1508.

LAVRENTIVS LOTVS P." The lunette is much injured and some pieces of the torso of Christ are scaled off; whilst the principal panel is chiefly damaged by the stopping of holes and the abrasion of final glazes.

¹ Munich, Pinakothek, Saal. No. 552. Wood, 2 f. 2 h. by 2 f. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the wheel of St. Catherine.

"LAVRENTIVS F." The Virgin stoops over the pair as the infant hands the ring to St. Catherine. St. Joseph to the right holds a book, — distance landscape. The picture has been unevenly cleaned and the sky has been retouched as well as flayed.

There are also traces of repaints in the blue mantle and shadow of the red tunic of the Virgin. Three horizontal splits disfigure the panel.

² Naples. Museum. Grand Saloon. No. 19. Wood, small half-lengths. The Virgin sits in front of a green hanging. To the left is a gay landscape. The puffy child is aged and without a neck like those of Marco Belli. St. Peter martyr with the knife in his skull recalls Cima. The flesh tints are dim and livid, there are traces left of the figure of the donor over which the young Baptist was painted. To the right in a corner: "L. LOTVS P."

Subsequently to that date Previtali commingled the Bergamasque and Bellinesque with elements derived from Cima, Carpaccio and Montagna, Palma, Giorgione and Titian. Lotto's style as we hitherto found it presents the earlier phenomena which distinguish that of Previtali. He too assimilated what suited him in Cima, Bellini, Carpaccio and Montagna, cultivating at the same time the society of Previtali and the Santa Croce, and frequenting the workshop of Palma. He may not have been unimpressed by Dürer whose visit to Venice almost coincides in date with the period of Lotto's first appearance as an independent artist.

After Palma and Giorgione had won the place in public favour to which their genius and skill entitled them, Lotto was not slow to understand the advantage which he might derive from a bolder approach to their manner. His success in pursuit of this course is evidenced in more than one of the pictures and altarpieces that issued from his workshop after 1508. It is clear in the Virgin with S^t. Anthony and S^t. Basil at Asolo, in the small but tasteful S^t. Jerom penitent at the Louvre, the Madonna with saints in half lengths in the Bridgewater collection and the "three ages" at the Pitti.

Very simple and impressive as a composition of three figures in a hilly landscape, the Madonna of Asolo is interesting as an example of simple and earnest religious painting. Resting on a cloud the folds of which are filled with cherubs, the Virgin in prayer reminds us of Carpaccio; below to the left, S^t. Anthony with his arm on his staff in the loose shell of his woollen frock looks into the sky with stern intentness; and S^t. Basil to the right gazes with softer and more extatic fervour in the same direction. There is more relation to Palma and Pordecone in the sturdy frame and concentrated look of the hermit than we have yet found in Lotto's impersonations. S^t. Basil, though Bellinesque in air is also grand and im-

posing. The treatment is more facile and masterly; the landscape is broader in touch and lines than of old.¹

The penitence of St. Jerom at the Louvre is one of those pieces in which the figure plays a subordinate part; it is more of a landscape picture than Basaiti's versions of the same subject; and the ravine-glade in which the saint reclines and beats his breast is cleverly presented, with great parsimony of colour and minuteness of detail in pebbles and leafage, yet at the same time with Giorgionesque breadth and vapour. If we could compare Lotto here to any of the earlier masters of Venice, we should say that he fully equals Catena in defining parts and rendering movement after the fashion of Giorgione.²

The Madonna of Bridgewater House presents an ungraceful child to the adoration of four holy personages of both sexes whose delicate tenderness and slender build are very attractive, and a pretty distance reminds us of the St. Jerom of the Louvre.³

The three ages at the Pitti look like portraits; they are busts of men of varying years, handled with Giorgionesque skill and only less powerful than other works of this time because they have been seriously damaged by restoring.⁴

¹ Asolo. Duomo. This panel, in the nave of Asolo church, is arched, and the figures are large as life. Three vertical splits run from top to bottom of it, and the signature on a cartello which originally read so: "Laurent. Lotus junii 1506", now runs so: "LAV-RENT. LOTVS IVNIOR MD. VI". (Compare Crico, *Lettere u. s. p.* 204.) The whole piece, but more particularly the hand of St. Anthony, is disfigured by repaints and the whole foreground is new.

² Paris. Louvre. Small canvas, once in possession of Mr. Georges in Paris. The saint is bald, but bearded and is seen recumbent on the ground at the bottom of a ravine. Before him is a book, in

his hands the cross and stone; behind him a heap of volumes. On a rock in the r. hand foreground we read the words: "LOTVS 1500" but the date is an obvious repaint.

³ Bridgewater Coll. No. 90. inscribed: "L. LOTVS F." on a scroll held by a bearded saint, to the l. Two woodmen in the distance fell a tree. The colours have lost their freshness especially in the shaded parts.

⁴ Florence. Pitti. No. 157. Wood, braccia 1. 1. 2 h. by 1. 6. 4. busts on dark ground, the central figure a youth in a black cap, with a sheet of music in his hand. The surface in the flesh parts is much

We are impressed thus far with the idea that Lotto, who had worked out the vein of Bellinesque imitation, subsequently expanded his manner under the tuition of a younger generation which, contending with Bellini for supremacy remodelled Venetian art. Lotto however was so ductile that he could not remain true to any given form for any considerable length of time, and, about the period of Sebastian del Piombo's first journey to Rome, he too, we should think, was induced to wander. In the course of his travels he probably saw and admired the masterpieces of the Bolognese school, and especially those of Francesco Francia. It was in the first nine years of the 16th century that Francia's powers were fully developed under the influence of Raphael's example; it was towards the close of that decade that he produced the frescos which still charm us by their sweetness and grace in the oratory of Santa Cecilia. Lotto may have been led by chance or by instinct to visit the chapel in which all the masters of Bologna left proof of their talent. We certainly find a reflex of this visit in one of his pictures.

It is still a secret in Lotto's history how he became acquainted with a district so distant from Venice and Bergamo as that which comprises Recanati, Jesi, Ancona, and Loretto; but at various intervals in his long artistic career he came into close connection with the convents of this district. At Recanati he exhibited as we saw, the earliest of his large panels. He subsequently painted frescos there and he spent his old age at Loretto. To San Floriano of Jesi, he sent in 1512 a great composition of the Entombment, in which we note for the first time that he is untrue to Venetian tradition. As in the burial of St. Cecilia at Bologna, so here the corpse is held in its winding sheet above the rectangle of the sepulchre by two men who strain at its corners; one of them, at Christ's head grips the seam of the sheet with his teeth, another

repainted, but the least disfigured of the heads that of the man to the r. with a grey beard is in the Giorgionesque manner, modelled with solid impast and highly finished.

at the feet, staggers under the load. On her knees to the left, the shrieking Magdalen makes a cushion of her locks to rest the Saviour's hand. The Virgin, in rear throws up her arms in agony; one of the Marys tears her hair; St. John laments and Joseph of Arimathea holds the nails, whilst angels circle in the sky above the hill of Golgotha. The landscape is Venetian; the draperies are Bellinesque; and there is something of the Palmesque in the full and fleshy figure of Christ; but the strain and affectation apparent in certain movements, and an unnohle realism not uncommon amongst Northern masters suggest acquaintance with Bolognese conventionalisms. Instead of the glow which we expect from a Venetian, we have a smooth porcelain brilliance and an absence of relief by light and shade which scent of the Lombard.¹ It is in such pictures as these perhaps that Lotto's admirers have thought to discover some elements of the Leonardesque; but there is too little art in the composition to justify us in thinking that Lotto had lessons from da Vinci; and the Umbrian feeling which we note at Jesi is more probably derived from the Umbro-Ferrarese.

Either the force of habit, or renewed contact with Venice held Lotto for some time longer from complete desertion of his old style. Two fine portrait half-lengths of Agostino and Niccolò della Torre which were executed in 1515 and now hang in the National Gallery display a senatorial dignity which reminds us of the painter's Venetian education.² In a transfiguration at Castelnuovo near Recanati we notice more than usual carelessness of treatment, neglect of drawing and absence of selection in shape and expression; but the soapy pallor of flesh tints in contrast with rich and juicy vestment colours, the

¹ Jesi. S. Floriano. Wood, arched, with nine figures large as life, inscribed: "LAVRENTIVS LOTVS M. D. XII.". The composition is ill balanced; and there are too many figures on the l. side.

² London. National Gallery. No. 699. Canv. 2 f. 9½ h. by 2 f. 3. Signed: "L. Lotus p. 1515". — These portraits have lost their freshness under restoring. The drawing is careful and the finish most patient.

sweep of the touch and underset stature of the personages still tells of Palma's influence.¹ More Palmesque still, and for this reason, entitled to rank amongst the most striking examples of Lotto's clinging to old associations is the death of Peter Martyr at Alzano, a large altarpiece which falls in this period, though its date remains unascertained. Widely different in spirit from Titian's version of the same subject which perished so miserably at Venice, this vast panel is much more manly and impressive and combines in a fuller measure the richness and severity of Vecelli than any that Lotto had as yet produced; but it is altogether on Palma's model as regards short and muscular set of figures and in respect of harmony of tint. Peter Martyr in the garb of a Dominican monk occupies the centre of the picture in the same position of prominence and effectiveness as the S^t. Barbara of Santa Maria Formosa — his frame large and imposing, his face expressive and his movement dramatic as, with the knife in his forehead and the dagger in his breast, he points to the ground where the first word of the creed is written on the sand. Behind him is the grove where woodsmen fell the trees and herdsmen tend their flocks; to the left a range of hills crested with towers and houses. Of the two murderers near him one affectedly draws his sword, the other swings his blade. In the middle ground to the right the companion friar takes to his heels. Above the trees God the father sweeps downwards with a company of winged children and cherubim of small proportions whose heads are prettily relieved against brown grey cloudlets standing out against the clear blue sky. Two seraphs of puffy flesh hold a crown suspended in air; an-

¹ Castelnovo near Recanati, storing in others. The predella Collegiata, Sacristy. Arched panel 9 f. 10 h. by 6 f. 8 1/2. Christ noticed by Vas. (IX. 245.), Ridolfi (I. 187.) and Tassi (u. s. 130.) containing the Saviour with the apostles on Mount Tabor, the sermon on the mount, and the ascension is no longer attached to the picture and seems to be missing. The surface is spotted in some places and altered by re-

other in dancing motion supports the Eternal's arm. Palmesque is the cleverness with which the dramatis personæ are relieved against each other by a passing shadow and a circumscribed stream of light. Equally so the mask of the Eternal, the treatment, tone, and lines of the landscape, the plenteous impast and fluid touch and the warm richness of the tonings. Exceptionally successful as a composition in its essential parts the altarpiece has one conspicuous fault in the disproportion of the glory as compared with the actors in the foreground scene.¹

As early as 1513, Alessandro Martinengo, equally known as a distinguished member of the Venetian patriciate and a descendent of Bartolomeo Colleoni, opened a regular competition amongst the artists of the state for an altarpiece in San Stefano of Bergamo. His choice fell upon Lotto who was at that time staying in the city, and it was agreed that the price to be paid should be 500 golden ducats. After three years of interrupted labour the altarpiece was finished and carried amidst universal rejoicing to the high altar of the church then served by the Dominicans. More than a century later, the friars of the preaching order having been transferred to another convent, the picture was placed on the high altar of San Bartolommeo where it still remains. — The subject here is an adoration of the throned Madonna. — She sits in a rotunda richly decorated with mosaics, and open to the sky, her right hand poised above the head of S^t. Dominick who looks up in devout attitude of prayer. To the right and left of the founder of his order stand several saints; — S^t. Alexander, of handsome youthful mien, in complete armour, with his foot on a helmet, S^t. Barbara, of delicate and graceful shape, with the tower in her

¹ Alzano. S. Pietro Martire. The altarpiece, which is still in Arched panel with figures of life. S. Pietro, there are two figures of size, slightly injured by retouches. S^t. Vincent and S^t. Anthony of in some places, but generally well. Padua, also in Lotto's best Palmesque style. The first carries the angels are comparatively too small. fire and book, the second a volume. In the old monumental framing of

hand and a coronet of flowers on her head, S^t. Roch with his staff and S^t. Mark. The shape of the Madonna is slender, her aspect gentle and engaging; an orange cloth enlivens the cold grey of her chair and brightens with its richness the neutral brown of the background niche. The boy Saviour, of undeveloped form, stands on her lap and turns with affected tenderness to bless S^t. Catherine and her attendants; — S^t. Stephen in deacon's dress with his arms across, S^t. Augustin, S^t. John the Baptist leaning against a pillar with one leg overlapping the other, S^t. Sebastian bound to the pillar and bending his face resignedly. Two angels in front are busily smoothing a green carpet at the steps leading up to a scooped plinth — a pleasing and quite a novel variety of incident. — In the upper spaces are angels suspending the crown above the Virgin's head, others looking down from a circular balustrade through the round openings of which we see the heavens — all these beings full of life and roguish play, light as air and not without coquettishness of motion. Rich and tasteful architecture is rendered with correct perspective; medallions with saints fill the pendentives; and ornaments of flags and scutcheons are judiciously displayed. Nothing can be brighter or more varied than the tinting. — There is a sprightly freshness in the whole conception that recalls the spirit of the old masque. Light sparkles, and shadows flutter over the polished surfaces with a clear and luscious shimmer that is full of charm. Here and there a veil of half tone gives a pleasant adumbration, rounding off and relieving the remaining parts with great softness yet powerful effect. The figures are no longer short and underset as of old but of fine proportions; and so, for the first time, we find Lotto applying those principles of art which particularly distinguish Correggio and the Lombards. Was this result attained under the direct influence of Allegri, or was it an application of similar rules in an original manner? This is a question to which it is difficult to give a satisfactory reply; but we are bound to remember that when Lotto accepted

Martinengo's commission, Correggio had not commenced the Madonna of S^t. Francis at Dresden which illustrates the dawn of his talent. Nor does Lotto's style in this work of 1516 strike us as an imitation so much as an embodiment of elements subsequently developed in Allegri, and afterwards common to both masters. Not that Lotto ever succeeded in rising to the height of Correggio's power, for he always remained below that master as he remained below the greater Venetians, but it might have been given to him to conceive the charm more powerfully brought out by Allegri. Be this as it may, the Correggiesque in Lotto's works had an original attractiveness; and this is the less surprising when we note that something similar is found in productions of Palma and Pordenone. It is not however in delicacies of shading only, or in softness of rounding that Lotto reminds us of Correggio, it is also in types, in conventionalisms of movement and smile, in the generalization of treatment and a tendency to handle various substances such as flesh and cloth or stone with similar touch and grain. The slender elegance and motion of S^t. Barbara, the affected posture of the Baptist, the dimples of S^t. Sebastian, the busy eager angels in flight are some of the conventionalisms to which we allude. Elsewhere we are reminded of the influences which were felt by Correggio during the growth of his style. We look at the scooped throne in Lotto's altarpieces, and recollect that quaintnesses of this kind are familiar to the Ferrarese and to Allegri; we study the architecture in the same piece and find that it is Mantuan in its taste and lines as we expect Correggio's to be. Yet, in the midst of all this we cannot forget that Lotto is a Bergamasque brought up in the schools of Venice. The fleshy shapes of S^t. Catherine and S^t. John the Baptist are modelled after Palma; the clever daring with which greens and gold, steel-greys, bright yellows, and reds and blues, are put together with blacks and whites and orange and citrine in vestments or walls, carpets or curtains is as clearly Venetian as the art with which light is thrown or inter-

cepted; and though we are astonished at times by a sense of emptiness which never meets us in Correggio, we are repaid for this blemish by the enjoyment of a general brilliance.

When the altarpiece of San Stefano was finished and exhibited in 1516, it was furnished with a pretty predella, and a triangular tympanum, the first of which represented the resurrection of Christ, the stoning of Stephen and a miracle of S^t. Dóminick, the second an angel with the orb and sceptre. The separation of these pieces and their preservation in different localities cause the picture to be shorn of its original character. Yet we can still understand the enthusiasm which it caused in the mind of the scribe who wrote on a tablet beneath the predella that Martinengo who ordered it was as worthy of the title of "great" as Alexander of Macedon; and Lotto was a painter more divine than human. It is not to be doubted that Lotto's altarpieces were honoured by the Bergamasques with a special veneration; and it is pleasant to hear that when the predellas at San Bartolommeo were recovered from a thief in the 17th century, the happy event was celebrated by a merry peal of the convent bells.¹

The registers of Santa Maria Maggiore which tell that Lotto, whilst employed by Alexander Martinengo, was also commissioned to execute a standard for the brotherhood of Mercy at Bergamo, incidentally show that the master occasionally spent his hours of relaxation in the compo-

¹ Bergamo. S. Bartolommeo, choir; arched canvas, 17 feet h. inscribed on a cartello on the throne step. "Laurentius Lotus MDXVI". It has been supposed that the figures of S^t. Alexander and S^t. Barbara represent Martinengo and his wife — but this is mere fancy (see Locatelli *u. s.* I. 60.). The saints in the medallions are S^t. Mark and S^t. John Evangelist. — The whole surface has been irregularly cleaned and the dress of

S^t. Augustin is abraded. The predella, separated from the altarpiece was stolen and recovered in 1650. (Bottari *Raccolta*, Vol. 5. 180—1.) It is still in San Bartolommeo, the tympanum is in the Piccinelli collection at Seriate near Bergamo. The laudatory inscription attached to the picture is dated 1517 and will be found in full in Tassi (I. 118—19.) The contract is in Tassi (I. p. 117) and Locatelli (I. 466).

sition of small canvases and easel pieces.¹ The half length Madonna between St. Sebastian and St. Roch in the Piccinelli collection at Seriate proves that, in small as in great, the spirit of this period in Lotto's art was consistently Lombard and Correggiesque.² That in this form Lotto captivated and preserved the favour of the Bergamasques is obvious from the number and importance of the orders which he had to carry out. The "tarsias" of Santa Maria Maggiore inlaid from his cartoons by Capodiferro; the brass altarpiece which mysteriously disappeared in later times from the same church, done in part from his models, were but so many proofs of the public favour;³ yet these were the smallest of his undertakings in those years; and the fact that he finished in the twelvemonth of 1521 the vast altarpieces which respectively decorate the churches of San Bernardino and San Spirito speaks strongly for his powers of production.

¹ See the record in Tassi u. s. l. 119.

² Seriate. Piccinelli collection. Canv., half lengths, originally in Santa Grata at Bergamo, and exhibited there in the olden time on the 1st of May of each year. This picture is signed L. LOTYS and is painted in Lotto's broad manner reminiscent of Correggio and Palma. The infant in a playful attitude on the Virgin's lap blesses St. Roch to the l. and St. Sebastian with a Correggiesque face, presents his shoulders and turns his face to the spectator. The colours are clear gay and juicy and well modelled with copious impast.

A small picture in the same collection represents St. Stephen; St. Roch, St. Bartholomew and St. Lawrence in very small proportions — a masterly little production of Lotto.

³ Numerous extracts from the books of the Misericordia or S.M. Maggiore of Bergamo which were copied by Dottore Michele Caffi, prove that Lorenzo made several designs for the tarsias of the choir of that church, the first payments

being registered on the 18th of May 1523, others on the 4th of April, 6th of May, 6th and 16th of June and 20th of August, 4th Oct. and Nov. 1524 and 9th of February 1525. These payments were made at Bergamo. Further sums were paid to Lotto at Venice through an agent on the 27th of January (o. s.) and 8th and 24th of August, 4th and 9th of September 1527 and on the 13th of June 1530. The subjects furnished by Lotto, some of which still exist in the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore, were the death of Abel, "Joab kills Amasa", the accusation of Susanna, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Joseph sold by his brethren, the deluge, the sons of the Maccabees, and numerous others which are not further described.

Records of payments to Lotto for his share in the "ancona" of the high altar, at S. Maria Maggiore are dated in 1521—2, and are published in Tassi l. 68—9—71 and 120. The ancona itself was seen and noticed by the anonimo (Ed. Morelli, p. 48.).

What strikes us most in the Madonna of San Bernardino is the growing tendency of Lotto to adopt Correggese form. The two men have so much in common that they seem to have been companions, and yet the silence of history as to their personal acquaintance is complete. High above the floor of a chapel, as was Correggio's wont, the Virgin sits enthroned, receiving the worship of saints from the plinth foot or from the ground — conspicuous amongst the former S^t. Bernardino and John the Evangelist, amongst the latter S^t. Joseph and Anthony the hermit. Near the step which ascends to the podium, a seraph rests and writes, whilst the infant Christ erect on his mother's knee blesses the congregation. A busy flight of angels in daring motion supports, as if it were a tent over the Virgin's head the weighty folds of the green curtain which hangs behind her chair. S^t. Anthony with his bell — a reminiscence from Asolo — is not less characteristic than the neighbouring S^t. John whose attitude as he stands with the right hand grasping a cross and the left pointing upwards is completely Correggese. The progress of Lotto is apparent not only in the skilful balance and harmonious lines of a perfect pyramidal composition but in the large amount of force which he gives to colour and chiaroscuro. The happy conceit of setting boy angels on the spur of a moment to extemporize a dais is carried out with a richness of fancy and command of means which excite our surprise. It is not merely that the execution is clever; the same breath seems to animate Lotto and Correggio when they render the playful activity, the roguish smile, the muscular exertion and foreshortened postures of winged children. Nor is it less interesting to observe that both painters equally strive to convey with softness and tender contrasts of effects the flutter and gradations of reflected or direct light, the humour and archness of earliest youth in faces, or the grace and slenderness, and charming affectations of full grown womanhood. Rosy flesh tint with variegated shadows and soft intermediate transitions plea-

santly relieved by bright and polished tints of stuffs produce an impression clean, bright and extremely happy.¹

Of more recent execution though finished in the same year, the Madonna of San Spirito is a counterpart of that of San Bernardino as representing the Virgin and child enthroned between four saints; but a certain variety in the movements of the principal figures, the novelty of a glory of angels whirling in countless numbers above the Virgin's head, and a pretty thought realized in the boy Baptist archly pressing a lamb to his breast on the foreground give the picture distinct attractions. That here, as before, we should be reminded of Allegri is in no sense strange. We find reminiscences of Correggio in the group of Mary and Christ, and in the boy with the lamb; but the small sprites sporting in the clouds produce a certain discord, affording proof of Lotto's want of steadiness in the application of scientific laws to form and distribution.²

In galleries distant from Italy we find specimens of Lotto's art at the period of these great Bergamesque pictures, Christ's parting from his mother in the Berlin Museum, the surface of which is unfortunately disfigured by repaints, the half length of St. Catherine of Alexandria dated 1522 in the Leuchtenberg collection at St. Petersburg where a figure of great original freshness and original grace is spoiled by abrasion and retouching.³ We make

¹ Bergamo. S. Bernardino. High Altar. Canvas, 12 f. h.; inscr. on the hexagon step of the throne: "L. Lotus MDXXI." The surface has been unevenly cleaned throughout and some dresses, the orange skirt of the angel at the step, the yellow mantle of St. Joseph and the green mantle of St. Anthony are particularly damaged, and the half shades of the flesh in the seraph have been made opaque.

² Bergamo. S. Spirito. Canvas, 10 feet high, inscribed on a scroll near the boy Baptist "L. Lotus

1521". The four saints are, St. Catherine and St. Ambrose to the l. and St. Sebastian and St. Anthony the abbot to the r.

³ Berlin, Mus. No. 325. Canvas, 4 f. 0½ h. by 3 f. 2½, from the Solty and Tosi collections, inscrib.: Laurenttjo Lotto pittor 1521. The scene is a cloister with a cherry tree in the foreground, where the kneeling Christ parts from the Virgin who has fainted in the arms of John and the holy women, in presence of a kneeling donor. This hasty work has been so ill

up for the disappointment which these pictures cause by a glance at the marriage of St. Catherine, a delightful canvas of 1523 in the Lochis-Carrara Gallery where the affected attitudes and *smorphia* of the figures scarcely obtrudes, so pleasing are the shapes, so kindly the expressions, so brightly marbled the variegated primaries and snowy damasks of the dresses. There is a delightfully playful joy in the bending form of the saint who kneels in humbleness at the Virgin's feet and in the child who presses forward with eagerness to give her the ring. The calm contentment which rests on the features of the angel standing reverently with his arms across his breast has its counterpart in the serene features of Niccolò de' Bonghi, who sits attentive on the left. With much to recall Correggio in the sheen of its light and in the brilliance of its tones this spozalizio challenges comparison with Allegri's "marriage" at the Louvre. Without Correggio's softness and delicacy, but with an artificial glitter peculiarly its own, Lotto's canvas still affects us by those magic contrasts which Paolo Veronese so nobly used on a gigantic scale and Tiepolo so cleverly abused in his meretricious creations. As a likeness, the face of Niccolò de' Bonghi is altogether masterly; and we might almost fancy that Lotto's success in reproducing nature with truth like this was the cause why he was so frequently employed on subjects combining allegory with portrait.¹ A

treated that there remains little of the original surface except in parts of the kneeling donor's figure. The monogram of Lotto, two L. interlaced, is on the cartello with the inscription.

St. Petersburg. Lenchttemberg collection. No. 62. Wood, 1 f. 9 h. by 1 f. 7., inscribed on the wheel of St. Catherine: "Laurentius Lotus 1522". Half length of the saint, with her left hand on her green mantle which rests on the wheel, a palm in her right, a string of pearls and a coronet on her head; behind her a red da-

mask hanging. This was originally a very clear and graceful picture of the master, and is probably the same of which Tassi says it was once in Casa Sozzi at Bergamo whence it was taken in 1753 to Lisbon (Tassi u. s. l. 125).

¹ Bergamo. Lochis-Carrara Gall. No. 222. Canv., with figures under life size, inscribed on a cartello at the Virgin's feet: "Laurentius Lotus 1523." Ridolfi (Marav. I. 186.) relates how the landscape seen through an opening on the r. in the picture was cut out and stolen. The present substitute for

couple in the Madrid Museum is seen exchanging the ring of betrothal, and Amor with a crown of laurel on his head, flutters behind them and unites them by a pressure of his hands on their shoulders. This beautiful couple, which ought to be known as "Marsilio and his bride" was finished in 1523 for Zanin Casotto of Bergamo, a constant patron of Lotto and one for whom he painted no less than three altarpieces,¹ amongst them no doubt the marriage of S^t. Catherine dated 1523 — a sparkling canvas which now hangs above a doorway in the state rooms of the Quirinal at Rome.² Larger as a composition, and more copiously furnished with figures, but not less powerful in tone nor less pleasing in character than that of Niccolò de' Bonghi, this spozalizio is one of the best things of the master, who completed about the same time the large altarpiece of which the fragments are preserved in the church of Ponteranica near Bergamo. In the pieces which make up this picture, Lotto unites the softness of Correggio to some of the masculine strength which distinguishes contemporary productions of Pelle-

this lost fragment is a piece of dark coloured canvas. — The rest of the surface in not free from abrasion — ex gr., the grey ground behind the portrait, which the anonimo (Ed. Morelli p. 53) describes as that of Niccolò de' Bonghi, the sleeves of the Virgin and the figure of the angel.

¹ Madrid. Mus. No. 797. Half lengths 2 f. 6 h. by 3 f. 2, inscribed on a scroll in Cupid's hand: "L. Lotus pictor 1523", a transparent, clear and well preserved specimen of Lotto's art, with its old Correggiesque vapour glaze still on it. The anonimo (Ed. Mor. 53) describes the house of Zannin Casotto containing "two pictures by Lorenzo Lotto." Locatelli (n. s. I. 463) reprints Lotto's account for pictures furnished to "Zanin Casotto" including 1. the dead Christ in the arms of his mother, 2. the Virgin and child, between "S^t."

Julian before his dead parents and the young Baptist", and S^t. Catherine and the portrait of "Misser Zoanino", 3. the Virgin and child between Misser Juan Maria and his daughter Lucretia, and the wife of Juan Maria and her daughter Isabeta. 4. the picture of the likenesses "of Misser Marsilio and his bride with the Cupid." 5. the Virgin and ch. S^t. Jerom, S^t. George, S. Sebastian, S^t. Catherine, S^t. Anthony, S^t. Nicholas of Bari, all at prices varying from four lire (for a single figure of a saint) to 30 lire.

² Rome, Quirinal. This canvas with figures less than life contains all the saints described in the picture No. 5 of Zanin Casotto's account (see above), S^t. Catherine kneeling to the r. S^t. Jerom to the l. On the foreground we read "L. Lotu . . 1524".

grino and Pordenone. Christ pouring out his blood into the chalice is a repetition of the subject once before composed by Carpaccio in a panel at Vienna. In other framings are the Virgin and angel annuntiate, the Baptist with the lamb, St. Peter and St. Paul. The predella comprises the suffering Christ, angels with the emblems of the Passion, the limbus and the resurrection.¹

Trescorre, at the junction of the roads leading on one side into the Valcavallina on the other into the Valcamonica was a well known strategical point in the local wars of the middle ages and much frequented in later times by persons seeking health from its baths. A castle on the Niardo hill was the stronghold of the Suardi a family not yet extinct and vested as early as the 15th century with the patronage of the country chapel of Santa Barbara in Novate. Here at the request of the Suardi, Lotto, in 1524 undertook to compose a series of wall paintings illustrative of the legends of St. Barbara and a nameless saint. Here for the first time, so far as we know, Lotto tried his powers in the practise of fresco. The chapel of Santa Barbara is built in the simplest form of church architecture, being a rectangle with a rafter ceiling and a shallow niche for the altar. Two windows and a door give light and ingress to the place. Each of the four walls contains pictures, some injured, some in

¹ Ponteranica. Ch. of S. Gio. Battista, six panels on the sides of the high altar. In the upper central arched panel, is Christ erect with a white hip-cloth, blood flowing from the wounds into a chalice, r. and l. two gentle and slender Correggiasque figures of the angel flying in and the Virgin surprised at a desk. Below, St. John, full length, between the large and underset figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, — all Palmesque, then the predella, the central pieces of which are an Ecce Homo (half

length), Christ raising Adam out of Limbus, with Eve in prayer and the good thief carrying the Cross in attendance and the resurrection, with two angels at the sides carrying the emblems of the Passion. The Limbus reminds us much of that of Pellegrino, the angels are heavy and stout as in Pordenone, but dimmed by age and abrasion. The execution throughout is hasty and free. Under the feet of St. John we read: "L. LO . . . 152 . . ."

good condition others in part obliterated. To the obscurity inseparable from legendary subjects ill fitted for pictorial delineation is superadded a veil of darkness arising from fracture and scaling of surfaces. In a lunette outside and above the portal is a worn fresco of Christ in suffering supported by the Virgin and angels. — On the long internal face opposite the portal, Christ is depicted as the vine receiving the homage of Battista, Ursulina, and Paulina de' Suardi who kneel at his feet. He stands with arms outstretched in the attitude of crucifixion the fingers of his hands branching into shoots of vine which run off to the right and left forming a framework for a frieze of half length saints, sybils, and prophets, running along the wall below the ceiling, or trained to shelter cupids sporting on the rafters. On a cartello above the Saviour's head we read the names of Lotto and his patrons and the ciphers of 1524. In two courses at each side of the principal figure are four episodes; — to the left, Barbara forsaking the paternal mansion and pursued by her father Dioscurus, an idolater in Oriental dress; Barbara whipped with rods and beaten with mallets before Martian the judge; to the right, Barbara stripped of her clothes and scorched with torches in presence of a judge, and Barbara drawn by a guard to the place of execution. The heresies which the saint abjured are symbolized in the angles of the chapel by persons falling down the steps leading to platforms kept by saints wielding sword and book. Helvidius, Sabellius, Judeus, Paganus are some of the heretics who suffer this indignity. In the spandrels of the semidome are single representations of S^t. Barbara and a canonized nun; on the side facing the altar is the decollation of S^t. Barbara. The spaces broken by the portal and windows contain incidents from the legend of the unknown saint; — to the left a female as a suppliant at the throne of a bishop sitting in state with attendant clergy; women and children kneeling behind the suppliant who, in another part of the picture is seen distributing alms; to the right of this section, the same female saving

a shepherd and his flock from a wild boar, helping a gang of reapers to house their crop, attending to a vintage, preaching, performing miracles, and assisting the poor and lame.

The colossal Christ though regular in proportions and of Lombard type is curiously unmeaning in face and expression. The compositions from the legends show the artist hampered by descriptions and sacrificing pictorial arrangement to the necessity of crowding subjects into a given space without regard to perspective of line or atmosphere. There is no lack of fire and life in the figures, and the colours are often remarkable for richness and brilliance; the handling is not without boldness and freedom; sumptuous and variegated dress gives splendour to the scenes; but the drawing is often neglected or false; and the harmonies are seldom clean.¹ We may suppose that Lotto did not feel the same incentive to exertion in a chapel frequented by small congregations as he would have felt had he laboured in one of the larger and more crowded edifices of a capital city. He painted much better frescos at Bergamo and Recanati; and it is matter of regret that what is left of work of this kind should have suffered severely from the effects of time, whilst it is equally if not more seriously to be deplored that other wall paintings which might have given us an insight into further varieties of the painter's style should have perished altogether.²

¹ Trescorre, S. Barbara. The frescos are all injured the best preserved being that of the suppliant before the bishop. Round the injured head of the Saviour are the words: "Ego sum vitis, vos palmites". On a scroll above the Saviour we read, the following in capitals.

"Christum et de Christi vita prorum propaginem Divae Barbarae Virginis pro Christi nomine tormenta et crudelem patre percussore necem, Baptista Suardus, Ursulina uxor, Paulina Soror, Lau-

rentio Loto pingente hic exprimi pro voto curarunt, anno Salutis MDXXIII".

The subjects in the semidome are not by Lotto.

² Tassi registers frescos, on the pilasters of a court annexed to S^t. Barbara of Trescorre, in the chapel of San Rocco in the parish church of Trescorre, in the chapel of S^t. Roch at Villongo and in a chapel of San Giorgio of Credario. He also describes the Prior of the Umigliati kneeling before the Virgin, S^t. Jerom Penitent, S^t. Bar-

On a wall above the entrance to a chapel in San Michele Arcangelo at Bergamo, we still see a very fine composition by Lotto of the Visitation, above which the contours of two handsome angels supporting a dais are visible. In the furnace vault of the chapel itself, God the Father is wafted through the sky in clouds supported by angels, whilst the pendentives are filled with the symbols of the Evangelists, and two lunettes contain the annunciation and the marriage of Joseph. All these frescos including the discoloured angels above the visitation and marriage are gay and transparent in tone and skilfully arranged. There is a quiet grandeur and breadth in the setting of the Visitation which we do not often meet in Lotto's compositions, and the complex elements of ærial and linear perspective are satisfactorily combined. A fine effect of light and balanced chiaroscuro gives solemnity to the figure of the Eternal whose form is bathed in a coloured vapour soft and transparent as Correggio's, whilst the gay tinting of the clouds and dresses has a brilliance that reminds us of del Sarto. Appropriate drapery and action naturally enhance the value of the work. In all this as in the marriage we see enough to show that Lotto had great qualities as a fresco painter.¹

At Recanati, the transit of St. Dominick on the side of a chapel in San Domenico, is also executed with admirable clearness and transparence of tone and with move-

tholomew and St. Anthony — all painted in fresco in the lower hall of the Santo Officio at S. Bartolommeo and the Baptism of Christ in S. Francesco of Bergamo (I. 119—122.). The anonimo (Ed. Morelli p. 49.) writes of a marriage of St. Catherine a fresco by Lotto in S. Domenico of Bergamo, of which the originality was doubted by Bartoli (Pitt. di Bergamo u. s. p. 12). All these frescos are gone or were not found by the authors.

¹ Bergamo. S. Michele Arcangelo or del Pozzo bianco. These frescos though faded are superior to those

of Trescorre. — The Visitation is a fresco of seven figures with good perspective and gay tinting, the flesh warm and rosy with transparent broken shadows, the movements appropriate and graceful. — The same may be said of the other frescos which are still a mixture of the Palmesque and Correggiesque, but the Sposalizio is much discoloured. An Epiphany and adoration of the shepherds in the chapel are frescos of the 17th century but there are traces of Lotto in the lunette all but covered by an altarpiece.

ments in the saint and attendant angels which charm by their freedom and truth. The spirit which animates the painter is chastened and kindly and his treatment is accurate as it is bold.¹

It was after a long residence at Bergamo that Lotto in the summer of 1525 renewed his connection with Central Italy and wandered to his old haunts in the march of Ancona. In February of that year he had received payments for one of the cartoons for the tarsias in the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore, in July he furnished an altarpiece to the Dominicans of Recanati, for whom he also painted, — perhaps at this time — the fresco which we but just now admired.² In 1526 the Madonna with S^t. Jerom and S^t. Joseph was finished for the minorites of Jesi,³ and we may also presume — the fine portrait of a Dominican preserved in the Casa Sernagiotto at Venice.⁴

In the meanwhile the wars of Clement the VIIth with the generals of Charles the Vth broke out; Lotto took refuge in Venice and settled there. We may believe that one of the first patrons to whom he was now indebted for support was Andrea Odoni whom we noted as one of the friends of Palma Vecchio. Amongst the many interesting portraits which adorn the Gallery of Hampton Court, one was long remarkable for the name which it

¹ Recanati. S. Domenico. On an altar to the l. S^t. Dominick in glory with six angels — life size.

² See the order in Ricci u. s. II. 106.

³ Jesi. Padri Riformati. Wood, 5 f. 6 h. The Virgin enthroned presents a book to S^t. Jerom whilst the infant Christ on the Virgin's lap stretches its hands to S^t. Joseph. — In a lunette are S^t. Francis receiving the Stigmata and Saint Clara with a reliquary. On the pedestal of the throne: "LAVRENTIVS LOTVS MDXXVI". The colours of this panel are scaled in part, and the rest has faded. The work was originally clear, gay and pleasant. In the same

church is a visitation with five figures, and a lunette with the annunciation, a worn, faded canvas signed: L. Lotus pisit with the doubtful date of 1532. The style is that of the Madonna above described.

⁴ Venice. Casa Sernagiotto. — Life size. Canvas, half length of a Dominican friar turned to the r. at a desk calculating a sum in arithmetic. On the table is a candle and money; behind to the l. a green curtain; inscr.: "Laurentius Lotus 1526". But for its bad state from restoring, (their hand is much injured) this would be a good specimen of free handling.

bore and the story which was told respecting it. The person represented sits in a fur pelisse at a table with fragments of antique sculpture near him. He looks at a statuette in his right hand; behind him are torsos and statues, in front of the table a head and a fragment of a torso, on the table itself a book and some coins. The current opinion in England that this was Baccio Bandinelli by Correggio may have been held by persons insufficiently acquainted with artistic tradition and styles. To those cognizant of Lotto's works there could be no doubt that this was one of his masterpieces, and apparently the same that had been described by Vasari and by the Anonimo as the likeness of Andrea Odoni. Judicious cleaning recently brought out the inscription: "Laurentius Lotus 1527," confirming the sentence of those who judged of the authorship from treatment. It was a pardonable error to call this fine portrait by the name of Correggio, the master to whom Lotto, in his middle period was most related, and yet attentive examination ought to have shown that it could not have been by Correggio. There is hardly a masterpiece of this time more deserving of praise than this half length, for warmth and fluid touch, for transparency of colour and freedom of handling. It has the qualities of softness and brilliance combined with excessive subtlety in modelling and tenderness of transitions.¹

That Lotto on his return to Venice should at once obtain the patronage of Odoni is a proof that his name was known beyond the limits of Bergamo and the marches; for Odoni who was well acquainted with the greatest masters of the age and had collected pictures of all the best painters of the North from Catena to Palma, Giorgione, and Titian, might have been excused for not recognizing a man whose best years had been spent in a provincial city; but Lotto's talent was then not inferior to that of any second rate in the Northern schools, and hence

¹ Hampton Court. No. 69. See the anon. ed. Morelli p. 63., and Vasari IX. 145.

the rapidity with which he extended his practise at Venice. It was not long before he received important commissions for altarpieces from the wealthiest religious communities, and for easel pictures from the richest collections. He was thus enabled to produce, in 1529 the glory of S^t. Nicholas at Santa Maria del Carmine, that of S^t. Antoninus in San Giovanni e Paolo and the numerous small compositions which we now find scattered in Italian and non-Italian Galleries.

It is not always possible to trace effects immediately from their causes; and we are in the dark as to the first influences which reacted on Lotto as he settled anew at Venice, but the pictures which he now produced were more solid and free from empty glitter than earlier ones. In the glory of S^t. Nicholas at the Carmine we notice this solidity combined with unprecedented force and freedom. There is more genuine grace and less affectation than usual in the figures of S^t. Nicholas, S^t. Lucy and the Baptist which float and kneel in the clouds; and the pretty eagerness of the darting angels who carry the balls, the mitre, and the crozier, is depicted with substantial knowledge of the laws of motion.¹ Of greater breadth and larger execution, the glory of S^t. Antoninus is also fuller and more intricate in arrangement. The beatified bishop of the Florentines sits enthroned receiving the whispered ministry of angels. Beneath his throne, the agents of his charity stoop from a gallery to give the maidens in waiting their marriage portions. Though here the light and the coloured vapour pervading the scene are managed in the spirit of Correggio; we are reminded of Lotto's early form by gala dress and jewelled orna-

¹ Venice. S. M. del Carmine. Canvas, with figures large as life. Beneath the clouds is a pretty landscape with little figures on foot and S^t. George on horseback killing the dragon. On a cartello on the foreground are traces of Lotto's name. The picture is injured by cleaning. It is praised by Vas. IX. 146., by Boschini, R. Min. S. d. D. D. p. 43. Lomazzo, Idea, p. 139. and others.

ments, the strength of the tones and the sweep of the touch are essentially Venetian.¹

Effective in another sense, and on a smaller scale is the nativity of the Tosi collection at Brescia where the lowly scene is brought up to a high pitch of elegance by yielding beauty and high-born grace in the movements of angels attending upon two kneeling patrons. Here as in many cabinet pictures of the middle period, Lotto's impersonations show no trace of the short and underset proportions which mark the days in which Palma was exclusively his model. His figures are slender and sprightly; and the light which plays about them is cast in brilliant spangles over a surface melting, transparent, and marbled.²

It was when in this form that Lotto produced the holy conversation in half lengths at the Belvedere of Vienna, where the Virgin presents the infant Christ to the adoration of St. Catherine and St. James, and an angel holds a crown above her head. There is no canvas of the master in which better grouping or more delicate feeling of worship are found, where clearness of flesh is more purely allied to sweetness and transparent gaiety of tinting, where harmony and sparkle are more intimately united to charms of mask and movement.³

¹ Venice. S. Gio. e Paolo. Arched canvas with figures of life size, inscribed on the balustrade: "Lorenzo Loto". In the sky behind the throne is a glory of cherubs; and angels hold back a red hanging. The gallery below the throne, is adorned with a balustrade in which a man stands with a purse towards which the females below stretch their hands and another stoops to hand a scroll to one of the women, seen in half length below. The surface of the picture is dimmed by time. This also is mentioned by Vas. IX. 146. Bosch. L. R. M. S. di Castello p. 61. and others.

² Brescia. Tosi collection. No. 18. Canvas, half life size. The Virgin kneels to the l. with St.

Joseph, behind her. In rear the ox and the ass and the sky are seen. In the middle of the picture Christ lies on a white cloth in a wooden basket caressing a lamb held by two kneeling patrons each of whom is attended by an angel. Here too there are numerous traces of cleaning and retouching.

³ Vienna. Belvedere. 1st Floor. Room II. No. 47. Canvas, 3 f. 3 h. by 4 f. 7½. This picture is described by Boschini, in the *Carta del Navegar Pittoresco*, p. 303 as belonging to the Emperor of Austria. Both the saints kneel in a landscape the Virgin being seated on the ground in front of a tree. The surface is admirably preserved.

In 1531 Lotto finished the S^t. Christopher and S^t. Sebastian in the Berlin Museum which embody Lotto's reminiscences, in the field of contemporary Venetian art, and as regards S^t. Christopher, recall the creations of Titian.¹ A few years later, in 1533 he completed the adoration of the sleeping Christ in the Lochis-Carrara Gallery, which if we except the blemish of disproportion in certain figures is one of the most enticing and dainty pictures of the master. It would be difficult to find an easel piece more grateful to the age, so pure is the scale of colours in pearl and steel greys, in reds and greens, in textures of stuffs of all shades and substance, in leafage and fruit of jessamine and fig, in bright alabaster of feminine flesh. The child-like wonder and delight which mark S^t. Catherine as she strains to look at the babe falling into slumber on a ledge is as well depicted as the proud admiration of S^t. Joseph who withdraws the cloth and the affected motherly consciousness of the Virgin.²

Lotto's masterpiece in the monumental style at this time is the crucifixion painted for a prelate of the family of Bonafede in 1531 and still preserved in the church of Monte San-giusto. Here we have the incidents of the great Christian tragedy put together in a most life-like way, the fainting virgin, the wailing Magdalen and John, and a kneeling prelate in the foreground; in rear of these the soldiers and people and the three crosses; — Christ crucified being the least successful part of the composition. — The agony of the thieves is powerfully rendered, and a surprising facility is shown in handling rich and fluid colours.³

¹ Berlin, Museum. No. 433. Canvas in two arched compartments, 5 f. 1 h. by 3 f. 7., from the Solty coll. To the r. S^t. Sebastian with his r. hand high above his head, and bound to a tree, round his loins a white cloth with blue stripes, well drawn and foreshortened; — on a projection in the foreground: L. LOTO. S^t. Christopher to the l. leaning on his pole and looking up at Christ. On the

pole was once the signature: "L. LOTO 1531". The latter figure is on a model which Lotto more than once adopted from Titian.

² Bergamo. Lochis-Carrara. No. 154. Canv., under life-size, inscribed: "Laurentius Lotus 1533". A fine replica of this piece by Lotto, but without his signature is on canvas in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome.

³ Monte San Giusto, near An-

Other pictures there are in Bergamasque churches which show that Lotto still kept up his connection with the city in which he had lived so honoured and so long — three ovals in the sacristy of the Duomo of Bergamo where the Pope is seen raising the interdict of Brescia, Christ in glory, — small but spirited pieces in the sacristy of Sant' Alessandro alla Croce.¹

Amongst productions of a later date, some like the holy Family of 1534 at the Uffizi, deserve attention for the grace and feeling which are transfused into the figures as well as for the surprising delicacy of the treatment.² Others like the Madonna in glory with saints, dated 1542 in Santa Maria of Sadrina near Bergamo, or the Virgin and child with saints in the Manfrini palace at Venice are all but lost in repaints.³

A noble canvas in the Manzoni collection at Pat gives a most dramatic representation of the Virgin's swoon on seeing the body of Christ carried to the sepulchre. The daring manner in which the sacred history of the Passion

cona. Canvas with twenty three figures mostly of life size, inscribed: "Laurentius Loto 1531", in its old frame on the high altar of the church. The colours are a little dusky from the effects of time.

¹ Bergamo. Duomo. Sacristy. Three small ovals, on panel with little figures brilliantly touched off.

S. Alessandro alla Croce, Sacristy. Small canvas. Christ in glory above a landscape, a little empty. Four little canvases with St. Jerom and three other saints in the sacristy seem below the level of Lotto and are perhaps of his school, presumably by Caversegno.

² Florence. Uffizi, No. 575. Canvas. On a bed with a green coverlet, and in front of a green curtain sits St. Anna, with the Virgin between her knees supporting the standing child, who is worshipped by the kneeling Joseph and the standing St. Jerom. A wall forms the back-ground. The

coldness of the tints of the Virgin and child is caused by abrasion and cleaning. On the right is the inscription: "Lorenzo Loto 1534".

³ Sadrina. Ch. of. Canvas with figures large as life, inscribed: on one side of the foreground, 'Laurentio Loto', on the other, hoc opus fecit fieri fraternitas Sante Marie de Sadrina MDXXXII. The Virgin and child in a cloud, surrounded by cherub's heads is adored from the foreground of a landscape by St. Joseph, St. Jerom, St. John the Baptist and another saint. It is hardly possible to trace Lotto's hand anywhere but in the dress of the Virgin.

Venice, Manfrini Palace. No. 26. The Virgin and child with a kneeling donor presented by St. Sebastian, in the background St. Roch, to the l. St. Joseph and a female saint a canvas under life size. The left hand half of this picture is altogether ruined.

is enriched with a novel and hitherto unknown incident is not more remarkable than the hardihood of the treatment, the boldness of the figures and the variegated tints of the colours.¹

Less out of the daily beat of the 16th century and exceptionally common in form and motive thought is the dead Christ on the lap of the Virgin with saints in the Brera of Milan.² Very fanciful in conception, but more neglectful than usual in handling is the canvas in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome where chastity as a female bearing the broken bow of Cupid, repels lust in the shape of Venus and Amor. There are few pictures in which Lotto's contrasts of alabaster flesh and patterned finery are more staringly presented.³

A small St. Jerom in the Doria palace at Rome of which there is almost a replica in the Madrid Museum, offers a more vigorous and highly toned variety of the master's style, representing that broad and powerful phase of his art which is illustrated in a life size canvas at Alnwick representing a naked boy holding a laurel crown over a death's head.⁴

In 1544 we see Lotto living at Treviso whether temporarily or not we cannot say; but then perhaps he pro-

¹ Pat. Manzoni coll. No. 64. Canvas oblong with eight figures as large as life in a landscape. To the left in the distance the body of Christ carried by two men; to the right the Virgin in a swoon held on her knees by a man, her arm supported by a woman, and behind the group a female pointing forcibly to some distant object.

² Milan. Brera. Recently acquired in the province of Bergamo, five figures of life size on canvas, in a landscape; inscribed: "Laurentio Loto".

³ Rome. Palazzo Rospigliosi. Canvas, with figures little under the size of life not without injury

from cleaning, inscribed: "Laurentius Lotus".

⁴ Rome. Palazzo Doria. Great Gall. Braccio 2. No. 15. Canvas. Small figure of St. Jerom, prostrate in a landscape, with the cross on the ground before him. He is turned to the r. and has the stone in his left. This picture is curiously enough under the name of Annibal Caracci. Madrid, Mus. No. 437. Under the name of Titian. Canvas 3 f. 6 h. by 3 f. 2. Variety of the same composition with an angel in the air. — Alnwick. Canvas, life size. The death's head is on a red cushion. Through an opening in the wall behind, the sky appears. This picture is under the name of Schiavone,

duced the numerous works of which historians tell and valued an altarpiece which Francesco Becaruzzi had executed in the church of Valdobiadene.¹

Vasari relates that Tommaso da Empoli who had a good collection of pictures in the 16th century at Venice, counted amongst his treasures a nativity in which the majesty of the Saviour was adored by the Virgin and a kneeling figure of Marco Loredano and the whole scene was lighted from the radiance emanating from the form of Christ. Ridolfi describes a similar picture with angels and without the kneeling donor in the Gallery of John Reinst of Amsterdam. The Anonimo too registers a replica in possession of Domenico Cornello at Bergamo.² That none of these pictures were preserved to give us an idea of Lotto's art in representing a subject frequently treated by the Brescians and perfectly conceived by Correggio is deeply to be regretted.

In the last years of his career, Lotto enjoyed the friendship and more than ever felt the influence of Titian. At San Giacomo dell' Orio in Venice is still preserved a large altarpiece in which the Virgin crowned by angels sits enthroned with the infant Christ on her lap and receives the silent homage of St. James, St. Andrew, St. Cosmas and St. Damian. The forms, masks, treatment, and colour, remind us of Titian.³ Amongst the pictures of the Giovanelli collection at Venice one represents St. Roch at the foot of a tree in a wide landscape, looking up to the angel who flies down to relieve him. Here again, the rich and juicy tone is Titianesque, and the style is so deceitfully like that of Vecelli that the canvas bears his name.⁴

¹ The record of this valuation is dated 11th of Dec. 1544. It is too long to print.

² VAS. IX., 145—6. Ridolfi, *Marav.* I. 188. Anon. ed. Morelli, p. 52.

³ Venice. S. Giacomo dell' Orio. Canvas, with life size figures, inscribed: "In tempo de Maistro Defendi de Federigo e compagni

1546 Io. Lot^o. The movements here are bold and free, the child unnaturally puffy. The colours are warm and powerful and put in with heavy impast, the picture is ill lighted but one can still see that it has been injured by restoring.

⁴ Venice. Palazzo Giovanelli. Canvas, life size. In the distance to the r. a soldier is seen advancing,

Though Dolce, in his dialogues threw out some remarks depreciatory of the Madonna of the Carmine which he described as painted in unnaturally sombre tones, it was neither Titian's nor Aretino's opinion that Lotto was an ordinary craftsman.¹ We know on the contrary that Titian esteemed Lotto as an artist and as a man of mature judgment in his profession. In 1548 when he sent Lotto greetings from Augsburg Aretino wrote to Lotto to assure him of Vecelli's personal friendship and respect.² Yet it was about this time that Lotto's powers began seriously to wane; and it was then that he resolved to abandon Venice and take up his abode in the sanctuary of Loretto. —

Lotto retired in 1550 to Ancona where he executed the Madonna with angels which still hangs in Santa Maria della Pace,³ and he accepted commissions to paint for the cathedral of Loretto seven canvases which tell with painful eloquence the story of his decline.⁴ — Aretino's letter conveys allusions to the spirit of reliance on the efficacy of religion which filled the mind of Lotto in his later years. It was no doubt this spirit which induced the painter to withdraw to a sanctuary where he could spend such time as was not devoted to art in the service of the church.

to the left a hill with a palace, and on the foreground a dog. The movement of St. Roch as he sits crosslegged at the foot of the tree is strained. The colouring is very rich and tasteful.

¹ Dolce Dialogo, p. 43.

² Aretino to Lotto, Venice April 1548. in *Lettere* IV. 214 v. and *Bot-tari Raccolta* 5., p. 183.

³ Ancona. S. M. della Pace. Canvas, with figures of life size inscribed: Loreto Lotto. Two angels in flight suspend a crown above the head of the Virgin who holds the child, to the r. and l. are S. Stephen, St. John Evangelist, St. Lawrence and another saint. Curious is the flight of steps leading sideways up to the throne.

This is a feeble, pallid and partly injured production of the master. An assumption in San Francesco, of Ancona — with Lotto's name and the date of 1550 was noted by Ricci II. 106.

⁴ Loretto. Governor's Palace. formerly in the Duomo. 1. St. Christopher between St. Roch, and St. Sebastian, inscribed: "LAURENTII LOTI PICTORIS OPVS". This large altarpiece is much injured and of very feeble execution. The St. Christopher is a repetition of the earlier one of Berlin. 2. Adoration of the new born Christ. To the left St. Joseph. The Virgin kneeling, the infant Christ, in rear of whom two angels are in

We had occasion to remark upon the prolific character of Lotto as an executant of subject pieces and frescos. We casually noticed some of his likenesses. There are few masters of the time, if we except Titian, of whom we possess so many and such masterly portraits. That some of these should be attributed to Giorgione, others to Leonardo, and others again to Titian and Pordenone is one of the natural consequences of a versatile manner. In one of the best single figures of this kind under Pordenone's name at the Borghese palace, we have the semblance of a stout florid man in grand attire, whose turn of thought is possibly illustrated by a hand resting on a death's head partially concealed by flowers. St. George tilts at a dragon in a landscape seen through a window. We do not meet with a finer or more dignified pose in any of Titian's canvases nor do we know of any other example in which Lotto so nearly approached Vecelli. The treatment is broad and powerful; the colour, in its warm and golden transparence, is fluid and modelled with perfect blending.¹

Another remarkable specimen of Lotto's skill — and here of his peculiar skill in the difficult art of female portraiture — is the likeness of a lady of rank which recently passed from the Harrache collection at Turin to the Brera of Milan. This lady sits near a table on which she rests her elbow. Behind her is a red hanging; and a red cloth falling over the back of her chair. The turban on her

adoration, near Christ the young Baptist receives from St. Elizabeth the reed cross, near St. Elizabeth is St. Joachim seated. This canvas with half sized figures is better than the one previously described, and is powerful enough in tone, and graceful enough in the pose and shape of the dramatis personæ. Some fragments of colours are scaled away. 3. The Epiphany. 4. The Presentation in the Temple. These feeble productions of Lotto's old age are dusky from the effects of time and

otherwise injured. 5. The woman taken in adultery, a canvas of 13 or 14 half lengths, is here assigned to Titian, but is one of the series of Lotto's performances at Loretto in these years. — The figures of Christ, the woman, and an old man are repainted. 6. St. Michael fighting the dragon. 7. Baptism of Christ. 8. A miracle; — all these are feeble Lotto's.

¹ Rome. Palazzo Borghese. Sala X. No. 9. Canvas in admirable preservation. The figure, of life size is seen to the knees.

head is flowered. — Her bare and beautiful throat in its square cut chemisette, is adorned with a pearl necklace. In her right hand she carries a fan. Her dress of dark silk is trimmed with white cloth and bound at the waist with a gold chain. The fine-chiselled features, extremely pure in drawing, charm by their mild expression. A delicate but healthy complexion is displayed in warm sweet tones of extraordinary transparency; and masterly transitions lead the eye from opal lights into rich and coloured shadows. The whole figure basks in a vague atmosphere, into the depths of which we penetrate by degrees. There is harmony in every part, in true contrasts of tint, in true balance of chiaroscuro, and in modelled relief.¹

A half length in the same collection, represents a man of lean and bony make with a swallow tailed beard, a grey eye, close set features and a grave aspect. The flesh is golden and finely modulated giving us the character of the individual as well as the accidents of flesh after the fashion which Morone mastered in the 16th century.²

A third half length, companion to these, offers another variety of type and execution. A man stands at a table in a pelisse with a fox skin collar; he is bareheaded and bearded. His right hand rests on the table and grips a handkerchief. The ruddy skin of the face is broken with touches now warm now cold by which the play of light and reflections is rendered with deceptive truth.³

Another example illustrates the painter's skill in catching momentary action or the soft glow of a warm and gay but subdued light. This is the Aldrovandi assigned to Titian at the Belvedere of Vienna.⁴

¹ Milan. Brera. From the Har-
rache collection, kneepiece of life
size, not free from modern stippling,
inscribed: "Laurent Loto".

² Milan. Brera. From the Har-
rache collection, knee piece of
life size on a brown ground.

³ Milan. Brera. From the Har-
rache collection. Canvas, half

length, on brown ground, of life
size, inscribed: "Laurent. Loto
p."

⁴ Vienna. Belvedere. First
Floor. Rom II. No. 5. Canv.
3 f. 1 h. by 2 f. 4. We cannot say
on what grounds this canvas is
said to represent Ulysses Aldro-
vandi. The face is open; the hair,

A later form of portrait execution is that observable in the "Sansovino" of the Berlin Museum, a knee piece in which a liquid under preparation of umber is merely touched up to a finish by broad and coarse but masterly strokes. The modern air of this canvas caused it to be christened with the name of Battista Franco.¹

We might extend this list, were it only necessary.²

divided in the middle, falls to the neck. In the right hand is a bird's claw in metal, behind the frame and its black dress is a red hanging.

¹ Berlin. Museum. No. 153. Canv. 3 f. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 2 f. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, with the remains of Lotto's signature: "L. L . . ." This picture was once in the Giustiniani Gallery at Paris and is much rubbed down.

² To conclude the list we note:

Rome, Doria Palace. Gall. Grande. Brac. II. No. 34. Kneepiece representing a bearded man, with one hand on his breast, the other hand pointing. His dress and cap are black; he looks sickly and seems to count the beatings of his heart. Against the marble wall of the background an ivy bush creeps upwards. In the wall itself is a relief of a boy holding scales. "ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ XXXVII" is written in the stone. — This is a genuine Lotto.

Rome. Palazzo Colonna. Canvas half length of life-size called "Pompeo Colonna" with a letter in one hand, the other hand caressing a dog, this is a true Lotto made opaque and dull by restoring.

Rome. Signor Spiridione. Half length of a man in a black cap and dress holding in both hands a book on which is written "L LOTVS Ae Do MDXXXI." This canvas was taken to London and perhaps figures in an English collection. It has lost brilliancy in part from the effects of cleaning.

Pat. Manzoni collection. Portrait of a man playing a guitar assigned to Giorgione — in the style of Lotto.

Berlin. Mus. No. 320. 1 f. 5 h. by 1 f. 3. Canvas once in the Giustiniani collection and signed "L LOTVS PICT." Bust of a man with a small cap on the top of his head. This is a fine likeness with effective and dark shadows, supposed we know not why, to be Lotto by himself. Vienna. Belvedere. First Floor. Room

II. No. 38. Canvas. 1 f. 7 h. by 2 f. 5, assigned to Titian. "The Jeweller", with his casket, in three views, a triplicate portrait. This canvas, though it was called a Titian when it was in the collection of Charles the 1st, is not by Titian, and is executed very much in the manner of Lotto. — Same room No. 53 a portrait round is too much injured to warrant an opinion.

Pesth. Esterhazy collection. Wood, life size bust of a man in a cap, glove in hand at a table on which letters are strewn. This piece called a Leonardo has been stippled up to a red uniformity but is still to be recognized as a work of Lotto, and very much resembles the likeness engraved as Lotto in Ridolfi.

Darmstadt. Museum. No. 645. Life size half length of a general in a red coat and sleeves of scale-mail with his hand on his sword. — A camp is seen in the distance which a green hanging partly conceals. This canvas is damaged by restoring but apparently a true Lotto.

Stuttgart. Museum. No. 73. Portrait of Francesco Contarini (see anteà in Giorgione p. 160) is probably by Lotto, but much injured in the flesh by retouching.

London. Lord Yarborough. No. 54. A man in a green cap with a pen in his right hand stands at a table on which is a paper, inscribed with the words: "HIC INTVS EST OMNIS BEATITVIO MEA." — This canvas under the name of Morone is like a Lotto injured by restoring.

Chatsworth. Portrait half length of a young man with long hair, in a black cap, a glove in his hand. Though called a Giorgione, this canvas is more probably by Lotto or Cariani.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 115. Half length of a man on a chair. Through the window to the left we see a man and woman in converse. This is a fine portrait which may be an original by Lotto.

Copenhagen. Museum. No. 41. Wood 15 $\frac{1}{4}$. Danish inches h. by 11 $\frac{1}{4}$. Bust of a man in a black cap and pelisse with a fur collar. This panel is falsely given to Lotto being by an artist of De Bruyn's type.

Lotto lived, it is said to a good old age. He died about 1554 in the Sanctuary of Loretto.¹

We add to the list of Lotto's pictures the following:

Jesi. San Floriano. Convent. St. Lucy before the judge refuses to worship the idol. The predella represents St. Lucy in prayer before a tomb in a church; St. Lucy before the prefect; and St. Lucy withstanding the power of the bees that strive to drag her away. This altarpiece (on panel) is much worn and damaged; but bits of the predella still show that we owe the work in its totality to a period subsequent to 1512 when the entombment in the same church was completed. We note the error of the annotators of Vasari (IX. 153.) who give to this altarpiece the date and signature which belong to the entombment.

In the same convent further we have two late productions of Lotto, panels with the Virgin and angel annuntiate.

Bergamo. Casa di Lavoro. In this place, of old a convent of canons of the Lateran, there is a series of frescos representing scenes from the life of St. Augustin. These are greatly altered from their original state by restoring, but they may still claim to be by Lotto or his assistants.

Venice. Chiesa del Redentore. Two small canvases in the convent to which this church belongs are probably by Lotto. One represents the nativity, the other a crucifixion with five figures. Both canvases have landscape backgrounds.

Padua. Gallery. Nr. 12. Wood, half-lengths, under life size. The Virgin sits with the child in a landscape between St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist who presents a kneeling donor to the Saviour. From the Capo di Lista collection. This picture is greatly injured, and not certainly by Lotto to whom it is assigned. It is very like a picture in the Casa Roncalli at Bergamo, in which the names of Francesco Santa Croce and Lotto are suggested.

Milan. Archbishop's palace. — Virgin and child between a male and female saint — a genuine Lotto (canvas).

Milan. Casa Poldi-Pezzoli. The Virgin with the child on her lap caresses the young Baptist, a pretty little Lotto of rich tone.

¹ That Lotto was still living at for cartoons in monochrome intended for use in the choir of S. Maria of Loretto. record in Tassi (u. s. p. 130) in which payments are made to him

Milan. Count Giulini. In the residence of this nobleman is kept a Virgin and child with St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine (m. 0. 74 h. by 0. 69.). This picture which we have not seen bears Lotto's name in capitals and the date of 1532.

Paris. Louvre. No. 199. Canvas half-lengths. M. 1. 24 h. by 1. 26. The woman taken in adultery; — a counterpart as to subject of the canvas at Loretto, of which there is a late copy numbered 434, in the Dresden Museum, and a second copy in the Spada collection at Rome (Venetian school No. 17.). — Louvre. Nr. 525. Canv. m. 1. 50 h. by 2. 17. Holy Family. This piece is classed amongst the unknown but seems an unfinished Lotto with figures of a slender and agreeable character. The unfinished appearance may be due to cleaning and flaying.

Stuttgart. Mus. No. 27. Wood. 8 f. 6 h. by 7 f. 4. Christ crucified, the Virgin, Evangelist, and Magdalen. This may have been once a genuine Lotto. It is now too much damaged to be recognized as such. — No. 31. canvas. 3 f. 2 h. by 4 f. 5. Christ rising from the tomb signed "IONVS PALMA P." This canvas assigned to Lotto is also much injured and of doubtful originality. No. 81. canvas. 4 f. 8 h. by 10 f. 7. The last supper, — altogether repainted.

London. Holford collection. "Lucretia" assigned to Giorgione here is a picture which we had occasion to notice as being in the style of Lotto. The replica in the Lichtenstein collection at Venice was registered in the same place (see *antea* in Giorgione).

Hampton Court. No. 554. A concert. This picture is assigned to Bellini, and noted (I. 188.) as possibly of Lotto's later and declining years.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 76. The Virgin and child about to give the breast to the child, under the name of Cesare da Sesto, is a ruined picture still reminiscent of Lotto.

The following pictures are missing.

Bergamo. Palazzo del capitano grande. Picture with the whole family of a "capitan grande" by Lotto. (Bartoli pitt. de Bergamo. u. s. p. 29.). Casa Domenico del Cornello a Pietà and a small St. Jerom (Anonimo ed. Morelli pag. 53). For the latter see the small pictures with this subject at the Louvre, in the Doria Palace at Rome and the Museum at Madrid). Casa Tassi. 1. Christ taking leave of his mother, perhaps the picture No. 326 at the Berlin Museum, see *antea*. 2. A nativity. 3. A Virgin, child and saints; one of the latter with a vase full of fruit. 4. The marriage of Cupid. 5. An old man and a young girl holding a sheet of music. (Ridolfi. Marav. I. 186.) These pictures according to Tassi (u. s. I. 125.) were after Ridolfi's time in possession of Canon Zanchi of Bergamo. S. Alessandro in Colonna. Christ deposited from the cross (Anon. p. 48. Ridolfi. Le Mar. I. 186. Bartoli p. 9.). Casa Morandi. A portrait of "Madonna Laura" and friezes, figures, and arabesques in fresco (Tassi. I. 125.). Casa de' Conti Al-

bani de' Ugnano; friezes in a hall. Casa Conte Gio. Mosconi, frieze with gambols of children (ib. ib. 125.). Casa Casotti, Flight into Egypt. (ib. ib. ib.) Casa Ragazzoni, a small picture with S. S. Stephen, Roch and Sebastian, perhaps the same described in the Piccinelli collection. (Ib. ib. 126.) Casa Carlo Albani. Portrait of Francesco Albani in the dress of a knight. (Ib. ib. ib.) Signor Savoldini, a picture with portraits of the Castelli family (ib. ib. ib.).

Venice Salute. Sacristy, in the niche for the holy water, a head of St. Paul. [Bosch. L. R. M. S. di D. D. p. 29.] Casa Gussoni: 1. Virgin and child and two saints; 2. St. Catherine bound to the wheel perhaps the same now in the Leuchtenberg collection [see antea p. 513]; 3. a small crucified Saviour with the Marys (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 188.); Casa Giovanni Grimani a portrait (ib. ib. ib.). Casa Jacopo Pighetti Christ carrying his cross (ib. ib. ib.). Chignolo in the Bergamasque province, Madonna (Tassi. I. 124). Berbenno, near Bergamo, St. Anthony the abbot (ib. ib. ib.). A St. Anthony once in Berbenno still exists in the Casa Petrobelli at Bergamo, but it is by Previtali. Calcio, ch. of. St. Martin and other saints (ib. ib. ib.). La Rancia, last supper (ib. ib. ib.). Celania. S. Maria. Assumption (Lomazzo Idea, p. 739). Cingoli S. Domenico "un Rosario col nome e l'anno" (Ricci n. s. II. 93). Treviso. Chiesa del Gesù, Christ as a babe adored by his mother (Ridolfi, Mar. I. 186). Casa Pola. Portrait of a "medico", and portrait of a lady of the Colalto family (ib. ib. ib.). Casa Galdini, marriage of St. Catherine (ib. ib. 187.). San Paolo. Deposition from the cross (Federici n. s. II. 6.). Casa Onigo portrait of a priest (Ridolfi Mar. I. 187.) Portobuffolè on the Livenza, Christ crucified with the Virgin and St. John (ib. ib. ib.). Antwerp. Van. Buren collection. 1. Dead Christ supported in the tomb by two angels; 2. portrait of a man; 3. d^o of a man and his wife; 4. d^o of a man and his wife, the latter holding a dog; 5. d^o of an old woman with an ermine pelisse (ib. ib. 188).

Previous to the time when the art of the Bergamasques assumed a decided Venetian impress, painters at Bergamo generally acknowledged the supremacy of the Milanese schools.¹ Even had Bergamo been entirely deprived

¹ There was a time too in which the Milanese influence was not as yet felt, for instance in the tree of St. Bonaventura, a fresco on a wall to the right, inside the portal of Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo, commissioned in 1347, by Guido de' Snardi, as is proved by a long but often renewed inscription of which a copy may be found in Locatelli's *Illustri Bergamaschi* (note to I. p. 13.). Here St. Bonaventura kneels at the foot of a large tree between the Virgin and St. Clara on one side, and St. John with a following of Franciscan friars on the other. In front of St. Bonaventura kneels the patron Snardi. Small scenes from Christ's passion — amongst them a very drastic representation of the circumcision — are given in the intervals between the branchings of the tree. Though injured by repaint this fresco has the grave and severe stamp which early Christian painting with all its faults is seldom found to lack.

of early examples, we should find proofs of Milanese influence in the evidence which history affords that Lombards like Michele di Ronco in the 14th, Foppa, Troso da Monza, Buttinone, and Zenale, in the 15th, were employed there. What remains of the works of Pecino or Pierino de Nova, a Bergamasque who laboured in company with Michele di Ronco in 1375 at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo, bears the clear stamp of that form of Giottesque which found its best expression in Giovanni da Milano and Altichiero;¹ whilst the fragments of frescos detached from the ruins of Santa Maria delle Grazie and deposited in the bishop's palace of Bergamo, if they could — and we should think they could — be accepted as works of Troso da Monza and Scannardo d' Averaria — would give us a reflex of the style which had its representatives at Mi-

¹ The following respecting Pierino de Nova and the works which may be assigned to him or his contemporaries, may be useful to those who take an interest in the earlier forms of art development.

Tassi (Pitt. Berg. I. p. 2-6.) gives numerous records touching the painter whom he calls "Paxino or Pecino de Nova." He quotes the payments made to him in 1363-4, 1368-9, 1381, 1388 and 1389 for original paintings and repairs of paintings in S. M. Maggiore of Bergamo; he gives an extract of an order made to P. by Gian' Galeazzo Visconti to paint the arms of France on the front of the palace and on the towers of Bergamo in 1394; another of an indenture by which P. receives a boy of 13 as an apprentice in 1397. He prints in full an account of a litigation which took place in 1409 for the possession of a Madonna with saints executed by P. for S. Lorenzo of Bergamo. He reprints the register of P.'s burial at Bergamo in 1403. Finally Tassi notes (I. p. 6) that one Piero de Nova whom he considers to be an independent painter is found registered in the books of S. M. Maggiore in partnership with Michele di Ronco of Milan and traces his name from 1375 to 1409. The same records perused and copied afresh by Signor Michele Caffi give results differing in so far from those of Tassi, that it appears that 'Paxino' or 'Pecino' is a false reading for 'Pierino' de Nova; to this artist are assigned, we may believe correctly, certain fragments of frescos which exist in the present bell room of S. M. Maggiore. In one fragment is the Virgin and child

with mutilated saints, in a second fragment, is the Epiphany, in a third, the Virgin and child between a saint presenting a youth on one side and St. Bartholomew and St. Christopher on the other, and the Virgin and child again between a saint presenting a youth and St. Francis with a nameless saint. The Giottesque character of this work is to be found with a better stamp of cultivation on pieces of fresco transferred from S. Francesco to the Lochis Carrara Gallery at Bergamo, in one of which, bearing the date: "MCCCLXXXII die XVIII. Augusti," we find the Virgin and child, and two kneeling captains introduced by St. Catherine and St. Francis, whilst the other comprises the virgin and child with St. Bartholomew and St. Agatha protecting an armed captain and his son. The neat contour and soft tone of these pieces give them an appearance which distantly recalls Altichiero or Giovanni da Milano. The same style is apparent in a Madonna and a single head known traditionally to have been Pierino's and recently saved from destruction by Count Secco Suardi in whose house at Bergamo they are deposited. Poorer than these but probably of the same date are the grotesque frescos on the front of a house in the Contrada Sant' Andrea at Bergamo representing a bust of Christ in benediction with various angels below, and a quaint representation of the angel and Virgin annuntiate the first being seated with a staff in his hand, the second enthroned on a high chair at the opposite side of the picture. We may see similar technical treatment in the feeble miniature style of the first Umbrians.

lan in such men as Francesco de Vico.¹ In the triumph and dance of death, which cover part of the façade of the church de' Disciplini at Clusone near Bergamo, we see the production of an artist of the 15th century who combines the coarse energy of contemporary craftsmen in the North Italian highlands with something of Tuscan method in setting and distribution.² At a later period

¹ We spoke of Troso da Monza elsewhere (see *antea* p. 64.). The deed of partnership between him and Giacomo Georgi de' Scannardi d' Averaria, commonly called Holofernes (Tassi I. 30.) is dated August 18th 1847. The will of the latter (*Ib. ib. ib.*) is dated May 20th 1519. The frescos which are spoken of in the text were erroneously described in the History of Italian Painting (Vol. II. p. 258) as having been detached from the church of San Giuseppe, whereas they came from S. M. delle Grazie of Bergamo. They may be described as follows:

Few years have elapsed since the ch. of S. M. delle Grazie at Bergamo was razed and its frescos were taken into the bishop's palace. Of these frescos the oldest, now transferred to canvas, are triangular and represent the nativity and circumcision, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, and the Epiphany. Of the same cycle, there are also fourteen half-lengths of prophets — one of which bears the date of 1489, — and a lunette with Christ in judgment, paradise, and the abode of Satan. Though injured, these pieces are in the style of the Obizzi altarpiece in San Pietro in Gessate at Milan (*antea* p. 65.), the figures being dry and lean, lame in action or rigid in pose with marked contours and broken drapery. The colours are sombre and brown and shadowed in flesh with cold greys. — Of a later date and from the same church are frescos representing scenes from the life of St. Francis and solitary figures of St. Francis, St. Bernardino, St. Theresa, St. Jerom, St. Anthony, St. Louis, and a female saint in a glory of angels. These frescos are also transferred to canvas, and bear the impress of a later and more Venetian art which recalls that of the Santa Croce. The compositions are regular, the attitudes quiet, the forms underset and full, and the flesh tone rosy, without marked shadow. We might assign the earlier series to Troso the later to Scannardi, but this is a mere sug-

gestion subject to future correction. Other wall paintings to be classed with the later ones above described are those of the beginning of the 16th century attributed to Lotto and Scannardi (Locatelli u. s. II 62.) on the left hand outer wall of the old ch. of S. Michele al Pozzo bianco in Bergamo. A Virgin and child and remnants of figures — and a colossal St. Christopher inside the same church all of which are characterized by regularity of proportion and form but also by coarse and heavy types and rude execution after the fashion of Antonio Bosselli or the Gavazzi.

² Clusone. Ch. de' Disciplini. The triumph and dance of death on the façade of the church has been fully described and illustrated by Giuseppe Vallardi, in a book called "Trionfo e Danza etc. a Clusone." fol. Milan 1859.

The upper course contains a square marble tomb on the edges of which three skeletons hold scrolls with mottos. In front of the tomb are kings and princes kneeling and holding up offerings. To the r. and left are groups of men on foot and horseback in pursuit of the various amusements and avocations in which death surprises them. The lower course is in the usual form of a dance, each figure of a mortal being led by a skeleton of death. The execution of this work is not first rate, nor is it on a level with the conception and distribution which must be admitted to be clever and appropriate. The contours are too decisively and too darkly marked, the vestment tints too sharp to be effective and there is little or no relief by shadow. The forms are full of weight but at the same time full of coarseness and disproportion. The purpose is often good but generally carried out with incomplete success. Many parts of this wall painting are injured, especially the upper part to the right and the right hand side of the dance where a poor attempt at restoring has been made.

Inside the ch. de' Disciplini of Clusone we have somewhat later and feebler frescos: a crucifixion on the wall above the arch leading into the altar niche; on the vaulting of the niche itself, the

Antonio Boselli, with feeble powers and a receptive faculty, began in the humblest style of the third rate Umbrians and finished like a feeble Lombard of Borgognone's type;¹ whilst craftsmen of a still lower class, such as the

name of Christ, the four doctors and Evangelists, and on the altar face remnants of a Christ holding the orb. Two fragments of temperas on the altar bear half-lengths of prophets and there are similar half-lengths on the sides of the entrance arch. Incidents from the passion fill the walls of the church. All this is poor work, ill composed and feebly executed in the style of art peculiar to the low class craftsmen of the close of the 15th century. Some compartments are faded, others retouched. The artist signs "1471 CHOB PINXIT". At the foot of the crucifixion and in a vision of the angel to Mary telling her to fly into Egypt he signs in the same way with the date of 1470. Recent search made in the records of S. Bernardino by Dottore Michele Caffi prove that there was a painter employed there named Jacobo Borlone to whom payments were made in 1462—64—70—71—80.

On the side porch of the church there are figures of friars, amongst them, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, a little less rude in handling than those of the interior and somewhat in the character of those which distinguish the wall temperas of Pier' Antonio of Foligno.

¹ Boselli's name is given in a record of 1507 quoted by Tassi (u. s. I. 489.) Antonius de Bosellis q. M. Petri. The earliest of his works is a fresco dated 1495 in the church of Ponteranica near Bergamo, where he shows no superiority over any of the third or fourth rates of the following of Bonfigli such as Boccati and Matteo da Gualdo. His later works, particularly a Christ in Paradise the payments for which in 1514 are extant, show an unmistakable impress from Borgognone. The following calendar, gives an ample record of this mediocre painter.

Ponteranica ch. of. The choir of this church seems to have been painted entirely by Bosella, in fresco. One of these wall paintings transferred to canvas is still preserved — a Virgin of mercy whose large green cloak is held up by little angels, whilst devotees kneel at her feet and St. Peter and Mary Magdalen attend at the sides. An inscription runs as follows: "Mensis Setēbris 1495 Antonius

bosellus pinxit." The grotesque character of the heads, and stark leanness of the figures are very striking. The drawing is coarse and incisive and full of incorrectness. The colours are pitted against each other in strongly marked contrasts and defined surfaces. The tempera is rough and not uninjured. Outside the church a lunette above the portal contains a Virgin crowned by angels between St. Alexander and St. Vincent. The painter is Bosella.

A record for which we are indebted to Dr. Michele Caffi gives us news of Boselli in 1503. In December of that year he contracts to paint for Santa Maria della Consolazione at Bergamo a large altarpiece representing the Virgin Mary between St. Anna and St. Catherine in one course, the Baptism of Christ between St. Peter, St. Augustin and St. Anthony in another course, and a bust of the Eternal in a pinnacle, — all for 200 imperial pounds. — Of this altarpiece — we are told — the fragments are still in possession of the heirs of the late Signor Paolo Vitalba at Bergamo. There are notices in Tassi (I. 48.) of Boselli's valuation of frescos by Scipioni d' Averara in S. M. delle Grazie at Bergamo, and (I. 51.) an altarpiece with St. Christopher, St. Luke and St. Paul, inner: "Hoc opus Antonium scito pinxisse Bosellum die 23 Februarii 1509" (which has disappeared from San Cristoforo of Seriate).

1514. Feb. 9. Registry of payment to Boselli for an altarpiece in Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Tassi. I. 51.). This altarpiece exists and represents Christ in a mandorla with the hierarchy of the blest headed by the Virgin and John the Baptist in three rows at the sides of the glory, and below, St. Jeron., St. Mark and other saints. Here Boselli shows more skill in arranging and varying the movements of figures which instead of being long and lean are now short and thickset. The action of these figures is still hard and rigid but the models upon which the whole work is based are taken from Borgognone whilst the colour has a vitreous substance like that of Buttinone and other Milanese. Much injury has been done to this piece (wood, under life size) by restoring and repainting, the whole foreground being new paint.

A Virgin and saints inscribed: "Opus Antonii de Bosellis 1515," is described by Tassi (I. 51.) in the ch. of the Augustinians at Almenno; but is no longer to be found there.

St. Lawrence between St. John the Baptist and St. Barnabas a panel transferred

Gavazzi or Boldrini can scarcely be recognized as members of any school whatever.¹

from S. Lorenzino to the Lochis Carrara Gallery bears the following inscription: "ANTONIUS BOSELLVS PINXIT MDXVII". It shows more freedom and practise than previous examples but the forms are large and bony and are not without the usual rigidity which characterizes the painter. The colours of a sombre tone when new are additionally dimmed by time and injured by retouching. Half-lengths of St. Peter, St. Bernardino, St. Joachim and St. Anna, are also to be classed amongst the works of Boselli.

There is documentary evidence of Antonio's employment at S. M. Maggiore of Bergamo in July 1521 and 1522 and there are proofs that he was living in 1527 (Tassi, I. 52, 89-70-1.) but there are no authentic works later than those above described. A fresco of his school with the date of 1524 in San Bernardino of Bergamo represents the Virgin and child between St. Anthony and St. Onofrio. The Virgin and 4 saints assigned to Boselli in S. Antonio of Padua (Brandolesi Pitt. di Padua 26-7.) are altogether Venetian in style and quite different from any of the genuine Boselli; but it may be that there were two painters of the name, for Lanzi (II. 152-3.) speaks of a master so-called assistant to Pomponio Amalteo at Ceneda in 1534-6; or we must suppose that Boselli in his later days completely changed his nature and his style.

¹ Of these painters it will be sufficient to mention the principal works, which seldom attain the level, though they display the feeling, of such Umbrians as Manni or Ibi.

Bergamo, Lochis Carrara. Nos. 331, 332 and 31. figures of half life size in tempera representing (in couples on gold ground) a bishop and St. Anthony, a bishop and St. Bernardino; St. Francis and St. Nicholas; 321, 290, 322, 391, and 282, arched panels in each of which there is a figure of an apostle. These figures are all paltry, wooden and defective; and much damaged by retouching; they are assigned to Giovanni Jacopo Gavazzi, whose Madonna with angels holding a crown above her head in S. Alessandro in Colonna is signed: "Jo Jacobi Gavazi de p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o MDXII". Though modernized by repaints this piece also displays a painter altogether insensible to the progress of the century in which he lived.

Of similar Umbrian low class form are the works assigned to Agostino Gavazzi ex. gr. Nembro near Bergamo; parish

ch. altarpiece, wood, called "di Tutti Santi", a repainted panel in some measure imitative of Boselli whose similar subject we noted at S. Maria Maggiore, Nembro. S. Niccolò; a repainted altarpiece with S. Augustin enthroned between S. Stephen and St. Lawrence. Nembro. S. Sebastiano ruined altarpiece in compartments (panel under life size) the Virgin and child between St. John the Baptist, a female saint, St. Catherine and St. Bartholomew; in a lower course St. Sebastian between a bishop, St. Roch, St. Christopher and another saint, in a predella six apostles. Here we have on a low scale a style akin to that of Manni and Ibi.

Nembro. Court of the Casa Longhi; fresco of the Virgin and child between St. Anthony, St. Roch and another saint. Alzano, S. Pietro Martire, St. Anthony enthroned between St. Christopher and St. Nicholas of Tolentino a panel with figures little under life size, painted with more art than the foregoing but greatly injured.

In the same local style but perhaps by an abler hand we have a St. Christopher and St. Joseph and a half-length of Christ with the Milanese feeling of Borgognone in S. Giorgio of Nese near Alzano.

Leonardo Boldrini is the painter of an altarpiece the panels of which are hung apart in the church of San Gallo near Zogno in the Bergamasque province. The figures which are half as large as life betray the influence and teaching of Bartolommeo Vivarini and are a caricature of those which that master designed. They represent the annunciation between two standing saints and the coronation between St. Peter and St. Sebastian all on gold ground. On a cartello at the feet of a saint holding a book are the words

"(O. LEONARDI BOLDRINI BNECT".

In this grotesque and semi Byzantine manner are a St. Peter and St. Paul in the Carrara Gallery at Bergamo and a Christ supported on the edge of his tomb (panel) in the oratory of San Rocco al Bosco near Serinalta.

We miss the frescos of S. Appollonia and St. Albert in the Carmine of Bergamo; the altarpiece of the Padri Reformati del Romacolo and the Virgin and child with a male and female donor inscribed: "Jacobus Gavatus de Bergamo p." noted in Tassi's book (u. s. I. 44-5.). We miss likewise the altarpiece in the parish church of S. Giacomo di Piazzatore representing St. James and inscr.: "Augustinus de Gavazzis Civ. Berg. pinxit anno 1527." noted by the same author (I. 45).

That Previtali, Palma and Lotto, as Bergamasques, rose to eminence in their profession is principally due to their having wandered young to Venice from whence in after years they brought home the fruits of their studies. We shall find that they were not the only painters of Bergamo who followed this course. The Santa Croce, who studied in the school of the Bellini, and Cariani who studied in that of Palma or Giorgione, did the same, and only achieved a less success because they were less fortunate or less versatile and remained longer than their brethren assistants in the workshops of the great masters.

Francesco and Girolamo da Santa-Croce, though natives of the Bergamasque province were so completely unknown at Bergamo, that none of the annalists of that city seem to have heard of their existence, and Tassi who took pains to gather materials for the history of his countrymen makes no apology for confessing his ignorance and quoting the text of Zanetti. Yet Santa Croce is a village in the valley of the Brembo not more than twelve miles from Bergamo, and is not a little proud, even now of having given birth to two artists of name in the Venetian school.

Francesco di Simone of Santa Croce, who frequently calls himself Rizo, has left us older specimens of his skill than Girolamo; and he may be considered the eldest of two painters of one family.¹ His first altarpiece is the

¹ In a picture of the year 1506; as we shall see, Francesco signs as above. In 1513, he varies his signature to Franciscus Rizus, which led Zanetti, to register Rizo and Santacroce as two painters — an error already corrected by Lauzi (u. s. note to II. 105.). In 1518 Francesco writes: Francesco Rizo de S^{ta} Croxe. Ridolfi's statement that Francesco was of the same family as Girolamo Santa Croce (Marav. I. 105) is further stretched by Federici (Mem. Trev. II. 11) who says without authority that Girolamo was Francesco's son. A picture which appears well suited to represent the earliest form of Francesco Rizo's art, is an arched panel in the Carrara Gall. at Bergamo (No. 308.) representing the Virgin and child, with a kneeling patron and four saints, Joseph, the Magdalen, Agatha, and Jerom. It is either an early Francesco or the work of a feeble imitator of his first manner.

annunciation executed in 1504 for the church of Spino a hamlet close to Santa Croce, his latest a Madonna with six saints dated 1541 at Chirignago near Mestre. It is worthy of remark that, if we accept the last of these dates, as correct, the life of Francesco Rizo remains a blank for upwards of ten years; and the Madonna of Chirignago shows the primitive form of the Bellinesques preserved till the middle of the 16th century. A story attached to the annunciation at Spino swells to picturesque and dramatic proportions in the pages of Locatelli's *Illustrious Bergamasques*, but lacks all historical foundation;¹ yet it tends to confirm our belief that Francesco Rizo wandered as a boy to Venice and studied with many of the Venetian masters. His tendency to imitate Carpaccio and Previtali was apparent at a very early period; his wish to be considered a pupil of Giovanni Bellini is demonstrated in a picture of 1507. His usual residence at Venice is testified in 1504 by a view of the lagoons in the annunciation of Spino and casually proved by inscriptions in 1518 and 1529. We can easily conceive that a man of his mould, who clung with timid fondness to the traditions of the past should have found less occasion to dispose of his works in Venice than those who boldly strove to bring Venetian art into a new channel. We picture him to ourselves canvassing for orders in the country districts around Venice and principally in the province of Bergamo; and the fact that his altarpieces are mostly to be found in the neighbourhood of his birth place is conclusive as to the smallness of his purely Venetian practise. He may at last have despaired of holding his own as an independent master and thus have been lost in the work shops of those who paid his services as a journeyman.

The annunciation of Spino is a characteristic effort by a young artist. The angel runs in to the left with eager step and finds the Virgin kneeling with one hand on her bosom and the fingers of the other on the leaves of a

¹ Locatelli. *Illustri Bergamaschi*, u. s. I. 305.

book lying on a desk before her. The figures are neatly but dryly shaped; the heads, and especially the head of the angel, with its curly locks, are youthful and plump and marked with the peculiar breadth of cheek which Francesco Rizo and Previtali both took from Carpaccio. The drapery is cut, apparently without purpose, into numberless plaits and breaks like that of Previtali and Mansueti; and the post-bed with its blue coverlet and green hangings is a reminiscence of Carpaccio and Bissolo. Though worn and rubbed, and in many places retouched, the colours have kept their original tartness, and, like the rest of the picture, enable us to detect the hand of a painter companion to Previtali at Venice and probably his fellow journeyman in the shop of Carpaccio.¹

¹ Spino. The annunciation on panel, is a picture of two figures little more than half size, with the following inscription on the side of the Virgin's desk: "FRANCISCVS DE SANTA CRVCIS fecit 1504". Through the arch of a window at the bottom of the room to the left comes the dove, the distance being a view of the islands of Venice. The outlines are more or less renewed, the wings of the angel and the blues particularly injured. This picture was not long since taken to Bergamo to be restored and was then offered for sale. It is not certain whether it was taken back to Spino or not.

We make no apology for introducing here a short catalogue of pictures by Previtali not noticed as seen in the life of that painter, which appears in the first of these two volumes.

Bergamo. Casa Petrobelli from the church of Berbenno, 16 miles from Bergamo — arched panels with life size figures of St. Anthony enthroned attended by an angel who throws acorns to the pigeon on the foreground, between St. Lawrence and a canonized deacon holding a palm. An upper course of smaller panels represent Christ in the tomb supported by the Virgin and Evangelist between half-lengths of St. Peter and St. Paul. These panels are all separated, and are

injured by scaling, cleaning, and retouching; they originally formed an altarpiece which may be considered one of the boldest and best of Previtali's works.

Bergamo. Conte Luigi Albani from S. Agostino of Bergamo. St. Ursula, erect on a pedestal holds her hands together in prayer with three angels in flight holding crowns; the Virgin martyrs on their knees in front. This also is boldly treated in a manner that reminds us of Carpaccio, the figures are on panel, under life size, and not without injury from time and restoring.

Bergamo. Pia Casa di Misericordia. Virgin and child half-lengths, inscribed: "ANDREAS PRIVITALI MDXIII." canv. stretched on wood, M. O. 50 h. by 0. 63. This is a copy. In the same place, a Virgin and child (kneepiece) M. O. 81 h. by 0. 66, assigned to Previtali is too much damaged by flaying and retouches to warrant an opinion.

Bergamo. Carmine. St. Albert full length under glass. An angel above the saint's head holds a scroll, a female kneels on the foreground, this figure was scarcely to be seen through the dust covering the inner side of the glass.

Bergamo. S. Sigismondo or Il Conventino. St. Sigismond seated under a niche with the diadem on his head in robes trimmed with fur; in his hands the orb and scepter inscribed: "MDXII ANDREAS PRIVITALIS PINXIT." This panel is warmly coloured, and the figure is regular and well drawn.

Bergamo. Signor G. Abate. Originally in S. Spirito: small lunette panel with the Virgin and angel annunciate, a very careful and pleasing little work by Previtali.

Two years after he had finished the altarpiece of Spino, Francesco Rizo completed that of S^t. James in majesty between S^t. Alexander and S^t. John the Baptist for the church of Leprenno. Time had passed but brought no improvement to Francesco; and his work still closely resembles the feeblest that Mansueti put forth at the same period.¹ A decided effort to imitate Giovanni Bellini and realize some of the improvements which art had made under his auspices at the opening of the century is observable in Francesco's Madonna at Santa Maria degli Angeli of Murano where the virgin sits enthroned in a chapel between S^t. Zachariah and S^t. Jerom who listen to an angel playing a viol at the foot of the steps. — But it was vain for Francesco to struggle for effectual competition with the men of the first class in art at Venice; and he only succeeds in reminding us that he was a disciple of Giovanni Bellini, in part by stating the fact in an inscription in part by composing and setting his figures in the fashion of his master. He certainly displays some symptoms of improvement in the bolder movement, the larger drapery and more appropriate character of his figures. Yet he ranks even as an imitator below the level of Pier Francesco Bissolo.²

From this time forward, Francesco never really progressed. Keeping on the whole in the track of the Bellinesques

¹ Bergamo. Casa Noli from the ch. of Leprenno. These are injured panels separated from their frame and altered in tone by restoring, the figures all stand (large as life) in landscapes, S^t. James with the pilgrim's hat and staff, S^t. John with the cross, S^t. Alexander with the banner. On the central panel we read: 1506. Fo fata fare in tempo di isauro di Antonio di Sandro dito Zerva e Zuan di Bartolomio ed poño di ronimo. Francesco de Simon de Santa Croce fecit. The stark stiffness of the saints is as unpleasant as the

sombre red "flou" colour. The limbs and articulations are not well drawn, the draperies are broken and straight, the nimbus raised and gilt. A lunette belonging to this altarpiece contains the Eternal and is also in the Noli collection.

² Murano. S. Pietro Martire from S. M. degli Angeli. Canv. with life size figures, inser.: "Franciscus de Sancta ✕ D. I. B. 1507." The mould of form is short and underset the general effect is spoiled by numerous repaints and overrunning of contours.

and gaining facility of technical handling, he diverted himself with imitations which scent alternately of Bellini, and his pupils.

In a vision of Christ to the Magdalen, a large panel which was painted in 1513 for the monastery of the Dominicans at Venice, we have a landscape stolen, as it were, from Basaiti and short bull-headed figures with the crabbed features which mark Bellini's circumcision at Castle Howard.¹ It is in this form that we meet the artist in an Epiphany at the Berlin Museum where the treatment displays the freedom of a practised hand, combined with a soft mistiness of contour which the French appropriately call *fou*.² It is to this time that we may assign a numerous class of Bergamasque pictures unauthenticated by names or dates but apparently displaying Rizzo's talent in appropriating the forms of Cima, Basaiti and Bissolo.³

¹ Venice Acad. No. 558. Wood. M. 2. 95 h. by 2. 10. inscribed on a cartello: "Franciscus Rizus pinxit MDXIII". This picture is described by Boschini (Ric. Min. S. di DD. p. 18) in the convent of the Dominicans sulle Zattere at Venice. Christ stands in the middle of the foreground holding a banner in his left hand. The Magdalen kneels before him, on both sides are kneeling worshippers, and in the air two angels in flight. The nude and extremities are very coarse and heavy. The heads are square and bony, with hair in ringlets, but the drapery is flowing enough and the touch reveals long schooling; and the colour is not without force.

² Berlin. Mus. No. 22. from the Solly coll. Wood. 2 f. h. by 3 f. 2½. inscr.: "FRANCISCVS DE SANTA † F." Very careful picture. The same subject assigned to Francesco Rizzo is No. 11. in the gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (notes mislaid).

³ We bring together the following notices of pictures.

Bergamo. Casa Contessa Noli. Two panels are preserved here in each of which two saints are represented; in one, St. Paul and St. James; in the other, St. Sebastian and a saint with a book under life size. The flesh tints are tart and red like those of Previtali, and the figures are in better motion than those of the altarpiece of 1506 from Leprenno. The masks too are more pleasing and distantly recall those of Cima.

Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 341. Wood, half-length Virgin with the child in benediction erect on her knee; — background sky. Two half-lengths of saints nos 291 and 289 parts of the same work. All these are by Francesco and remind us of Cima.

Olera in the valley of the Brembo near Zogno. S. Bartolommeo. In this country ch. is a monumental altarpiece, the centre of which is a statue of the patron saint of the place. At each side of this statue are standing figures in niches of St. Sebastian, St. Peter, St. John the Baptist and St. Roch. In an upper course are half-lengths of St. Catherine, St. Jerom, St. Francis and St. Mary Magdalen. In a pinnacle is the Virgin and child. The figures are all smaller than nature and all on goldground. Here Francesco, (if we are justified in ascribing the picture to him rather than to the joint exertions of himself and Giry-

In 1518. Francesco produced the altarpiece of S^t. Peter, S^t. John the Baptist and S^t. Helen in the Duomo of Serinalta which proves how stationary he remained amidst the changes that were taking place in Venetian art.¹ 1519 is the date of an altarpiece which was one of the ornaments of the ruined church of San Cristoforo by Murano, 1529 that of a Madonna long preserved in the church of Endine between Lovere and Bergamo.² The Madonna of Chirignago is a feeble production in which Francesco seems to have acquired the soft and feeble style of his namesake Girolamo.³

lamo, or some other Veneto Bergamasque) paints in a style which bears the stamp of Bellini and Cima as we find it in Bissolo. Francesco's impress is most marked in the saints of the lower course; and of these St. Sebastian is the best and most Bellinesque. The drawing is not always good, nor are the attitudes generally well thought out. The drapery is often meaningless and the flesh tone uniform and flat. The half-lengths are better.

Grumello de Zanchi, near Zogno, ch. of S. M. Assunta. Here are four small panels in tempera severally containing St. Anthony, St. Jerom, St. John Evangelist and a nameless saint with a lunette representing the Eternal (all one third of life size). Executed in the spirit of Francesco Rizo's earlier works, these panels have much of the style which marks Basaiti and are almost above the level of the Santa Croce. They come within the class of pictures which like that assigned to Basaiti in the Berlin Museum (No. 20. see vol. I. note to p. 266.) seem almost too good for Rizo, yet not quite good enough for Basaiti.

Bergamo. Roncalli coll. wood, half life. Virgin and child in a landscape, between St. Joseph and a female saint with a donor. This is a richly coloured little picture, a mixture of the styles of Bellini and Basaiti. The name of Santa Croce occurs to us as appropriate; but something also suggests that of Lotto.

Bergamo. S. Alessandro alla Croce. Lunette panel with half-lengths of Christ crowning the Virgin and two angels raising a curtain. The figures are pleasing and plump, the colouring rich, but the execution is feeble and the general character of the treatment is that of the Santa Croce.

¹ Serinalta. Duomo; life size figures, one of which inscribed: Fran.^o Rizo de scta croce depense questa hopera in Venezia 1518. Our notes of this picture are mislaid; but we recollect it in a bad state of preservation and feebly executed but carefully outlined and executed in general tone.

² Consult Sansovino, Ed. Mart. p. 234. The subject was S^t. Nicholas, S^t. Anthony the abbot and S^t. Catherine. The Madonna of Endine is said by Locatelli (I. 352.) to be in a private collection at Brescia. According to Tassi (I. 57.) it represented the Virgin enthroned between S^t. Roch, S^t. John the Baptist and S^t. Appollonia with the inscription: 1529 hoc opus fecit fieri hæredes (?) Domini Philippi Alexi de Endine. Franciscus Rizus pinxit Bergomensis abitor Venetiis.

³ Chirignago. We recollect but little of this piece and only note the inscription (which it would be desirable to examine afresh), as follows: "Propriis sumptibus R. D. P. Marci Antonii sancta cruce hujus ecclesie rectoris, Franciscus Sancta Cruce fecit anno dom. 1541". It was a canvas, faded by crystallized varnish and spoiled by retouching.

Girolamo Santa Croce may be said to have adopted and continued the art of Francesco, with whom he was probably associated as partner or assistant. His earliest altarpiece is that of 1520 in San Silvestro at Venice, where S^t. Thomas Aquinas sits enthroned with S^t. John the Baptist and S^t. Francis in attendance in the foreground of a chapel.¹ Disfigured by the modern addition of two saints and numerous repaints this work still has the Bellinesque impress which seems natural to an artist acquainted with the masterpieces of Bellini and Basaiti, and familiar with the canvases of Palma. Though it may be classed amongst the best which Girolamo produced it is still feeble, both as an echo of the manner of Francesco and an imitation of the great Venetians. Yet we can easily see how a man of this class of power should be able to execute pictures that might pass muster in galleries as creations of artists more skilful and better than himself.² Previous to the time when Pordenone settled at Venice one of the altars in Santa Maria dell' Orto was surmounted by a picture, dated 1525, representing S^t. Lorenzo Giustiniani, attended by S^t. Stephen and S^t. Lawrence and inscribed with Girolamo's name. This votive work was doubtless removed shortly after its completion to make room for Pordenone's great composition of the same subject and probably came a little later to San Giorgio in Alga³. In the absence of that example we have the charity of S^t. Martin, a large canvas of 1527, in the parish church of

¹ Venice. S. Silvestro: arched panel with life size figures. The throne is on a tessellated floor in front of a landscape of hills. Two angels fly at the upper corners and cherub's heads are seen in the sky and three seraphs play at the throne step. S^t. Mathew and S^t. Theodore to the r. and l. are additions. This piece which is by a painter of practise is inscribed: HIERONIMVS DE SANCTA CRVCE P. MDXX⁷. The surface

is injured by repaints and enlarged by the addition of pieces at its sides.

² See ante, I. 188, 189, and 284. The name of Girolamo is not out of place as regards certain figures in San Gio. Crisostomo of Venice (antea I. note 1 to p. 222).

³ Compare Cicogna. *Iscriz. Ven. Aggiunte e correzioni* al vol. II. and Boscini. *Le Kicche miniere*. Sest della Croce p. 62.

Luvigliano near Padua; where the dry figures of several Saints are put together with slight share of animation and feeling.¹ In 1532 Girolamo completed no less than fourteen compositions of episodes from the life of S^t. Francis in the "scuola" di San Francesco della Vigna, but these compositions were lost after the destruction of the building which they adorned;² and all that remains to remind us of the master in that locality is a large but unhappily repainted full length of the Redeemer in benediction high up on a wall to the right of the high portal of San Francesco della Vigna, and a small "Martyrdom of S^t. Lawrence" copied from an original now in the Dresden Museum.³

A Madonna with two saints in the cathedral of Capo d'Istria seems to have been finished in 1537.⁴ S^t. Mark enthroned between four Saints at Burano is an altarpiece of 1541.⁵ In 1549 Girolamo produced the last supper at San Martino of Venice, a canvas which Zanetti praises for the modern impress of its style but which really shows how far the painter lagged behind the progress of the age.⁶

¹ Luvigliano (near Padua) parish ch.; arched canvas with the Eternal in the sky holding the fragment of the mantle, whilst on the foreground below, S^t. Martin on horseback shares his cloak with the beggar in presence of the two Johns, S^t. Peter, and S^t. Paul. This canvas is scaled and otherwise in a bad state of preservation. It is signed: "HIERONIMVS DE S^tA CROCE P. MLXXXVII".

² See Boschini. *Le R. M. Sest.* di Castello p. p. 45—6. Ridolfi. *Marav.* I. 105.

³ Venice. S. Francesco della Vigna above the pulpit. The Redeemer in benediction on a pedestal, the Eternal with angels above him (much injured); beneath the pulpit is the small martyrdom of S^t. Lawrence.

⁴ Capo d'Istria. Duomo. Virgin and child between two saints with

an angel on the throne step, inscribed: "Hieronimo de S. Croce .D.XXXVII". The surface of the picture and part of the signature are abraded. Of an earlier date is the Virgin and child with two angels, S^t. Catherine and S^t. Jerom noticed by Federici (*Mem. Trev.* I. 129 and II. 11.) in San Parasio of Treviso and inscribed: Girolamo Santa Croce F. 1532. Neither this nor the Santa Bona between S^t. Roch and Sebastian which Crico describes in the church of Santa Bona, were seen by the authors. (See Crico *u. s.* p. 125.)

⁵ Burano. S. Martino. Sacristy. S^t. Mark enthroned betw. S^t. Benedict, and S^t. Nicholas, and S^t. Lawrence and S^t. Vitus, inscribed: "HIERONIMO DE SANTACROCE P. MDXXXXI", canvas with heavily repainted figures under life size.

⁶ Venice. S. Martino. Canv. in the parapet of the organ; — of low

There are few galleries of Italy or the continent that do not boast of some small work by Girolamo Santa Croce. Most of these are pretty and tame, some are taken bodily from prints of the Raphaelesque school. They may be registered as follows:

Milan. Brera. No. 133. Wood. M. O. 39 h. by 0. 82. Half-length Madonna between St. Jerom and St. Francis. This picture reminds us much of Francesco's panel at Serinalta. Naples. Museum. Venetian school, No. 56. Wood — small — martyrdom of St. Lawrence, a replica of the panel with the same subject in Dresden. — Dresden. Museum. No. 213, the nativity. W. 2 f. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 2 f. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ and No. 214. W. 2 f. 3 h. by 1 f. 10; the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Venice. Manfrini Palace. Adoration of the magi. Bergamo. Lochis Saggiata. Several little pieces (notes mislaid). Berlin. Museum. No. 24. W. 1 f. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 2 f. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. a pretty composition of the Epiphany. No. 26. W. 2 f. h. by 2 f. 10. The martyred St. Sebastian before the judge. No. 33. W. 1 f. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. by 1 f. 9. coronation of the Virgin. No. 34. W. 1 f. 5 h. by 1 f. 2. Christ carrying his cross. Nr. 35. 1 f. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 0 f. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$. The crucifixion — all these little pieces are from the Solly collection. London. National-Gallery. No. 632 and 633. from the Beaucousin coll. 2 saints each. W. 3 f. 11 h. by 1 f. 7. We may refer to Waagen (Treasures III. 201. 234. and supplement 239. 412. and 484.) for pictures by Girolamo in the Northwick collection, at Liverpool, at Mr. Nichols, Marbury Hall and Heddon House. A portrait inscribed: "ALEXANDER OLIVERIVS" in Hamilton palace near Glasgow is attributed to Giorgione (see ante p. 169) and looks very like a work by Girolamo Santa Croce. It is on panel — under life size and not without damage from scaling. At the first glance there is something Giorgionesque in the treatment, but this impression is quite evanescent. For other works assigned to Girolamo consult Boschini, *Le Ricche Miniere*, Sest. di Castello p. 4. 12. 38. 41. 45. 46. Sest. di DD. p. 51. 62. Sest. di S. Polo p. 33. Sest. della Croce p. 62. Ridolfi *Mar.* I. 104. 105. and Zanetti *Pitt. Ven.* p. p. 84—6.

Cariani holds a larger place in the annals of Venetian art than historians have been inclined to concede to him, not because he was a man of original genius but because,

brown tone, inscribed: "Hieronimo de Santa Croce MDXXXXVIII". In the background is the episode of Christ washing the apostles' feet. The figures are fairly distributed and not without animation, the drawing is careful but mannered; the drapery is fairly cast; but the work in its totality is cold

and tame (See Zanetti u. s. p. 64.)

In a chapel to the r. of the choir in the church is also a resurrection assigned by Boschini (*Le R. M. S.* di Castello p. 17) to the school of Cima, but signed: "Hieronimo S. Santa Croce f." a dry and feeble work, dimmed by time.

having a knack of imitating the great Venetian masters, his works were inevitably confounded with theirs. That canvases traditionally assigned to Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Palma Vecchio, and Pordenone, are really creations of a Bergamasque who acquired for himself a very small share of fame are a sufficient proof of his imitative power.

If we accept as Cariani's the two portraits at the Louvre which pass for likenesses of the Bellini by one of themselves, we shall discern the earliest form in which a Bergamasque of the Palmesque type began to imitate the Bellinesque.¹ The haze which partially covers the outlines and modelling of this canvas also dwells upon the half lengths of the Virgin and child with St. Peter a pretended Bellini in the Borghese Palace at Rome; but the Roman Madonna reminds us of Palma in the mould of its faces and more of Lotto in the golden tinge of its colour.² Palma and Lotto, — both of them Bergamasques and sixteenth century craftsmen — were just the sort of men to whom Cariani would naturally lean; and we see how much there is to suggest this leaning in the Palmesque "Plotius and Luscus" which hangs under Giorgione's name at the Belvedere of Vienna³. Ridolfi prefaced one of the baldest of his notices by saying that Cariani tried to adopt the manner of Giorgione⁴. There can be no doubt of the fact; but in his attempt to gain the freedom and glow of that master Cariani produced a mere cento of the Giorgionesque and Palmesque and not a true reflex of the style of Giorgione. The portraits once in the gallery of Count Schönborn Pommersfelden, the "temptation" at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, a nativity at Hampton Court, the Lucretia of the Holford Collection, the adulteress at Glasgow, Mr. Barker's Madonna with saints and the nativity in the Erizzo-Maffei

¹ Paris. Louvre. No. 69. Canvas, busts (see antea in Giovanni Bellini I. 134).

² Rome. Palazzo Borghese. Room IX. No. 32. (see antea I. 188.).

³ Vienna Belvedere. First Floor. Room II. No. 10. (see in this volume, p. 152.).

⁴ Ridolfi. Mar. I. 190.

mansion at Brescia are probably all Carianis under the names of Giorgione, Palma and Pordenone.¹ Painters of original talents, whether long or short-lived differ in shades of thought and modes of handling at successive periods of their career. Men of a lower class indulge in more rapid and radical changes. Cariani's pictures vary to a considerable extent in feeling for tone and character of touch; their surface, at one time, shows heavy impast and copious vehicle, at another excessive parsimony of both. When Cariani labours with a full brush, he often produces work of a ruddy uniformity and enamel gloss, at the opposite extreme of the scale he blends his colours to a mealy and purple substance. The twilight of Palma, the fiery glow of Bernardino Licinio, the pallor of Lotto all prove attractive by turns but reveal nothing as to the period in which each of these forms was dominant.

The oldest record which refers to Cariani is said to bear the date of 1508. It is described as a contract in which the painter is called Giovanni Busi Cariani.² We note this fact with the more interest, as it corrects a not unnatural duplication of which the Anonimo was the author when he wrote that a fresco on one of the fronts of the Podestà's palace at Bergamo and a figure of Christ in a Bergamasque mansion were by Zuan de' Busi whilst a nativity at Crema was by Zuan Cariani.³ The Busi were an old and highly respected family whose possessions lay at Fuipiano on the Brembo, a village in which Cariani, according to his own statement was born.⁴

¹ Compare previous notices in this volume p. 159, 291, 486 and 490.

² See Locatelli. *Illustri Bergam.* u. s. II, 13.

³ Anonimo ed. Morelli p. p. 47, 52.

⁴ Gio. Maironi (in his *Dizionario Odeporico*, II, 103.) says he noticed amongst the Ms. at Fuipiano a register of offerings made in the first half of the 16th century to the ch. of S. S. Filippo e Giacomo,

and the ch. of San Bernardino; and one of the offerings registered is that of Cariani who describes himself there as a native of Fuipiano. That this offering was a picture of St. Roch sent in 1541 is stated by other authorities (Marenzi in Locatelli u. s. II, 15.). The connection of the family of Busi with Fuipiano is noted in Maironi (II, 105.)

The earliest picture by Cariani of which we find mention is the Madonna of Lonno on the Serio which bore the date of 1514, the latest a figure of St. Roch presented by Cariani in 1541 to the church of Fuipiano; both pieces unhappily registered as missing.¹ There are but two canvases with dates in the large collection of works which on various grounds are ascribed to the master; these are the seven portraits in one group in the Roncalli collection and a Madonna with a donor in the Casa Baglioni at Bergamo. The first was finished in 1519, the second in 1520; they illustrate two different forms of Cariani's art.

The group in the Roncalli collection comprises four ladies and three gentlemen thrown artificially together and represented seated or standing on a balconied terrace behind which a landscape is seen partly concealed by a damask hanging. The spirit transfused into the picture is that of the Giorgionesques, and particularly that of Bernardino Licinio, each figure being a portrait. To the left a young wife in profile with a charming flexibility in her attitude looks up, leaning her arm on the parapet of the balcony where a squirrel fearlessly nibbles at a pear. Her right hand rests on a square looking glass and she seems to be conscious of the vicinity of her husband a man of middle age, in a toque, behind her whose fingers play with the wavy locks of her abundant hair. — In the middle of the picture a woman holds a fan of feathers and gracefully presses a shawl to her bosom. In rear of her large and buxom person are two female and two males in turbaned head dress. An incipient smile enlivens the round full faces; and the shapes of all the persons though fat and matronly are not without delicacy and

¹ Lonno, ch. of. This picture is noticed as follows (in Tassi I. 37): The Virgin seated with a white cloth on her head holds the infant Christ in her arms; above her, two angels carry a garland of flowers. Right and left are St. Anthony the abbot and St. Catherine. Two patrons a man and his wife form part of the composition which is signed: "1514. J. Cariani". For the St. Roch at Fuipiano see the foregoing note.

signs of nurture. Most characteristic as a technical feature is the warmth of the tones and the substantial impast of uniform and peachy flesh tints. The swelling charms remind us of the school of Pordenone, the treatment, of Giorgione and Palma; but the contours and the cast of drapery exhibit care, precision, and thought.¹ It is in this feeling, but with more vigorous colour and better modelling that Cariani painted the likeness of a lady assigned in the Lochis Carrara gallery to Giorgione, a dame in rich apparel with her auburn hair brushed plain into a white flowered turban, her slender throat adorned with a necklace, her gloved hand playing with a rich gold chain, and a fur boa hanging on her arm.²

Scarcely a year after he finished the Roncalli group Cariani composed the Madonna of Casa Baglioni where we lose all trace of the matronly Giorgionesque. A tall, slender, and maidenly Madonna, kisses the child who stands on her lap and blesses a kneeling patron. What Cariani seeks is no longer weight or high colour but lightness, animation, and a clear rosy flesh; he shows much of the sprightly grace, but not all the mettle and fire of Lotto.³ Had the variations of Cariani before and after 1520 been as regular as they were frequent, we might follow them with ease. It is not so difficult to trace them as to tell when they occurred.

There are signs of a conscious imitation of Lotto in many productions which we find at Bergamo. In a half length of Christ carrying his cross which may have belonged to Leonino de Brambate, before it came into the Carrara gallery, a side light throws much of the face and frame into shade and reflection; the drawing is clean, and the

¹ Bergamo. Casa Roncalli. Canvas with half-lengths of life size; inscribed on the edge of the balcony: "IO, CARIANVS BGONENS MDXVIII".

² Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No.

157. Canvas, life size half-length on brown ground.

³ Bergamo. Casa Baglioni. Canvas, inscr.: "JOANES CARIAN 1520 p." The portrait of the patron kneeling to the right in profile is the best part of the picture.

surface burnished to a tough enamel; but the projecting layers of raw tone, the brown red lights and colder darks are such as Lotto would not have used; and there is lack of expression in the frigid features as well as in the chill immobility of the half closed lips.¹ The same system of illumination with a harder uniformity and hotter ruddiness of complexion is to be found in a half length of Benedetto Caravaggio in the same collection; it is carried to excess in the orange carnation and molten lead shadows of the "Baile" in the house of Count Albani at Bergamo — a figure of grand sternness, with a face of commanding power, and an eye of penetrant glance; but coloured with an overdone sunset effect verging on the extreme of redness.²

The impress of Lotto commingled with that of the Palmesques and Giorgionesques is conspicuous in other pictures of Cariani which for that reason recall Bernardino Licinio. A Madonna with seven saints in the Carrara gallery though injured by daubing fairly illustrates this form. It is confused in setting, dry and small in its

¹ Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 145. Wood life size. Compare also the Anonimo p. 52.

² Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 163. Canvas. M. 0. 81 h. by 0. 83. half-length, of life size with a scutcheon on the wall to the r. and, beneath the scutcheon the following inscription: IO BENED CARRAVAGS PHILOS ET MEDICVS AC STVDII PATAVINI RECTOR ET LECTOR. JOANES CARIANI P." Through an opening to the left is a sunset on a landscape of hills. Caravaggio — a man of fifty of dry and thin make — stands behind a table on the green cloth of which he rests his left hand. The fingers of his r. are on the leaves of a book. He wears a red dress, and a black cap and stole.

No. 160 in this collection, a bust large as life on canvas, representing a young man in a black cap

is also properly assigned to Cariani. It is somewhat flayed and overstippled.

Bergamo. Conte Luigi Albani. Portrait half-length of a man with long dark hair falling from a black silk cap. He is seated at a table in a room hung with green cloth. The right hand plays with the laces of a red vest. A heavy gold chain hangs from the shoulders. The landscape seen through an opening to the l. is lighted by a red sunset. The principle of Autonello's handling is carried to its utmost limit in the bold way in which unmixed colours are thrown in touchwise, ex. gr. blood red in the eye corners, to produce contrast. Locatelli (n. s. II. 41) notes this picture as having been in Casa Noli, and describes a replica (not seen by the authors) in Casa Suardi at Bergamo.

figures, but not without gentleness in types.¹ The woman taken in adultery another canvas of this collection, in spite of damaging retouches displays the same treatment, and tells us plainly that Cariani was the painter of the similar subject under Giorgione's name in the Museum of Glasgow.²

With a slight shade more of the plumpness of Palma, united to some of the lively action and turn of Lotto we have the Virgin and child with seven saints and a half dozen of lithesome but dry and puny angels in the Brera at Milan, a picture in which Cariani throws a rich suffusion over his work and succeeds better than usual in imparting a gentle grace to his impersonations. Similar commendation may be given to the flight into Egypt in the Piccinelli collection at Seriate, a small canvas which formed part of the predella of the Brera altarpiece before it was removed from San Gottardo of Bergamo.³ In this

¹ Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 110. Canvas, in which the Virgin presents the infant to St. Mary Magdalen, in rear of whom is St. Anne with St. Joseph. On the r. foreground a female kneels and reads a book. To the l. is St. John the Baptist seated with the lamb accompanied by St. Alexander in armour, the kneeling St. Francis, and St. Helen. Some figures — that of the Magdalen for instance — recall Paris Bordone; but as above stated, the canvas is covered with repaints from which St. Francis especially suffers.

² Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 280. Canvas with eight full length figures almost of life size. A composition freely repeated in the Museum of Glasgow, No. 434. on canvas, under Giorgione's name. The adulteress is marched in as it were to the presence of Christ who makes a strong gesture with the right hand and arm; characteristic is the man to the r. with his back to the spectator and his right leg raised on a stone. The mixture

of free movement and conventional posture, the neglected drawing, and ill set composition are as much in the fashion of Cariani as the red warmth of the tones. — The canvas at Bergamo is damaged by efflorescence and repaints.

³ Milan. Brera. No. 113. Canv. M. 2. 67 h. by 2. 08, originally in S. Gottardo of Bergamo (compare Ridolfi Marav. I. 190. and Bartoli Pitture di Bergamo u. s. p. 20.). Two angels support a hanging in rear of the Virgin's seat; three others sing in the sky, four more are on the foreground, at each side of which are: St. Philip Benizzi, St. Joseph and St. Grata, St. Adelaide, St. Augustin, St. Apollonia and St. Catherine. The predella at Seriate is a very neat little piece.

In the Brera gallery again No. 233. Canv. M. 0. 53 h. by 0. 43. is a pretty half-length of the Virgin, of clear bright tone in which Cariani imitates Lotto with some success.

style, and perhaps with a shade more delicacy of taste the small Madonna of the Borghese palace was treated; in this manner too but more superficially, the nativity of Crema.¹ The dusky twilight of a pure follower of Palma is successfully imitated in the full lengths of St. Catherine and St. Stephen in the Carrara gallery.²

Another variety of Cariani's style is that in which he strove to keep as closely as he could to Giorgione. His best effort of this kind is the group of three half lengths belonging to the grand Duke of Oldenburg; — a man in a red velvet cap and furred pelisse in shade behind two richly dressed ladies on whom the light is thrown with generous fullness. One of these ladies, presenting her right shoulder shows a large silk sleeve with white and blue reflexes. She turns her face to the spectator and presses her finger on the black and yellow check boddice of her companion, who stands in profile to the right. Most carefully finished and full of sweet freshness in tone, this pretty canvas shows much gaiety and variety of tinting, and a semi transparent haze characteristic of Cariani. There is a gentle expressiveness in the faces and a nice balance of bright light and mellow shade without the fullness or the sober harmony of Giorgione.³ Of a ruddier and rawer

¹ Rome Palazzo Borghese. Room IX. No. 32. See ante. In the same collection Room XI. No. 19 is a canvas with the Virgin and child under an orange tree between St. Barbara and another female saint recommending a male and female patron all under life size. This canvas much of the surface of which has been cleaned off, is classed in the Venetian school and looks very like a genuine Cariani. Particularly injured are the heads of the infant Christ and the female saint to the r.

The nativity at Crema described by the Anonimo (n. s. p. 54.) is probably that which lately passed into the possession of Signor Schiavoni at Venice. The Virgin kneels

to the r, a shepherd to the l.; between the two is the infant in a cradle and St. Joseph. To the left are two shepherds. The picture is on canvas; the figures are half the life size and St. Joseph injured.

² Bergamo. Lochis Carrara. No. 161 and 165 full lengths, and parts of a triptych one side of which is described (Locatelli u. s. II. 38) as being in possession of the family of Count Petrobelli at Bergamo. This must have been a very bright picture when it was new. It was painted for the church of Locatello in Valle Imagna.

³ Oldenburg. Gallery of the Grand Duke, from the Schönbörn-Pommersfelden collection (see Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.

gloss, of harder impast but with similar technical handling we may register as a companion piece that of the Hermitage at Petersburg, an old man tempting a girl with a few pieces, a picture in which the shape and extremities are as large and weighty as any that were ever drawn by Pordenone.¹

Finally we should notice that phase in Cariani's art in which he paints "*di macchia*" that is, with wide substantial touch of blurred contour. In this phase Cariani rings the changes chiefly on grey, pink, and purple tertiaries, and with the help of dirty rubbings gets an uncertain haze or mist over his surface which proves effective at a certain distance. In this class we should register the bust of a female in long frizzled hair, red boddice, and green sleeves, in the Hospital at Bergamo, a similar bust of a lady reading in the Esterhazy Collection at Pesth, the meeting of Rachel and Jacob at Dresden and a rest during the flight in Egypt at the Erizzo Maffei Mansion in Brescia. The general toning of the bust at Bergamo is warm and fair and seems attained by a substantial final scumble; but form in flesh and drapery is defined by touch and not by line, by break and contrast of shades of colour and not by pure modelling. The result is rich and good when viewed from afar; but close inspection dispels much of the charm by revealing the coarseness of the means.² At Dresden we feast our eyes not with the beauties of high born women but with those of peasants

vol. II. p. 134.) Canvas, half-lengths of life size. A copy of this picture is numbered 108 in the Venice Academy.

¹ St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 116. Canvas, half-lengths, 2 f. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. by 3 f. 1. on dark ground. The girl holds a crystal globe as symbol of inconstancy. This canvas is misalled Pordenone and was noted (antea 291) in these pages. It has a stiff glazed surface like the "Baile" at Bergamo, but a less sanguine colour.

² Bergamo. Room of the president of the council of the Hospital. Wood, life size bust the hair drawn together in Palmesque fashion with a green ribband tressed together above the ear. The r. hand is on a projection, in the vertical face of which is a relief of a skirmish.

Pesth. Esterhazy Gallery. Bust panel of a lady reading; — the hand as above on a projection, the boddice green, the sleeves red (see antea I. 188.).

in a wooded country. Rachel and Jacob are mere names for a Bergamasque shepherd and shepherdess. The man who meets and kisses the maiden in the foreground wears the blue jacket and white woollen tights and the ankle boots of country folk. A man at a fountain to the left and a herdsman watering his flock, are in the same homely garb. There is more density and substance of impast here than before and a more deliberate use of mere touch to represent form. The rough edges produced by the hog tool are blurred over with scumbles, and dirty opacities, which scarcely conceal uncertainties of design or the sharp contrasts of tones in proximity to each other. There is after all more of the *Palmesque* than of the *Giorgionesque* in the handling, and here as is often the case in Palma, reds tend to a pinky pallor, and there is an abuse every where, of greenish leaden shadows, but Palma cannot be the painter any more than Lotto, and we must needs fall back on Cariani, whose initials G. B F. (*Giovanni Busi fecit*) are on a slab on the foreground.¹

The *Virgin and child* of the Maffei Collection bears the name of Palma and is *Palmesque* in feeling and in landscape character. The Virgin sits with the child on a bank at the foot of a tree stump near which Joseph reposes. The colours are dull and have perhaps a redder tinge than at Dresden; but the treatment and the foreground with broad dabs of weed and flowers are the same in both pieces.²

How many of all these pictures were executed at Bergamo; how many, at Venice? What were the relations of Cariani with Giorgione, Palma, Lotto? Such questions as these deserve an answer and may perhaps in time be solved in a fitting manner. All that can be said with certainty now, is that at some period of his life Cariani

¹ Dresden. Museum. Nr. 218. from the Casa Malipiero at Venice. Canv. 5 f. 1 h. by 8 f. 7. ascribed to Giorgione, the letters above

quoted having been read: "*Giorgio Barbarella fecit*".

² Brescia. Erizzo - Maffei coll. Canv. half life size (see antea in Palma).

was at Bergamo. As we before observed he painted frescos on the front of the palace of the Podestà. Remnants of a Madonna with saints which he executed above the side portal of Santa Maria Maggiore at Bergamo still display much feeling for sweetness of tone and chastened simplicity of form.¹ There are also fragments of a tourney and other subjects on a wall in the Piazza Nuova of Bergamo;² but we are still searching for the date of these works. At Malpaga, the castle of Bartolommeo Colleoni which descended to the Bergamasque family of Martinengo we may believe that Cariani was employed in company with Romanino. Above the colonnades in a large court we see how the doge of Venice gives Colleoni the baton of command, and how Colleoni fights a battle, there are fictitious statues of Colleoni and others in niches, and ornaments of arms and scutcheons; all this looks like fresco that Cariani might have done. The figures are indeed mutilated and faded but they are neatly conceived and cast in a pretty and slender shape. They move too with natural action and are coloured in rich warm tones. A dining hall inside the castle is decorated in the same style with hunts and warlike incidents in which Colleoni is a principal actor; and an upper room contains traces of statues in niches, of similar execution. We see that Cariani was in person at Malpaga, and painted there, but we know nothing as to the date of these decorations and so we must remain content with merely indicating the outline of the life and industry of a second rate who worked much and ably and deserves a place in the annals of his country's art.

We may complete the register of works assignable to Cariani as follows:

¹ Bergamo. S. M. Maggiore lunette much faded. On the r. the young Baptist is presented by his mother to Christ, on the l. is St. Joseph. There are two male saints at each side of the Virgin.

² Bergamo. Piazza Nuova. What remains is a mere map of stains with here and there a figure of a man or a horse.

Milan. Casa Bonomi. Casa de' Quattro Faccie. Canvas, life size portrait bust of a man turned to the r. bearded, in a black and dark furred pelisse. This is a good specimen of Cariani's skill as a portrait painter.

Venice. Academy No. 433. Canvas bust under the name of Morone. This portrait is a little tart, the warm yellow lights being carried into cold shadow with grey blue transitions. The treatment is clever and rapid in Cariani's usual manner. The hair and beard are re-touched. Apparently by the same hand, but damaged, is Nr. 174. an "unknown" portrait half-length in the same gallery.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 84. Portrait bust assigned to Correggio. Canvas from the Sagredo collection flayed and restored but still bearing the impress of a Bergamasque painting in Cariani's style.

Berlin. Museum. No. 188. A portrait, but not of Cariani's best. No. 190 is also a portrait which seems as if it might have been executed by Cariani.

Milan. Ambrosiana. Christ on the road to Calvary. — This small canvas was once catalogued as a Dürer; it is a bright coloured little picture with figures of vulgar mask but with their full share of life.

Zogno. ch. of. Adoration of the shepherds on canvas with life size figures. This picture at first sight looks like a copy from Palma rendered blind and opaque by time and restoring. It is however properly called a Cariani, and was doubtless once a good specimen of his manner. The Virgin kneels to the l. in front of a ruined arch. St. Joseph and the shepherds kneel about the infant's cradle. In the air two angels sport.

Lake of Como. Signor Federico Frizzoni. Canv. under life size. The Virgin seated in a landscape turns to St. Jerom on the r. whilst the infant plays with a book held by St. Francis on the l. This is one of the poorest specimens of Cariani. The child is heavy and unwieldy, the Virgin swaddled in the folds of her dress. The colour is oily, harsh, and dull. On a stone we read: "I. CARIANVS".

Vicenna. Belvedere. Gr. floor. No. 7. The triumph of love (canv. 4 f. 9 h. by 7 f. 8.). Though not unlike a Bergamasque picture and though possibly by Cariani this allegory is very feebly executed.

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